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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 1967)

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CHAPTER II

MEETINGS HELD AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS

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* This document contains chapter II of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. The general introductory chapter will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6700 (Part I). Other chapters of the report will be issued as addenda.

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INTRODUCTION

1. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, the Special Committee envisaged, as part of its programme of work for 1967, the possibility of holding another series of meetings in Africa during that year.
2. By operative paragraph 5 of resolution 2189 (XXI), the General Assembly approved the programme for work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1967, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters. Within the context of the programme thus approved, the Governments of Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Iraq, Morocco, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Mauritania and Zambia extended invitations to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/221, 222, 224, 226-228, 230 and 232) to hold meetings at their respective capitals during 1967.
3. During the discussions on the organization of work, which took place at its meeting between 9 February and 17 April 1967, a wide measure of support was expressed by members of the Special Committee for the holding of a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1967. Several members stressed the positive results achieved by previous sessions of the Committee away from Headquarters. These sessions had enabled the Committee to gain more direct knowledge of the realities of the situation in a number of colonial Territories and had strengthened its capacity to assist the colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. A further series of meetings away from Headquarters would not only yield similar results but would also enable the Committee to assess the extent to which the provisions of previous resolutions had been implemented and to recommend further measures as appropriate. It would, moreover, facilitate the appearance before the Committee of petitioners who would otherwise find it impossible to travel to New York.
4. At its 507th meeting on 28 March 1967, the Special Committee considered recommendations for the holding of a series of meetings away from Headquarters which were contained in the 28th report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.385). The Committee also had before it a report by the Secretary-General on the administrative and financial implications of these recommendations (A/AC.109/L.386/Rev.1). At the same meeting, the Committee decided to adopt the report of the Working Group, on the understanding that reservations expressed by some members would appear in the records.

5. By adopting the report, the Special Committee decided that it would accept in principle the invitations extended to it by the eight Governments to hold meetings at their respective capitals, with an expression of its deep appreciation; that it would avail itself in 1967 of the invitations received from the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, and inform the Governments of Ethiopia, Morocco and Mauritania that, subject to their convenience, it would prefer to take advantage of their invitations at a future date.

6. The Committee decided at the same time to leave Headquarters for the purpose of the above-mentioned meetings on 25 May 1967 and to hold meetings in the capitals concerned in the following order, and for the approximate duration indicated, exclusive of travelling time:

Kinshasa	six working days
Lusaka ^{1/}	" " "
Dar es Salaam	" " "
Baghdad	four " "
Damascus	three " "

Reservations were expressed by some members regarding the justification for the visit and as to the proposed itinerary.

7. In adopting the report of the Working Group, the Special Committee also decided that the agenda for its meetings away from Headquarters in 1967 should include the Territories in Africa, Aden, Oman, Mauritius and Seychelles, and that at the capitals indicated below, priority should be given to the hearing of petitioners concerning the following Territories:

Kinshasa	Territories under Portuguese administration
Lusaka	Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland and South West Africa
Dar es Salaam	Territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Mauritius and Seychelles
Baghdad	Aden and Oman
Damascus	Aden and Oman.

^{1/} The venue for the meetings in Zambia was subsequently changed from Lusaka to Kitwe by the Government of the Republic of Zambia.

8. On 12 April 1967, the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee issued a communique on the Committee's meetings away from Headquarters which was given wide dissemination. The text of the communique is appended to this chapter (Annex I).

9. In a letter dated 11 May 1967 (A/AC.109/238), 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 represented in the Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters.

10. In a letter dated 23 May 1967 (A/AC.109/242), 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 meetings away from Headquarters. He expressed support for the work of the Committee and gratitude to the various host Governments for their invitation.

11. Members of the Special Committee^{2/} accompanied by members of the Secretariat arrived at Kinshasa on 26 May 1967. The Special Committee met in Kinshasa from 29 May to 1 June 1967, at the Palais de la Nation; it arrived at Kitwe on 2 June and met from 3 to 9 June 1967 at Buchi Hall; it arrived at Dar es Salaam on 10 June and met from 12 to 21 June 1967 at the Msimbazi Community Centre. The representative of the Secretary-General joined the Special Committee in Dar es Salaam.

12. In a letter dated 13 June 1967 (A/AC.109/247/Rev.1), the representative of Iraq to the Special Committee informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that as a result of the difficult situation facing the whole of the Middle East, it would not be opportune for his Government and people to receive the Committee at that critical time. He had been assured by his Government that the Committee would be most welcome to hold meetings in Baghdad at a later date. The representative of Syria to the Special Committee made a statement to the Working Group on 13 June 1967 to the same effect as the above letter.

13. At its 534th meeting on 14 June 1967, the Special Committee considered in the light of the prevailing conditions in the Middle East further recommendations which were contained in the 31st report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.410 and Corr.1) regarding the meetings scheduled to be held in Baghdad, Iraq, and Damascus, Syria, from 22 June to 1 July 1967.

^{2/} A list of the representatives present at the meetings away from Headquarters is annexed to this chapter (Annex II).

14. At the same meeting, the Committee decided to adopt the report of the Working Group. By adopting the report of the Working Group, the Committee decided to convey to the Governments of Iraq and Syria: (a) its gratitude for inviting the Committee to hold meetings at their respective capitals; (b) its full appreciation of the circumstances explained to the Committee by their respective representatives; and (c) the decision that having regard to the above-mentioned circumstances the Committee would wish to take advantage of their respective invitations at a future date. The Committee also decided to conclude its meetings away from Headquarters on the adjournment of its series of meetings in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania; to adjourn its meetings in Dar es Salaam not later than 21 June 1967, and to take up at subsequent meetings at Headquarters the items which it would otherwise have considered during its meetings in Baghdad and Damascus.

15. During its meetings away from Headquarters, the Special Committee held 31 plenary meetings and the Sub-Committee on petitions 7 meetings. The Special Committee heard 24 groups of petitioners and circulated 39 petitions exclusive of requests for hearings.

16. During their stay in Kinshasa and Dar es Salaam, members of the Special Committee were enabled, at the invitation of the organizations concerned, to visit camps and other facilities for refugees from Angola and Mozambique. In Kinshasa, they visited a reception centre, a hospital and school run by GRAE where they were enthusiastically received by several hundred refugees and met with teachers, doctors and others concerned with aid to refugees. In Dar es Salaam, members visited facilities run by FRELIMO, including a hospital and the Mozambique Institute which provides secondary and vocational (nurses, aides) training at Dar es Salaam and conducts primary and other teaching programmes elsewhere.

17. At the opening of meetings in Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam respectively, the Special Committee was addressed by H.E. General Joseph Mobutu, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia and by H.E. Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, second Vice-President, on behalf of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The Special Committee also had the honour of being received by the Heads of State or Government at each of the three capitals.

18. In accordance with the decision by the Special Committee at its 512th meeting on 29 May 1967 to grant a request addressed to the Chairman on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (A/AC.109/244), a delegation of that Government attended the meetings of the Special Committee in Kinshasa in an observer capacity. Further, in accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 512th meeting on 29 May 1967, to grant a request addressed to the Chairman on behalf of the Government of Czechoslovakia (A/AC.109/240 and Add.1), a representative of that Government attended the meetings away from Headquarters as an observer. Similarly, in accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 513th meeting on 30 May 1967, to grant a request addressed to the Chairman on behalf of the Government of Spain (A/AC.109/245), a representative of that Government attended the meetings in Kinshasa as an observer. Further, in accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 519th meeting on 3 June 1967, to grant a request addressed to the Chairman on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Zambia (A/AC.109/246), a delegation of that Government attended the meetings of the Special Committee in Kitwe in an observer capacity.

19. At its 517th meeting on 1 June 1967, the representative of Spain with the consent of the Special Committee made a statement relating to the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration. At its 527th meeting on 9 June 1967, the representative of Zambia, with the consent of the Special Committee made a statement on the question of Southern Rhodesia. At its 531st meeting on 13 June 1967, a representative of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Organization of African Unity for the Liberation of Africa, with the consent of the Special Committee, made a statement at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings at Dar es Salaam. At its 538th meeting on 19 June 1967, the representative of Somalia, in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee concerning a request submitted by his Government (A/AC.109/241), participated in the consideration of the question of French Somaliland.

20. Following consideration of the relevant items, the Special Committee adopted resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia (chapter III), South West Africa (chapter IV), Territories under Portuguese administration (chapter V), Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (chapter XIV). An account of the Special Committee's consideration of these items is contained in chapters III, IV, V and XIV, respectively.

21. With regard to the question of French Somaliland, the Special Committee decided at its 538th meeting held on 19 June 1967, following the hearing of petitioners and a statement by the representative of Somalia, to take up the question upon resumption of its meetings in New York.

22. 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 during its meetings away from Headquarters (see para. 744 below). It also adopted unanimously a resolution expressing its appreciation to the host Governments (see para. 751 below).

I. MEETINGS HELD AT KINSHASA, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

A. OPENING OF MEETINGS

Address by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

23. The President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo said that it was a great honour for the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to serve as host to the Special Committee on decolonization of the United Nations, thus giving them an opportunity to pay a ringing tribute to the work of the Organization in the emancipation of peoples. At the present time, twenty-two years after the signing of the United Nations Charter by fifty-one nations, and seven years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations counted within its number 122 Members. Hundreds of millions of human beings had re-entered the ranks of free peoples. That great current of liberation, sweeping across the world, had overturned all barriers. The twentieth century had found in that movement what would be its true title to fame. The political, economic and social changes resulting from the accession of hundreds of millions of formerly oppressed men and women to the status of citizens of free countries were such that a new era in the history of mankind was now clearly being opened. That extraordinary development was in no small measure due to the efforts of the United Nations. It was there that the idea that every people had an inalienable right to decide its own destiny had found defenders and persons with the organizing skill to bring that idea from the realm of philosophical systems to that of political realities.

24. Considerable progress had certainly already been made, but there could be no yielding to complacency on that score so long as there was a single oppressed people, a single colonial people, left in the world. If the principles for which the former colonial peoples had fought were just, and if they had been recognized by the vast majority of States, there was no valid reason why they should be ignored and rejected in certain areas of the world.

25. The idea which had given direction to the decolonization of the entire world had been just and sound, and the Congo stood as a witness to that; it would therefore be contrary to elementary logic to admit that that idea could be flouted.

26. The Congo, as an African nation, was keenly aware of the obvious fact that the African continent remained the last refuge of those who would not accept mankind's decisive development. The Congo, which had extensive common frontiers with one of the principal supporters of moribund colonialism, was physically aware that the liberation of colonial peoples could not be regarded as fully achieved. As long as any territory in Africa was under foreign domination, the independence and peace of other countries of the continent, including the Congo, would be constantly threatened.

27. He would therefore like to be specific in the treating of the problems that were especially relevant to the African continent, that were found even on the frontiers of the Congo and only a few dozen miles away from Kinshasa. The Congo had a common frontier of thousands of miles with two countries under Portuguese domination - Cabinda and Angola. In more than one place that frontier even separated peoples who formed a single ethnic group. Father and sons, brothers and sisters, were thus separated not only by a frontier but by a veritable iron curtain. The Congo suffered directly as a consequence. Not far from where the Special Committee was meeting, Portuguese troops violated the frontiers of the Congo in armed forays and sowed death among the Congolese inhabitants. Under the pretext of the right of pursuit, bombs were dropped on Congolese territory by Portuguese aircraft, shells were fired over the frontier by Portuguese guns, and the territorial integrity of the Congo was violated by Portuguese soldiers.

28. The members of the Special Committee could visit camps of Angolan refugees at Kinshasa itself, and there, out of the great destitution caused by colonialist repression, they could see emerging the will to resist which in the near future would ensure the victory of the Angolan patriots over their oppressors. Not far from Kinshasa there were many other refugee camps in which old people and men, women and children by the hundreds of thousands had found refuge. The sight of them told a great deal about the savagery of colonial repression and about the growing national awareness of the people under Portuguese domination; it was a constant reminder to the Congolese people of the mission which they had inherited of assisting in a particular way those brothers who were so close to them.

29. Portuguese colonialism was certainly the most obsolete and least defensible of all. It was more than anachronistic - it was mediaeval. Was it the ambition of Portugal, an under-developed country itself, to perpetuate **under-development** over immense African areas? It was at present encountering the stubborn resistance of peoples yearning to be free again. How could it hope to suppress their just demands by force of arms, obliging young Portuguese to perform four years of military service and wasting the meagre resources of the nation on war expenditure. In all parts of the world and within Portugal itself, regardless of religious or political philosophy, leaders and peoples regarded such antiquated colonialism as foolish and fruitless policy. Its continuance condemned Portugal, not to stagnation, but to decay. The final result could be only defeat, the more disastrous for its postponement.

30. It was clear therefore that the Congo would continue to extend its enthusiastic assistance to all liberation movements whose purpose was to put an end to colonial domination. It was giving the fullest support to the Angolan liberation movements and would continue to do so. It strongly urged them, however, not to regard Congolese national territory as an arena for the settlement of their disputes. Such fratricidal struggles moreover caused the Angolan people, still under domination, immeasurable harm. They meant a prolongation of their sacrifices and sufferings for the sole benefit of the common foe. Whatever the nature of the differences, it was a matter of honour and duty for the liberation movements to overcome them for the sake of the cause for which they had been fighting for nearly seven years.

31. The problem posed by the Rhodesian rebellion against the lawful authorities of the United Kingdom also directly affected the Congo because of its proximity to Zambia, with which it had important economic ties. The existence on Zambia's borders of an illegal force subject to no control could not but deeply preoccupy the Congo. The Rhodesian situation was not moving forward. The Congo had shown the patience asked of it, but patience could not be turned into tolerance.

32. Political responsibility for the Rhodesian rebellion lay with the United Kingdom. That great nation, the mother of parliaments, had helped to forge and spread through the world the idea of law, equal for all and from which none could escape. For centuries it had held up the image of a democracy in which power derived from the laws and from the will of the people. How, then, could that country permit the rule of law to be absent for so long from Rhodesia? In the name of its law the United Kingdom had succeeded in putting down rebellions and in militarily subjugating those who had attempted to escape its authority in other countries in Africa and elsewhere. Why should those now in command at Salisbury be able to avert the fate met by so many other rebels? The economic sanctions which were supposed to have produced the desired result showed themselves today to be inadequate and clearly ineffectual. It was inadmissible that a great Power responsible for world peace should leave at the Congo's borders an armed, illegal group over which no valid authority was exercised and which allowed itself to express feelings of hatred and detestation for the African nations. The Zimbabwe people, who suffered more than any other people from the establishment of an illegal régime at Salisbury, were clearly entitled to protection from the United Kingdom. The Congo would not abandon them to their fate.

33. The problem of South Africa was one which the Congo understood particularly well because it had itself suffered racial discrimination up until the end of the Belgian régime. The Congolese had known what apartheid was; different rules based on racial origin, or rather on differences of skin colour, had shaped the colonial system of government applied in the Congo. The Congolese had been belittled and humiliated; they had suffered in their flesh and in their spirit.

34. That abhorrent system must vanish, for its continuance was in itself a challenge to the fundamental principles of the United Nations. How could a Member country so blatantly disregard the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter?

Under the system of apartheid a white minority concentrated all power in its own hands. It was so organized as to maintain and extend its domination. It proposed never to submit to the law of the majority. The black peoples in that immense territory were kept in a state of economic exploitation and intellectual stagnation. Their human rights and rights as citizens were regarded as non-existent. It was inconceivable for the United Nations to remain aloof from so deplorable a situation. Millions of oppressed brothers were counting on help to hasten their deliverance. With the elimination of apartheid and the return to majority rule, a new State could quickly arise in southern Africa. Its natural riches could render it happy and prosperous. The important thing was to prevent the enslavement of its people from continuing.

35. There were, however, startling contradictions. He would not speak of the astonishing verdict rendered at The Hague. A resolution had been adopted by the United Nations General Assembly which was clear, straightforward and consistent with the principles of law. A way to implement that resolution must be found. In the discussions concerning South West Africa much had been said about the defunct League of Nations, and it might be well to recall why that organization, in which the peoples had placed so much hope, had ceased to exist. The reason for its demise had been the egoism of the Powers which had refused to give effect to the decisions which they themselves had adopted. That reflection on the past should help to safeguard the future. It was unthinkable that the formal resolutions of the United Nations should be treated as meaningless, particularly by one of the Organization's own Member States. If such non-compliance was tolerated further, the very future of the Organization would be in jeopardy.

36. He had touched on only a few problems - those closest to the Congo and most distressing to the African conscience. Clearly, much remained to be done in the sphere of decolonization. The time for sincerity had come. Procrastination was no longer possible. The questions had been clearly put and the principles agreed upon; the answers could be only positive. But without the necessary sincerity all that would be nothing but an exercise in deception for which the still-colonized peoples would pay the price.

37. The great Powers had decided that it should be they who bore responsibility for the peace of the world. The world was not, however, at peace when subjugated people rose up in revolt. It was not at peace when those entitled to live in freedom and dignity as citizens were held in subjection. If the implementation of the principles of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations was sincerely desired, then there could be no doubt that the colonial régimes, a remnant of the past, would soon be coming to an end. If, unhappily, the acceptance of the principles and decisions should be only verbal, the liberation of subject peoples would come to pass anyway, through the will of the peoples themselves. But how much conflict and upheaval, how much delay in the building up of a true community of free nations, would result from the equivocal position in which those peoples would have been left.

38. Therefore, on behalf of the Congolese people and Government and on his own behalf, he expressed the hope that the Special Committee's deliberations would be fruitful and his sincere wishes for the success of its work.

General Statements

39. The Chairman expressed to the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Special Committee's deep appreciation of his inspiring address, which would be of great assistance in its work. He conveyed the Committee's sincere gratitude for the invitation to begin its meetings in Africa in the historic city of Kinshasa, and for the hospitality and fraternal welcome extended to it.

40. The vigilance and valour of the Government and people of the Congo against the forces of reaction, colonialism and neo-colonialism had earned for them a place in the hearts of freedom-loving people everywhere. The Special Committee therefore considered it a signal honour to be meeting at Kinshasa. The common concern for the liquidation of colonialism in all its manifestations had long made the Committee and the Government and people of the Congo comrades in arms. They shared the same ideals, set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which asserted the absolute right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence.

41. Seven years previously the plight of the Congo had been a cause of international alarm and crisis, brought about by the despoilation of its material

assets and the neglect of its human and spiritual resources during colonial rule, followed by the attempted sabotage of its independence and the sacrifice of one of Africa's most beloved martyrs, Patrice Lumumba. The resultant confusion had been intensified and prolonged by the manoeuvres of the preposterous Tshombe, whose name had become the byword of treason and intrigue, and who had met the fate reserved for all traitors of Africa. It was not surprising that Africa's enemies had anticipated, and faint-hearted Africans had feared, a future for the Congo of continued economic and political instability, deteriorating into disintegration and possible recolonization. Those forebodings had been proved wrong, and the accession of General Mobutu to the presidency had been hailed as the return of dignity and integrity.

42. During the past year, the administrative structure had been overhauled and Congolese control over the national economy and natural resources strengthened. The Government and people had been tackling with vigour the vast work of national reconstruction and of consolidating their independence. The Congolese Government had moved to a commendable position of non-alignment internationally and into the forefront of support for measures to strengthen African unity and independence. Having saved itself by its own exertions, the new Congo was well placed to assist in the salvation of all Africa by its example.

43. The Special Committee was therefore honoured and privileged to be meeting now in the Democratic Republic; all its members looked forward to achieving fruitful and constructive results, inspired by the indomitable Congolese people and their dynamic Government. Its meetings at Kinshasa had opened at a time when the forces of colonialism had cast a gloomy shadow over the international scene in furtherance of their own sinister designs to hold the remaining dependent territories in perpetual bondage. The Committee was increasingly concerned that progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had fallen far short of expectations. In particular, owing to the deliberate opposition or non-co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, the serious colonial problems in southern Africa and in the Arabian peninsula had shown no perceptible progress towards a peaceful solution. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination, in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Aden, had deteriorated so seriously that it constituted a grave threat to international peace and security.

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44. The Special Committee's desire to visit the colonial Territories and gain first-hand experience of the situation had been frustrated by the negative attitude of the administering Powers concerned, but its meetings in Africa and the Near East would facilitate the appearance before it of the representatives of national liberation movements who found it impossible to travel to New York. They would also reaffirm the solidarity of the United Nations with the colonial peoples in their legitimate fight to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and would further enhance the Committee's capacity to assist those peoples in fulfilling their desire for freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter.

45. The Special Committee's main function during its meetings at Kinshasa would be to assess the degree of compliance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as concerned the Portuguese colonies, particularly Angola. That resolution, embodying the Declaration, symbolized the passing of the barbarous system of colonialism, and ushered in a new era in international affairs, marked by the accession to independence of many Asian and African nations. The fact that the people of Angola was not numbered among them was not due to any lack of desire or determination on their part. They had constantly signified their desire to be free, and had striven by every legitimate and constitutional means to exercise their inherent right to self-determination and independence. To all their appeals and legitimate efforts, the Portuguese Government had opposed a stubborn and vain refusal. Based as it was on the fascist system of repression and police rule, it had sought to stem the tide of nationalism and unity surging through Africa. In order to continue to drain the human and material resources of Angola for the benefit of their backward and stagnant country, the Portuguese authorities uninhibitedly practised wanton barbarism, mass terrorism and genocide in Africa.

46. The indigenous inhabitants had responded in the only manner compatible with dignity and honour: by taking up arms and opposing their fascist oppressors. The world was witnessing the killings and counter-killings and maimings which Portuguese obduracy and stupidity had made inevitable. While the United Nations might not condone in principle the use of force and the shedding of blood, in the case of Angola it was understandable. The rights of dependent peoples to self-determination and independence had been affirmed by the Charter and reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Moreover, in several subsequent resolutions the General

Assembly had explicitly recognized the legitimacy of the fight by the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for the exercise of those rights, and had invited all States to give them moral and material assistance.

47. The fight had been and would continue to be difficult, for the Salazar régime was aided by powerful allies - especially some Western Powers within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and their collaborators in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia - who were determined to perpetuate the subjugation of the people of the Territories under colonialist domination. They would be sadly disappointed for, as history had shown, no human power could destroy a people's determination to be free and independent.

48. The Special Committee was mindful of the noble efforts of the Government and people of the Congo on behalf of their African brothers in Angola, where the Portuguese colonialists were waging a war of extermination against those who asked only to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The Committee deplored Portugal's attempts to subvert constituted authority in independent African States and thus make it safe for the forces of reaction in southern Africa. It condemned the threats and molestations by the Salazar régime aimed at forcing the Governments of independent African States to abandon their sacred responsibilities towards the colonized part of southern Africa.

49. He wished to pay a special tribute to the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their courageous stand against the forces of Portuguese colonialism. Although preoccupied with internal problems and bedevilled by problems engineered by the neo-colonialists, they had gone to great lengths to give moral and material assistance to the African people of Angola who were denied their fundamental human rights. The Committee was happy to be able to learn at first hand, near the theatre of conflict, the progress of the struggle for freedom and independence in the Portuguese colonies. It confidently hoped that it would thus be enabled to formulate specific recommendations as a constructive contribution to the solution of the problem. Portugal was the poorest and most backward country in Europe: but for the aid received through NATO from some Western countries, it could not continue its barbaric acts. The Committee appealed to those countries not to help Portugal. They must know that those acts were incompatible not only

with the United Nations Charter but also with the very democracy that they always professed to defend.

50. He addressed to the leaders of all liberation movements a sincere appeal for unity in the fight for freedom. They too were conscious of the fact that the forces of reaction would not hesitate to exploit and welcome any differences in the liberation movements with a view to postponing the ultimate liquidation of colonial régimes. Those leaders were painfully aware that the fight for the elimination of colonialism would be a particularly difficult one in southern Africa - the strongest bastion of colonial interests. As had been emphasized by all heads of African Governments, the independence of existing African States was meaningless unless linked with total liberation from colonial rule; any setbacks in the fight for the liberation of colonial territories in Africa was a setback to the vital interests of all African States, and any humiliation to the Africans under colonial rule a humiliation to all Africans. Hence his plea for unity of thought, purpose and action, which was indispensable if the elimination of colonialism was to be achieved with the least possible delay.

51. The representative of Ethiopia associated his delegation with the tribute paid by the Chairman to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for inviting the Special Committee to Kinshasa and for the excellent hospitality they had offered. He also thanked President Mobutu for his very inspiring statement to the Committee. The leader and people of the Congo had clearly shown their determination to be in the forefront of the fight for the total emancipation of Africa. Needless to say, Africans welcomed that determination, especially in view of all the sufferings and deprivation that the Congo had undergone in the colonial and post-colonial era.

52. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1960, was an expression of the common desire and readiness to abolish all vestiges of colonialism without delay. The colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea called Portuguese Guinea, and the colonialist machinations in Zimbabwe and elsewhere, showed that the

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objectives laid down in the Declaration were still far from being achieved. It was for that reason that the Special Committee, as the moral conscience of humanity, once again raised its voice on behalf of the world's oppressed peoples.

53. Events in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe showed that colonialism was indeed a canker spreading evil, unrest and the danger of broader conflict. It was the duty of the Committee members to bring home to the remaining colonial Powers the futility of their policy of oppression and suppression, for no matter how long and bitter the fight might be, there could be no doubt about the outcome. For that reason he called upon the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique and other colonial areas to redouble their efforts to achieve freedom and self-determination for their countries, secure in the knowledge that all progressive mankind stood behind them.

54. The Ethiopian delegation would make known its views on the individual items of the agenda as they were taken up. It would do everything in its power to facilitate the Special Committee's work.

55. The representative of India expressed his sincere appreciation to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Kinshasa, which gave it the opportunity of discussing some of the most important problems in the proximity of the colonial Territories concerned. By their invitation the Government and people of the Congo had manifested the deep interest they had always taken in decolonization since they had acquired independence nearly seven years ago. The name of the late Patrice Lumumba would continue to inspire millions of people in the colonial Territories throughout the world. It was not surprising that his successors, and in particular the new régime under the leadership of General Mobutu, should continue to keep the torch of freedom burning. He paid a particular tribute to the practical assistance which the Democratic Republic of the Congo was providing to the people of Angola in their fight for freedom.

56. The statement by the President of the Republic contained important points to which the Special Committee should give serious thought.

57. During its stay at Kinshasa the Committee would devote particular attention to the problems of Angola and Guinea called Portuguese Guinea. The Indian delegation attached the highest importance to the attainment of freedom by those and indeed

all other colonial Territories. The people of India - like those of the Congo - had suffered from colonial rule for many years and was therefore fully aware of the indignities which colonial peoples had to undergo. India too had experienced Portuguese colonial rule for several hundred years. The Indian people had argued and reasoned with the Portuguese, but in the end they had had to use the only language which the Portuguese seemed to understand - the language of force. All those factors made India's commitment to help free its brethren in the colonial Territories irrevocable. It condemned the barbarous rule of Portugal in its colonies, which perhaps surpassed all previous colonial systems in the brutality of its suppression. He pledged his delegation's unreserved support in removing the ugly cancer of colonialism from the face of the earth.

58. It too was particularly gratifying to his delegation that the Committee was meeting in Kinshasa, because India enjoyed very friendly relations with the Democratic Republic. India had had the honour of assisting the Congolese people in overcoming the external forces of reaction, which had sought to divide the country soon after its independence, and had thus helped to maintain its territory's integrity and sovereignty. The delegations of the two countries in the United Nations worked very closely together in all issues, particularly colonial issues. He had very pleasant personal memories of his previous stay at the Indian Embassy in Kinshasa from 1961 to 1963.

59. The Indian delegation wished the friendly people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo success in all their activities.

60. The representative of Iran sincerely thanked the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their kind invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Kinshasa, a city which had been so deeply involved in the fight for freedom and independence. The meetings would be a tribute to the memory of the Congo's national leader, one of the world's great champions of freedom, Patrice Lumumba, whose ideals, indomitable spirit and legacy could not fail to inspire the Committee's work. The opening address by President Mobutu had been a further affirmation of the Congo's determination to fight colonialism.

61. The interest of the Iranian Government in vigorously pursuing a policy aimed at the total eradication of colonialism derived from the conviction that lasting world peace could be attained only by striking at the roots of the injustices which so many suffered at the hands of so few. Colonialism was one of the world's most flagrant forms of injustice; it bred hatred and thrived on subjugation. Even though most of Africa was free, certain parts continued to suffer injustice and, as President Mobutu had said, freedom-loving peoples could not rest content so long as any part of the continent remained the refuge of the oppressor. The valiant peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, (Bissau), Zimbabwe and South West Africa, among others, were continuing the fight for independence, each in accordance with its own particular circumstances. Their struggle was also that of the States represented in the Committee; it was therefore the Committee's primary function to mobilize all international efforts to ensure its success. Any setback in the campaign to liberate the oppressed peoples in any part of Africa was a setback for the whole of Africa, but he was confident that, no matter how much longer the Portuguese, the South Africans and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia clung to their oppressive rule, the day would soon come, when Africans would once again be born free. It was against that background that he wished to pay a tribute to the valiant contribution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the fight against tyranny and oppression in Africa.

62. The representative of Venezuela thanked the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their warm welcome and proverbial hospitality. The Democratic Republic - an independent part of the African continent - would provide a stimulating setting for the Special Committee's work. The progress of the Republic since its independence was a constant source of satisfaction and encouraged further efforts to uproot the anachronistic colonial system and eliminate the policy of racial discrimination which was unfortunately still being practised in many parts of the continent.

63. Venezuela and Latin America as a whole were bound to the African continent not only by historical ties but also by the interests common to all developing countries

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and, above all, by the ideal of liberty. His delegation wished to pay special tribute to those Congolese who had given their lives in the battle for freedom.

64. Venezuela's solidarity with the African nations was shown by its firm support of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and no political, economic or strategic consideration would ever cause it to waver. The fifth special session of the General Assembly on the problem of South West Africa was self-explanatory. The joint draft resolution submitted by the African, Asian and Latin American groups reiterated their firm resolve to continue the fight against the forces of colonialism.

65. The opinion of his delegation could be summed up in a saying of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator: "He who does not cherish liberty will be hounded by misfortune and universal censure." Those words expressed a philosophy fully shared by his country. History was an irreversible process. Those who still practised colonialism would eventually be overcome by the determination of the countries which had chosen the path of history, as had the Democratic Republic of the Congo which had invited the Special Committee as a gesture of solidarity with its African brothers still under the colonial yoke.

66. The Special Committee's work during its meetings in Africa and the Middle East was of special importance in the decolonization process. Its presence was not only a symbol of its earnest concern for the development of self-determination and independence, but also a renewed effort to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism. Its meetings would certainly provide first-hand information and new material for inclusion in the already voluminous archives on those who defied the most elementary principles of the United Nations Charter and universal morality. It would thus be possible once again to appeal for justice in the General Assembly against the supporters of colonialism and the nations responsible for the policy of apartheid.

67. The various Territories included in the programme of work were of such importance that he would deal with each extensively in the individual discussions on each territory.

68. His delegation was, as always, ready to support unreservedly any measure in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations likely to expedite the

implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other dependent countries. It denounced, in particular, Portugal's action against the Congolese people, who had welcomed the Angolan refugees, and categorically condemned Portugal's colonial war.

69. He strongly deplored the absence of the United Kingdom delegation and the lamentable failure of that country to co-operate with the Special Committee in its work. Its absence was all the more regrettable because the United Kingdom was politically responsible for granting independence to Southern Rhodesia. However, he assured the Zimbabwe people that their struggle would not be in vain and that the days of Ian Smith's racist minority Government were numbered.

70. South West Africa would understand that the principles of human rights, which the South African Government did not respect, made it necessary to open the way for the peaceful transfer of the Territory, as a first step towards final independence.

71. The work of the Special Committee in Africa and the Middle East was therefore of special significance, as a step towards eradicating colonialism in accordance with the highest principles of the United Nations. Optimism and an unquestioning faith in Africa's destiny should be the keynote of the Committee's discussions. Until Africa was free world peace would always be in danger.

72. The representative of Sierra Leone expressed his sincere gratitude to President Mobutu for devoting some of his valuable time to opening the Special Committee's series of meetings. His address had provided much food for thought and would remain in the minds of the Committee members not only during their stay at Kinshasa but also throughout their travels and in New York. The President was leader of a people whose recent history was marked by upheaval and a grim fight for independence; and his people had first-hand experience of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The President's presence at the opening meeting emphasized the great interest of the Democratic Republic in the liberation of the African peoples. During their short time at Kinshasa, all delegations had had the opportunity to appreciate the spontaneous welcome of the Congolese, which was typical of all African peoples.

73. The Democratic Republic's proximity to the scene of the crimes committed in the Portuguese Territories, its own struggles to rid itself of colonial rule and its battle against neo-colonialism had commanded general respect. He had been requested by the Chairman and members of the National Reformation Council of Sierra Leone to express, on their behalf and on behalf of the people of Sierra Leone, their best wishes to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with which Sierra Leone had long-standing ties. Some of the people of the Congo had settled in Sierra Leone over 150 years before on their return from slavery and had founded a town, called Congo Town, which they had made their home. People from Sierra Leone had also travelled to the Congo some fifty years before at the request of their employers and had settled there. Sierra Leone had taken part in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo and a contingent of its soldiers had been there during those very difficult days.

74. Turning to the matter of decolonization, he recalled that, on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1514 (XV), the Magna Carta of freedom for colonial peoples. Four months later, Sierra Leone had become independent and the 100th Member of the United Nations. Since then progress in decolonization had been slow. Africa was still burdened with the archaic thinking of Salazar, who wished to turn Africans into Portuguese; it was confronted by Ian Smith and his 200,000 Whites who insisted on ruling 4 million indigenous Africans. The Government of South Africa, not content with maintaining the policy of apartheid in its own territory was also applying it in South West Africa and defying the United Nations its right to rule that Territory. No less important were the Spanish Territories of Equatorial Guinea, Ifni and the Spanish Sahara, although in them there had been some slight progress towards liberation. Swaziland was still on the list of colonial Territories and the question of French Somaliland had not yet been solved. A large part of Africa therefore was still under the colonial yoke. Aden and Oman continued to present difficulties, even though it had been agreed that the former would become independent no later than 1968. The important question was the type of independence contemplated. Another problem was that of the smaller islands in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, all of which should have the right to self-determination, whatever their size. If they decided to remain

associated in one form or another with a larger Power, they should be entitled to reconsider that decision at specified intervals and to terminate it unilaterally at any time.

75. The African countries had been accused of being emotional about racial matters and of making the struggle against them their main interest. They had however experienced colonial rule in the twentieth century, had seen their natural resources drained and justifiably intended to halt that trend. They had also suffered under colonial rule, insults and a consequent loss of human dignity. It was therefore not surprising that all Africans were united in the fight to free their brothers, who were still dominated by colonial Powers. They would continue the fight with greater vigour until all Africa was free of that scourge, but they would not rest there; they would also help their brothers across the seas until all nations became free.

76. Portugal continued to wage war on Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, so-called Portuguese Guinea; that small, poor European country continued its vicious attack on people whose only crime was their wish to be free and to exercise their rights under the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights. The fight would continue, for the spirit of Africa never would be broken. Other colonial Powers had already learnt that lesson.

77. In Rhodesia Ian Smith was boasting that economic sanctions had failed. They had done so because unscrupulous businessmen in countries, which paid lip service to the Security Council's resolution but refused to restrain their citizens, continued to trade with Rhodesia directly or through third parties.

78. A few days before, the South African Government had dealt in first reading with a Bill intended to extend powers of arrest and detention of Africans in South and South West Africa. As if to show its contempt for the General Assembly, it was timing the Bill to coincide with the conclusion of the debate on that Territory. Such events could continue because some nations of the world did not practise what they preached. Great nations were spending thousands of millions of dollars in many areas to further the ideology that a great Power could not allow one country to dominate another. Many thousands of people had died for that cause, yet those great Powers did little to implement the fundamental right to freedom in Africa and

elsewhere. The continued efforts of Salazar, Ian Smith and Vorster to force their will on the Africans both individually and collectively could only be regarded as the domination of one group by another. Those States and the people who assisted the enemies of freedom should be condemned. It was regrettable that the administering Powers continued to cling to their Territories and refused inspection by the United Nations, as if they had something to hide.

79. With all the energy it could muster, Sierra Leone would continue to strive for the expulsion of the colonial Powers from Africa. His Government reaffirmed General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Charter and the principles of human rights. It would carry out their principles and continue the fight with all its might as it had done since Sierra Leone's independence six years before.

80. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Congolese Government and people for having invited the Committee to meet at Kinshasa. He had listened with great interest to the address by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo setting forth his Government's position in the struggle against colonialism and stressing the irreversible character of national liberation movements. The Committee's present session was opening in the heart of Africa, in a country where racists and colonialists had done their utmost to perpetuate the colonial régime and where armed interventions had cost the lives of a great many patriots. Despite all those obstacles, however, the Congo had succeeded in gaining its independence. The Soviet people, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, were gratified by the historic transformations of the old order that had taken place in Africa. The Africans' wish to put a permanent end to colonial régimes and to combat neo-colonialism had always had the support of the Soviet Union. The process of liquidating the colonial system in Africa had gone forward because of the struggle waged by the African peoples themselves, but the United Nations had played an important role in adopting, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, resolution 1514 (XV) setting forth the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration reflected the efforts of the greater part of mankind to put an end to the infamous manifestations of colonialism. Since the resolution's adoption in 1960, 50 million human beings had thrown off the

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colonial yoke and twenty independent States had been formed. The task was far from being completed, however, for bastions of colonialism still existed in Africa and the Near East.

81. The Committee's task was to contribute all it could to the final elimination of colonialism. That was the point of the present session away from Headquarters, for the Committee could meet at places not far from where the colonialists were pursuing their reactionary policies and could learn of the methods they were using. There was no doubt that the direct participation in the Committee's deliberations of the African peoples fighting for freedom would make it easier to find the means of implementing resolution 1514 (XV). The Committee must pursue that task until no single piece of land remained in the hands of the racists. The struggle against colonialism must be intensified, for the continued existence of a number of reactionary centres posed a direct threat to the young States that had recently won their freedom. The basic purpose of the present session must be to work out measures for rendering political, moral and any other forms of aid to the national liberation movements and for forcing the colonial Powers to implement the decisions of the United Nations. To that end the Committee must co-operate with the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League and all others seeking to assist the peoples striving for freedom. The first objective of the Committee's work should remain the emancipation from colonial oppression of the large colonial territories of Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Guinea (Bissau) in Africa, and Aden and Oman in the Arabian peninsula.

82. The focal point of racism at present was South Africa, where the colonial Powers and imperialist monopolies exerted their influence. Acts of ruthless repression were perpetrated there. The region had witnessed the creation of a bloc of white countries - the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia - into which the South African Government had drawn South West Africa. The object of the bloc, acting in league with the colonial Powers and imperialist monopolies, was to preserve the domination of the racists and colonialists in the colonial territories and exert pressure on the young African States. The activities of the monopolies, supported by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, constituted an obstacle to the liberation of the African continent. The Committee should study the significant role the monopolies played in the perpetuation of the colonial order. It should make recommendations on that subject to the General Assembly, in whose agenda for the twenty-second session it had been decided to include a separate item on the activities of international /.

monopolies in colonies. It was for the Committee to determine who was responsible for the failure to implement the decisions of the United Nations. His delegation also hoped that the Committee would devote attention to the military activities of the colonial Powers and to the presence in some territories of military bases, which were a further obstacle to the liberation of the oppressed peoples. The colonial Powers continued to establish military bases for use against the national liberation movement and the new independent States. The South African racists made use of the bases in South West Africa to suppress the national liberation movement and exert pressure on neighbouring countries. Portugal used its bases in Angola and Mozambique not only locally but also against the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It continued to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Congolese people, to enjoy the support of its partners in South Africa and to receive economic and military aid from the members of NATO, especially the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. It also received assistance from the United Nations and particularly from the International Bank. The Committee should recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of decisions which would put an end to Portugal's colonialist activities.

83. In Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom was endeavouring to protect its own interests and to safeguard the position of the imperialist monopolies. The Committee should study the situation and find the means of solving the problem speedily.

84. The Soviet Union had always stressed the need for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to be given effect. It had always declared its support for the demands of the African peoples and for the elimination of racist régimes. It believed that the day was near when the last centres of colonialism would be destroyed. It was gratified that the Committee's proceedings were being conducted by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who discharged the important duties of Chairman with great energy and ability.

85. The Soviet delegation was prepared to co-operate in making the present session a success. It would unite its efforts with those of other delegations in order that the problem of colonialism might be solved in accordance with the lofty principles of the Charter.

86. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania thanked the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their invitation to the Special Committee to meet at Kinshasa, which was an expression of the deep-rooted tradition of hospitality of the African people. There existed strong fraternal bonds between the people of his country and those of the Congo, bonds which were being

strengthened by the efforts to unite the peoples of Africa. By their unity and solidarity they would march ever more strongly forward to defeat the forces of reaction and the aggressive imperialist offensive and so achieve the complete liberation of the African continent. It was no secret that such forces feared the unity of the African people and the mammoth achievements of the liberated African countries.

87. The independence of the Congo had been won at the costly sacrifice of its heroic sons, the most eminent and beloved of whom had been Patrice Lumumba. The material and spiritual achievements of the Congolese people were evident, and his delegation was convinced that, under the leadership of their Government, they would achieve further and greater victories in developing their country.

88. He expressed his appreciation of the wise and precise observations made by President Mobutu in addressing the Special Committee and associated himself with the remarks made by the Chairman.

89. He agreed with the representative of Venezuela that it was indeed regrettable that the United Kingdom delegation had once again decided not to join the Special Committee at its meetings away from Headquarters, a fact that was the more regrettable since the Committee would be discussing very serious situations which were the direct result of the colonial policies of that Government. Its absence cast doubts on the sincerity of the many professions it had made of its wish to co-operate with the Committee.

90. Since the present meeting was the first in Africa, it would be useful to analyse briefly the existing situation with respect to decolonization but, in doing so, he did not wish to minimize or magnify the problems facing colonial countries and peoples. Decolonization had to be viewed from a position of principle, but emphasis might rightly be placed on a particular situation in view of the consequences that might arise if the situation was prolonged. In that connexion, the colonial problem, created by the aggressive designs of the imperialist Powers, was undoubtedly most urgent in Africa.

91. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which, on the occasion of its adoption in 1960, had been hailed by all peace-loving peoples as an important stage in the revolt of the human conscience against the enormities of colonialism and as a milestone in the history of the United Nations, was an unequivocal condemnation of

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the exploitation of man by man through the colonial system. It was a declaration by the progressive forces that they intended to fight colonialism to the bitter end, in order not only to achieve the independence of the colonized peoples but also to liberate man's energy and resources for the general progress of humanity. Colonialism, which involved the brutal suppression of human beings, was definitely not a peaceful system and the fight against it was an integral part of the fight for peace.

92. The continued existence of Portuguese colonialism in Africa - a most shameful page in the annals of human history - was the direct result of the material support given to fascist Portugal by its NATO allies, for it was obvious that Portugal, a poor, weak, primitive and demoralized country, could not wage its current costly and barbaric campaign if it was not a tool of international imperialism and a convenient overseer of the exploitation by foreign capitalist monopolies of the abundant riches of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique. Studies by the United Nations and other institutions had revealed the barefaced exploitation of the Territories under Portuguese domination by capitalist monopolies originating in the Western countries. Thus, the mining revenue alone from Angola in 1966 had been estimated at more than 3,000 million escudos, the bulk of which had gone to monopolies such as the subsidiaries of the former Union Minière and the Angola Diamond Company. The latter had made a clear profit of over 170 million escudos.

93. Such exploitation, in itself immoral and unjust, formed part of the stratagems used to suppress the people of Angola, and a study by the Special Committee had revealed that the colonialists had received major donations from those capitalist sources for what was cynically called "the defence of Angola".

94. The gallant people of Angola had for years attempted to obtain by peaceful means their national right to sovereignty and independence and the United Nations had passed countless resolutions reaffirming those rights, yet the Portuguese colonialists continued to use the most modern and sophisticated forms of warfare to suppress them. The so-called "defence" was thus aggression against the Angolan people. Information available to the United Nations showed that there were more than 400 airfields and landing strips in Angola, twenty-seven of which could accommodate the largest aircraft capable of operating within the Territory, and that the Portuguese were deploying against the patriots an estimated 700 fighter

planes, many of modern design, together with such aircraft as the Lockheed Harpoon PV-2 bomber.

95. That situation was contrary to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other General Assembly resolutions and was also incompatible with the principles of the Charter. Moreover, the continued existence of Portuguese colonialism constituted a dangerous threat to the peace and stability of adjoining parts of Africa. The henchmen of Portuguese imperialism had launched countless aggressive campaigns against independent and sovereign countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and Tanzania.

96. The patient African peoples had always considered that the problem of colonialism in general, and of Portuguese colonialism in particular, could be solved peacefully. It was for that reason that his country supported the principles of the Charter and the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Countless resolutions had been adopted by the United Nations calling upon Portugal and its Western allies to change their attitude and to restore to the African peoples their sovereign rights and liberties. Time and again the international forces of reaction and plunder had defied those resolutions. It was high time that Portugal and its allies took stock of their responsibilities. Tanzania, in its endeavour to ensure that the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV) were achieved with the minimum of further difficulties, was prepared to do everything within its power to enforce respect for United Nations resolutions and considered it the duty of every freedom-loving human being to join in the honourable struggle to achieve the liberation of the Territories under Portuguese domination. It thus called upon the Angolan patriots to redouble their efforts to liberate their motherland and associated itself with the Chairman's appeal to them to make every effort to unite in their fight.

97. The same vicious and aggressive system as existed in Angola had brought about the usurpation of the African people's rights by the racist white minority in Southern Rhodesia and was holding South West Africa prisoner in defiance of international opinion. The same system was causing bloodshed in South Arabia and riding roughshod over the peoples in other parts of the world.

98. The Special Committee was well aware of the many resolutions adopted by the Committee and the General Assembly with a view to achieving the full implementation

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of resolution 1514 (XV). In these resolutions certain action had been called for on the part of the various United Nations agencies and organs. He requested the Secretariat to prepare and distribute a working paper showing the various requests that had been made together with the action, if any, that had been taken to comply with them. Particular attention should also be paid to the aid, of whatever nature, which might have been given to the national liberation movements and what criteria they were required to meet in order to qualify for such aid.

99. The representative of Mali expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for its kind invitation to the Special Committee. Mali appreciated the true worth of that act of statesmanship by a sister Republic occupying a strategic position in Africa and the world. History had ordained that the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania should be islands of liberty and hope for millions of African nationalists waging a bitter and noble struggle against the colonialism and imperialism which oppressed that part of Africa.

100. By accepting that kind invitation, the Special Committee had wished to demonstrate its solidarity with the worthy sons of Africa who were bearing arms in the fight against the injustice of the colonial régimes. He recalled the sacrifice made six years previously by Emery Patrice Lumumba, that great son of Africa, so that freedom and dignity might return to African soil. Patrice Lumumba had given his life so that Africa in general, and the Congo in particular, could again become free, so that the exploitation of man by man should for ever disappear from the continent and so that Africans could combine their energies, potential and genius to construct a better world, on a basis of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination recognized by the United Nations Charter.

101. The message left by Patrice Lumumba would guide the African people in their struggle for the final eradication of colonialism in all its forms. His delegation paid tribute to that great patriot and wished to assure its Congolese brothers of its support in their struggle for a better future. It was grateful to the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who, by his presence, had lent added solemnity to the Special Committee's work. The wisdom of his statement would certainly assist the Committee in its search for practical solutions to the grave problem of colonialism, which, unhappily, still prevailed in Africa.

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102. The Special Committee's meetings in Africa during the current year were being held in troubled times. Imperialism had returned to the attack with increased ferocity and, to safeguard sordid interests, was making a mockery of the United Nations Charter and the noble principles it contained. The world was the powerless spectator of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States; the Viet-Nameese people were being prevented from solving their problems by themselves and tension had been created in the Middle East while, at the same time, the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations proclaimed respect for the integrity of independent territories and for the right of all peoples to self-determination.

103. The failure to observe that fundamental principle was causing tension and daily menaced international peace and security. In areas not yet liberated, particularly in southern Africa, the situation grew more serious each day and was becoming a racial conflict. In Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese domination, white settlers who had usurped power were withholding all rights from the blacks, the true owners of Africa. The Western Powers, by aiding such people as Ian Smith, Salazar and Vorster, were hampering the Africans in their struggle for freedom and independence. Every day the NATO Powers, disregarding the United Nations Charter and the Special Committee's resolutions, were selling conventional and even nuclear weapons to the racist settlers, thereby enabling them to prolong their domination despite the condemnation of international opinion.

104. The debates on the question of South West Africa during the General Assembly's special session had shown that colonialism understood only one language, that of force. His delegation did not believe that the Africans and Arabs would be condemned for having taken arms to free their countries. It therefore paid tribute to the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Aden, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere, who were fighting valiantly for independence and freedom. It had always upheld their just cause and would not fail to meet its obligations. It would give moral and material assistance to all nationalists fighting for freedom and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was convinced that the Special Committee's work during the current year would once again be extremely successful since, despite the plots of the imperialists, the Africans were

determined to regain their independence. Mali would denounce the activities of the colonialists who were shamefully exploiting the human and material riches of the Africans in the Territories not yet liberated, despite their obligation under the Charter to help such peoples and prepare them to manage their own affairs.

105. His delegation would make a detailed statement at a later stage on the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. Nevertheless, it wished to take the opportunity afforded it to appeal to all Angolan nationalists to unite and drive the Portuguese occupier into the sea. Their disagreements served the cause of Salazar to the detriment of Africa. The African peoples could not understand the fratricidal struggle between the Gouvernement Révolutionnaire de l'Angola en Exil (GRAE) and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA). It was time for them to unite, in order to speed the process of decolonization in the Territory of Angola. It was their duty to do so because, as President Mobutu had so rightly observed, there could be no peace for any African country so long as any portion of African soil remained under the yoke of colonialism.

106. His delegation's references to the threat to international peace and security posed by colonialism were not abstract. It remembered the incursions by Portuguese mercenaries into Congolese territory, in violation of the United Nations Charter, and the numerous violent and provocative acts committed against the peaceful people of the United Republic of Tanzania by Salazar's hordes, who had not even spared the peace-loving Republic of Senegal. Mali had consistently condemned such barbarous actions and would continue to do so and to support its Senegalese and Tanzanian brethren. If that situation continued it would inevitably lead to war, for which the Portuguese and their allies would bear the sole responsibility. Mali urged all the great Powers to suspend their aid to Portugal, which refused to respect the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly's resolutions.

107. Mali was confident of the outcome of the people's struggle for their right to self-determination and for the final eradication of colonialism. Colonialism was doomed. It would soon disappear if the signatories of the Charter at San Francisco and the other Member States of the United Nations were willing to respect the Charter and to implement fully the resolutions of the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council. It was high time to implement resolution 1514 (XV) in order to spare the world the further upheavals which racial discrimination supported by international capitalism could not fail to provoke.

108. His delegation reserved the right to speak again on the problems to be considered by the Special Committee. It wished once again to express its gratitude to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the great interest it was taking in the Special Committee's work.

109. The representative of Yugoslavia, having expressed his thanks to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their kind invitation to meet at Kinshasa and for the heartfelt welcome they had extended to the Special Committee, said that the invitation bore further testimony to the readiness of the Democratic Republic to make the greatest possible contribution to the fight of those peoples of Africa who were still under brutal colonial domination. The Congolese people had suffered greatly in fighting for their freedom from colonialist and neo-colonialist forces but, as President Mobutu had stated in his impressive address, they were determined to help in the complete elimination of colonialism from African soil.

110. The colonialist and neo-colonialist forces, in their attempt to perpetuate their exploitation of the rich natural resources of the country, had resorted to the most brutal use of force and military intervention, and the Congolese people, in frustrating their plans, had made enormous sacrifices, particularly that of Patrice Lumumba, the great champion of the freedom of the Congo and of all Africa. He was confident that the ideals for which Patrice Lumumba had laid down his life would be attained and that all Africa would in the end be free of imperialistic threats, colonial subjugation and merciless exploitation, despite the use made by the racists and fascists of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa of their material superiority as a means of blackmail, pressure and interference.

111. His delegation was well aware that the fight of the African people for liberation, and the efforts of the Special Committee to assist them, would be no easy task. It fully realized that colonialist and neo-colonialist forces were doing everything in their power to halt decolonization and to retain and strengthen their strongholds in certain regions of Africa, especially those which they considered to be vital to their political, strategic and economic interests. It was obvious that the racist minority régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and a backward and isolated country like Portugal, could not hold vast areas and

peoples in their thrall, without material assistance from elsewhere. In the case of the Territories under Portuguese domination, for example, if the only opposition facing the international community had been that of Portugal, the peoples of those Territories would have attained their liberation years before. Owing, however, to the material, military and moral help which powerful NATO allies were rendering to Salazar, Portugal had been able to continue its domination of a considerable part of Africa. The meek denunciations of the fascist policy of Portugal and other racist régimes in southern Africa by some of Portugal's allies could not conceal the glaring truth.

112. The intensification of the activities of various international monopolies in the colonial Territories, which tended to consolidate the racist régimes of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, were seriously impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Portuguese armed forces, in their war against the fight for freedom of the peoples under its domination, were using weapons acquired through their membership in NATO, or under bilateral agreements concluded with some of their allies. Foreign military bases were being established or reinforced in the colonial Territories and constituted a fundamental obstacle to the liberation of the colonial peoples and an instrument of pressure on neighbouring States. Moreover, the moral support, which was manifested even in the United Nations, received by the racist régimes from their partners and the latter's refusal to put numerous United Nations resolutions into effect made it possible for those régimes to continue their abhorrent policy. Colonial strongholds established on African soil not only served to perpetuate economic exploitation of the Territories for the benefit of colonial rulers but also enabled the colonialists to interfere directly in the affairs of independent countries and thus hamper their political and economic development. It was clear from the facts revealed to the Special Committee that colonial wars and repressive measures against the African populations were part of a larger plan devised by the reactionary forces to preserve their foreign, political and economic interests.

113. That policy of force and pressure was being applied not only in Africa but also in other parts of the world, the most extreme example being Viet-Nam. Dangerous activities by the reactionaries were also evident in the Middle East,

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where attempts were being made to impose feudal rule on Aden despite the determined fight by the great majority of its people for independence.

114. Yugoslavia had always supported the fully justified and legitimate fight for freedom of peoples under colonial domination. The international community and the United Nations had a special responsibility to help such peoples to exercise their rights and freely to determine their own destiny. The world Organization bore that responsibility not only in view of its emphasis on the principles of self-determination and independence but also because it was only by discharging that responsibility that it could fully carry out its primary mission of safeguarding and consolidating world peace. The great majority of the world's people had come to realize that the vestiges of colonialism constituted the most immediate threat to international peace and security.

115. The Special Committee had for years been entrusted with a highly responsible assignment: the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and, although, in view of the obstacles placed in its path by colonial and neo-colonial forces, it had not accomplished spectacular results, it had made a substantial contribution by bringing to the notice of the international community the conditions in which the colonized peoples were living and the legitimacy of their fight for national liberation.

116. The current visit to Africa, which would enable his delegation to learn new facts about the colonialist plans and activities and the efforts of the peoples in their fight for freedom, would also enable the Special Committee to help the United Nations to accelerate the decolonization process and to render more practical assistance to the national liberation movements.

117. The United Kingdom's decision not to participate in the Committee's work in Africa was very disappointing.

118. The representative of Bulgaria associated himself with previous speakers in expressing gratitude to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Congolese people for the cordial welcome they had given the Special Committee. The invitation to meet at Kinshasa was a friendly gesture to the Special Committee and the United Nations which his delegation warmly appreciated and which showed how deeply the Congo was interested in the liberation of the

African peoples still subject to colonialist oppression. Bulgaria was linked to the Democratic Republic of the Congo by strong bonds of friendship, which it hoped to strengthen further, and his delegation had noted with pleasure the progress achieved by the great countrymen of Patrice Lumumba.

119. The debate during the General Assembly's special session and developments during the current year showed that the struggle of oppressed peoples against colonialism had entered a decisive phase. The past year had been marked by further intensification of the armed struggle of the people of southern Africa, who had inflicted heavy losses on the racist and colonialist forces. The valiant patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) had already liberated considerable areas of their Territories, in which they were now organizing a free and democratic life for the people and laying the political, economic and social foundations for future independent States.

120. Another characteristic of the new phase upon which the struggle for national liberation in Africa had entered was the ever-increasing solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces, particularly the African, Asian and socialist countries, which had redoubled their aid, both moral and material, to national liberation movements. The United Nations had also made a contribution by condemning the various manifestations of colonialism and racism in Africa, which it had described as crimes against humanity, and by appealing to all Member States to give moral and material support to the peoples fighting against the colonial and racist régimes.

121. Unhappily, it was a fact that, despite the enthusiastic struggle for national liberation and despite the support which the overwhelming majority of countries had expressed for the national liberation movements, very large areas were still under the colonial yoke, although over seven years had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That was a disturbing fact. It showed that the efforts of the anti-imperialist forces and the decolonizing activities of the United Nations must be intensified and that the Special Committee and the General Assembly must find new ways to give their decisions greater effect. They must get to the heart of the problem. They must establish the reason for the lack of decisive success in the oppressed peoples' struggle for their liberation.

122. The debates in the General Assembly had again shown the harmful results of the political, economic and military co-operation of the great Western Powers, particularly the United States, with the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa. It was quite clear that without the assistance of its NATO allies a backward country like Portugal would not have been able to withstand the pressure of the national liberation movement in Africa. The Special Committee's reports and the statements by petitioners amounted to a veritable indictment of Western monopolies and high financiers, whose malignant activities were manifest in Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and South West Africa. All the expressions of sympathy which the United States and other Western Powers might make were rendered hollow by the facts. The time had come to tell the Governments of the Western Powers and the NATO countries that their assistance to the colonial and racist régimes and their participation in the exploitation of an enslaved Africa made them accomplices to the crimes committed daily by the régimes of Salazar, Ian Smith and Vorster. Unless it was ended, their co-operation with Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would cause untold suffering and thousands of victims. It would aggravate racial hatred in Africa and that could not fail to have disastrous consequences. In resolution 2189 (XXI) on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly had once again requested the Governments of Member States to end their co-operation with the colonial Powers. That appeal had fallen on deaf ears and the debates of the Fourth Committee and the appeal to the International Bank and other specialized agencies had had no greater success. It was distressing to note that even some international organizations and agencies within the United Nations system continued to co-operate with the colonial and racist régimes. The International Telecommunication Union had officially circulated the letter from the South African Government in which it had stated that it was acceding on behalf of South West Africa to the International Telecommunication Convention. The Soviet Union had rightly drawn the attention of Member States to that fact, which was incompatible with the General Assembly's decisions, in the letter which it had sent to the Secretary-General on 26 April (A/6648). Unfortunately, that was no isolated case. The General Assembly and the Fourth Committee must examine the problem and issue clear and unambiguous guidelines and recommendations for the specialized agencies.

123. The Special Committee should take account of the fact that, as the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation and independence intensified, there was a stubborn reaction in colonialist and neo-colonialist circles. There was fierce opposition to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Nevertheless, the anti-imperialist forces were immense and capable of carrying the last bastions of imperialism. The time had come to impress upon the reactionary forces, once and for all, that the era of colonialism had passed; the time had come to mobilize all forces, including those of the United Nations, to help the oppressed peoples break the last chains of imperialism. The Committee must play its part in the achievement of those ends and, in so doing, could count on his delegation's unreserved support.

124. The representative of the United States expressed his sincere thanks and appreciation for the wise words addressed to the members of the Special Committee by President Mobutu, who had emphasized that the Committee could not wash its hands of the matter when people were being deprived of their rights, both as human beings and as citizens, of their liberty and their dignity, but must persist in its efforts to aid all peoples to obtain majority government. His delegation, Government and people entirely supported those principles and objectives and the achievement of fully representative government for all men.

125. He recalled the powerful and consistent support provided by his country, both bilaterally and through the United Nations, to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic and re-emphasized the great importance which his Government and people attached to continuing their close and friendly relations with that country. The recent visit by the Under-Secretary of State and Mrs. Katzenbach reflected their deep interest in furthering those good relations.

126. The progress achieved under the leadership of President Mobutu had laid the foundations for the more complete realization of the Congo's great human and material potential.

127. Despite overriding internal problems since its independence, the Democratic Republic had nevertheless had the generosity to share its heavily taxed resources with more than 250,000 refugees from neighbouring Angola. He was proud to say that the United States was continuing to supply large quantities of food and medicines to relieve the hardships of those refugees.

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128. His delegation was grateful for the generous hospitality provided by the Democratic Republic for the current meetings at Kinshasa.

129. He intended to deal factually at a later and appropriate stage with the numerous misrepresentations and innuendoes that had been made against his country by several delegates in their replies to the President's address.

130. The representative of Poland associated himself with the appreciation expressed by other delegations to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He had been deeply touched by the hospitality and cordiality shown. His delegation felt particularly honoured to attend meetings in the country of the great Congolese patriot and son of Africa, Patrice Lumumba.

131. He had listened with great interest and attention to the important address by President Mobutu which would greatly assist the Special Committee in its deliberations.

132. The Special Committee's decision to meet in Africa and the Near East, where extremely difficult colonial problems still persisted, reflected the growing concern of the United Nations for those Territories and its determination to ensure that their peoples gained their freedom and independence under the best possible conditions. The Committee had come to Africa to make an on-the-spot examination of the situation, to acquaint itself with the problems of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa and to continue its search for ways and means of implementing the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Nevertheless, whatever part the United Nations had played and still had to play in the process of decolonization, it would be misleading to think that it was the deciding factor in the achievement of national objectives; their fulfilment depended essentially on the determination of the colonized peoples to free themselves from foreign domination.

133. Although considerable progress in decolonization had been made during the preceding decade, the dangers inherent in the continued existence of colonial régimes had by no means decreased. That was particularly true in southern Africa, where the colonial Powers were stubbornly refusing to comply with the recommendations of the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council. It was that stubborn opposition to decolonization which constituted the common denominator

of all the items on the Committee's agenda. The problems it was called upon to discuss were closely interrelated and connected with the policy of apartheid, since Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa were not merely colonies of Portugal or the United Kingdom but virtually economic colonies of the Republic of South Africa. The United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers were together exploiting the natural resources and cheap labour of the richest part of Africa. The racial discrimination, aggression and direct military action of Salazar, Vorster and Smith were possible only because of the assistance given to them by leading NATO countries. It was clear that the colonial Powers were determined to preserve white domination in southern Africa and to further the interests of the monopolies and international financial groupings in the whole region. On the basis of studies made by the Special Committee, the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, had condemned those foreign financial and economic combines in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination for supporting colonial régimes and for seriously obstructing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The General Assembly had, in addition, called upon the Governments concerned to take steps to end such activities.

134. Despite the sincere efforts of the international community, the situation with regard to the implementation of the various recommendations was far from satisfactory and had, if anything, deteriorated. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, for example, the so-called selective sanctions had proved ineffective and the minority régime was continuing its illegal existence. The colonial wars waged by Portugal against the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were gaining momentum and the military build-up in South Africa and the Portuguese-occupied Territories was continuing. Similar imperialist aggression was also manifest in other parts of the world, particularly Viet-Nam.

135. The many resolutions adopted by various United Nations bodies calling upon the administering Powers to release political prisoners, to end states of emergency, to dismantle military bases and to grant freedom to colonial Territories in Africa, the Middle East and other parts of the world had so far been ignored.

That situation was of grave concern to the Special Committee, and the current series of meetings offered a further opportunity to bring the colonial Powers and their supporters - including some United Nations specialized agencies - to book. It was to be hoped that the Special Committee's presence in Africa would encourage the freedom fighters of Angola and other Territories, which were still enduring humiliation and exploitation under oppressive colonial régimes, and would assure them of the legitimacy of their fight, which was supported by all progressive mankind.

136. The Government and the people of Poland, by virtue of their historic traditions and the very nature of the socialist structure of the country, were opposed to national and racial oppression and stood for the immediate and full implementation of the anti-colonialist Declaration and the exercise in the shortest possible time of the legitimate rights of the colonial peoples to freedom, self-determination and independence. They considered the fight for freedom and independence to be also one for peace since, as long as colonialism existed, there could be no lasting peace in the world. In view of its principles, therefore, the Polish Government had always supported national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere and had strictly abided by all the decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council with regard to Portuguese colonial policy, apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and those relating to the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. As in the past, his delegation would continue to co-operate to the best of its ability and would support any effective measures designed to eliminate colonialism in all its manifestations and forms.

137. The representative of Chile thanked President Mobutu for his address and associated himself with the thanks expressed by the Chairman to the Congolese Government and people for the hospitality they had so generously extended.

138. Chile had great admiration and affection for the Congolese nation and was well aware of the extraordinary efforts made by its Government to achieve national reconstruction and economic and social development. The Democratic Republic was a giant by reason of its geographical situation, its vast natural wealth and, above all, its people. It was clearly destined to occupy a prominent place, not

only in Africa, but also among the nations of the world. Like the Democratic Republic, Chile possessed considerable copper resources and wished to make use of them for the welfare of its people. His Government had taken important steps in that direction, on the national level, by "Chileanizing" the mines and, on the international level, by concerting marketing arrangements with the other copper-producing countries of Africa and Latin America. A meeting of representatives of those countries was shortly to take place at Lusaka for the purpose of framing a joint policy which would enable them to obtain a just reward from their mining activities.

139. It was appropriate that the Special Committee should begin its work in the Congo since that country bordered upon the largest remaining colonial Territory. Members would have the valuable opportunity of hearing the Angolan political leaders who were fighting for their country's freedom and had already had the unforgettable experience of visiting the administrative offices, dispensaries and schools which they had so painstakingly established to aid the mass of Angolan refugees. He hoped that the Committee's presence at Kinshasa would enable it to collect and reveal to the world information which would help in the fight for Angolan independence and that it would encourage unity among the Angolan patriots.

140. Although decolonization had made great headway in the preceding fifteen years and many proud nations had emerged in Africa, a number of which were the modern representatives of old African empires that had reached a high degree of civilization, the future, though full of promise, was not without its difficulties. Nevertheless, the emergence of a free Africa was the political event of the century, although some Territories were still subjected to the hateful colonial regime, and they were precisely the most difficult cases - the ones in which foreign Powers showed the greatest obstinacy and cruelty in opposing the freedom movements. Those Powers endangered the rise of a free Africa and the harmful effects extended throughout the world since respect for human rights and the maintenance of peace were indivisible.

141. The peoples of Latin America fully supported Africa in its fight to end colonialism. They too had been colonized and rather more than 150 years before had had to sacrifice many thousands of lives to wrest their independence. In

modern times, with the existence of the United Nations and the possibility of arousing the world's conscience, it might be possible to help decisively by peaceful means to liberate those peoples which were still under the colonial yoke. Although the United Nations was necessarily imperfect in that respect and could not be a substitute for the efforts of the subject peoples themselves, its activities could be important. The States of Latin America were co-operating with the African and Asian countries in their campaign within the United Nations to end colonialism. Only a week before, they had unreservedly supported a resolution on South West Africa. His delegation welcomed the unity of the Third World in the common search for solutions to major economic and social problems, particularly with regard to colonialism and respect for human rights and dignity.

142. The representative of Italy associated himself with the speakers who had expressed their gratitude to the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the generous and cordial hospitality which they had shown to the Special Committee. The meetings to be held at Kinshasa would be doubly effective: the Congolese people would be able to follow the Committee's work closely while the Committee would benefit from the attention and whole-hearted support of Congolese public opinion in discussing problems which affected the Congo directly, concerning as they did the liberty and independence of all African peoples. The geographical and political position of the Congo was, in itself, a guarantee of the success of the Committee's work. His delegation was pleased to renew its assurances that it would co-operate to the utmost with the Committee so that its work during the current session could hasten the achievement of the objectives set forth in the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Italy had long had extremely cordial relations with the Congo, which were increasingly strengthened by economic, cultural and commercial ties.

143. The representative of Finland thanked President Mobutu for his kind words of welcome and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for its generous invitation to the Special Committee and its hospitality.

144. Although Finland was very distant, it took great interest in the future of Africa and shared the deep concern of the United Nations about the problems of colonialism that still remained. He was sure that the Committee's meetings

in Africa would make it easier to understand the problems involved and to help peoples still under colonial administration in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

145. The representative of Australia, speaking on behalf of his Government, expressed his appreciation of the honour done to the Special Committee by President Mobutu in addressing its opening meeting.

146. He was grateful for the hospitality offered by the Government of the Democratic Republic and for the excellent facilities placed at the Special Committee's disposal.

147. He hoped that the Special Committee's visit to Africa would contribute to his country's understanding and awareness of African problems, aspirations and achievements.

148. The spirit of co-operation shown by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo would, he was sure, enable the Special Committee to approach its important work in a thoughtful and constructive manner.

149. The representative of Syria said he welcomed the fact that, for the fourth time since its creation, the Special Committee was holding its meetings away from Headquarters on African soil. His delegation was convinced of the value of the joint endeavour to examine the colonial problems before the Committee from close to.

150. His delegation had particularly appreciated the extremely fraternal welcome extended to the Special Committee by the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Such generous hospitality was not surprising in a country which had been one of the battlefields in the fight against foreign domination and whose soil had been drenched in the blood of its sons to safeguard the independence won through very heavy sacrifices.

151. His delegation had been able to visit the Angolan refugee camps of the Angolan Republic in Exile. The misery and suffering of those fraternal African people, driven from their homeland by the forces of colonial oppression, reminded him of the plight of other refugees, dear to him, who had also been driven from their homes and their country, Arab Palestine, by bands of foreign Zionists who had come from all parts of the world to settle in the country by violence, with the assistance and complicity of certain colonial Powers, the inalienable rights of a whole people being held in contempt.

152. The General Assembly had been considering the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination for more than ten years already and had unfortunately failed to reach a satisfactory solution. The people of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other Territories under Portuguese administration remained in thrall to the Portuguese colonizer. Under his yoke for centuries, they had known every indignity, racial discrimination, forced labour, ignorance and the denial of civil and political rights.

153. The United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee itself had vainly adopted numerous resolutions reminding Portugal of its obligations under the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and urging it to abandon its anachronistic policies in those Territories and to grant their peoples their inalienable right to independence and freedom. The Portuguese colonizers scorned those resolutions and continued to exploit the natural riches of the colonized Territories, sharing the profits with their foreign accomplices. They continued to use the assistance and weapons provided by their NATO allies to suppress the population of the Territories and even went so far as to send workers from them to South Africa, replacing them by foreign immigrants.

154. The Special Committee had already drawn the Security Council's attention to the serious threat to world peace and security arising from those activities and had asked it to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to ensure that Portugal respected the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. He reminded the Committee of resolution 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965, in which the General Assembly urged Member States to take measures against Portugal, separately or collectively, from breaking off diplomatic relations to boycotting all trade. He reminded it also that, after taking note of the chapter of the Special Committee's report dealing with the Territories under Portuguese Administration, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966, recommending the Security Council to make it obligatory for all States to implement the measures contained in resolution 2107 (XX).

155. Unhappily, those resolutions had had no tangible result. Portugal continued to ignore the existence of resolution 1514 (XV) and was encouraged in that attitude

by its NATO allies and by groups of foreign financiers whose interests were carefully protected, while some of their profits went to increase Portugal's stock of arms.

156. All possible moral pressure and persuasion had been brought to bear in vain. Was it not time to use more effective means in order to force the obstinate colonizer to renounce such anachronistic practices?

157. The Republic of Syria, in keeping with its traditional policy, expressed its complete solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other Territories under Portuguese domination. His delegation was prepared to support any radical, or even coercive, measure which the Special Committee might recommend in order to bring the Salazar régime to grant freedom and independence to the colonial peoples and countries which it held in subjection.

158. The representative of Tunisia expressed his deep gratitude to the Congolese Government and people for their kind invitation to the Special Committee to meet at Kinshasa and for the outstanding welcome which they had extended to it. The important statement by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo would be a good guide for the Committee in its work.

159. All delegations were aware of the determination of the Congolese Government and people to work for the liberation of peoples still under colonial domination. They knew that they were actively supporting the patriots fighting to free themselves from the Portuguese yoke and that they received Angolan refugees as brothers, despite the reprisals and frontier incidents which that entailed. The situation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was similar to that of Tunisia at the time of the Algerian liberation. His delegation therefore realized the difficulties confronting that country and appreciated the true value of the efforts and sacrifices which the Congolese people had taken upon themselves.

160. As a result of the Congolese Government's invitation to meet in the great African capital of Kinshasa, the Special Committee would be able to hear petitioners and to form an exact idea of the situation.

161. The discipline and determination of the Angolan patriots had made a deep impression on the Special Committee when it had visited the Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en Exile (GRAE). Sooner or later, their enthusiasm would overcome the Salazar régime.

162. Many African peoples were, unhappily, still under the yoke. Horrible atrocities were committed daily by the colonialists, who stubbornly maintained their domination, disregarding international public opinion and human rights.

163. The Special Committee had the heavy responsibility of finding solutions which would meet the aspirations of the peoples still under colonial rule. His delegation would co-operate in its work to the utmost in order to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter and the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

164. The representative of the Ivory Coast joined previous speakers in expressing his deep gratitude to the President and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the cordial and fraternal welcome which they had extended to the Special Committee.

165. At the present stage in the Special Committee's work, his delegation was not in a position to make a general statement on the problems with which the Committee was concerned. He reserved the right to express his delegation's views on certain agenda items at a later stage.

166. His delegation attached considerable importance to the problems of decolonization, as did all the other delegations present, and it very much hoped that other countries would follow the Congo's example, so that the United Nations, and more particularly the Special Committee, could better discharge their difficult tasks. His delegation hoped that the Committee's work would be an effective contribution to the complete liberation of the peoples still under foreign domination.

167. The representative of Iraq said that his delegation was particularly pleased to have an opportunity to see for itself the achievements of the newly-independent African countries, of which the Democratic Republic was one of the foremost. He was grateful to the Congolese Government for its hospitality, and to President Mobutu for his address.

168. It was particularly significant that the Special Committee's work should have begun with a visit to the camps of the Angolan refugees. The courage, determination and patience of those refugees would inspire the Committee to help them in their plight and their fight for freedom. The United Nations had a sacred duty to help refugees from countries with illegally established Governments,

such as Angola, Palestine and South Africa. The United Nations and the specialized agencies should do more to assist refugees in the attainment of the rights recognized by the international community.

169. Iraq had always supported the African countries in their fight for liberation, for it too had suffered from colonialism, racial discrimination and foreign exploitation. His delegation had co-sponsored scores of resolutions concerning African and Asian countries, the latest of which dealt with South West Africa. It would continue to support the fight of the people of Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and other Portuguese colonies, French Somalia, Aden, Oman and Palestine.

170. His delegation very much regretted the enforced absence of the delegations of Afghanistan and Uruguay, and the continued absence of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

171. The representative of Madagascar associated himself with the tributes paid by earlier speakers to the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Congolese people.

172. His delegation was gratified that the Special Committee's first meetings were being held in one of the greatest countries in Africa and had listened to the important and wise speech by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo with great satisfaction.

173. Madagascar's position on colonial problems was well known, both in the United Nations and in the Organization of African Unity, and it was therefore unnecessary to explain it afresh. His delegation would have the opportunity to give a detailed explanation of its views on questions to which it attached importance at subsequent meetings of the Committee. It was convinced that the Committee's work at Kinshasa would be most fruitful and was ready to co-operate whole-heartedly with all delegations present in the search for ways and means to enable peoples and countries which were still under colonial rule to exercise, at an early date, their right to freedom, self-determination and independence.

B. CLOSING OF MEETINGS

Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

174. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo thanked the Special Committee, on behalf of the President of the Republic, Lieutenant-General Joseph-Désiré Mobutu, the Congolese people, its Government and himself, for having accepted the Congolese Government's invitation to meet at Kinshasa. Now that the session at Kinshasa was coming to an end, it was time to pay a tribute to all the participants, who had spared no effort to make it a success. The cordial atmosphere which had reigned during the Committee's debates, the frankness with which the Committee had conducted its discussion, and the solicitude with which it had tackled the various problems before it all proved its determination to find speedy and satisfactory solutions to the problems of decolonization.

175. In its exchanges of views with the petitioners, the Special Committee had evoked the thorny problems raised by the liberation of Angola, Cabinda and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The frank dialogue between the members of the Committee and the representatives of the liberation movements had contributed significantly to the definition of many questions raised by the struggle for national liberation and had also enabled the members of the Committee to realize how much work remained to be done. The Committee's visit to the Angolan refugees had amply brought out the fact that colonialism was still a reality, despite the irreversible current of decolonization and progress which characterized the twentieth century.

176. On the present occasion it would be appropriate to address a solemn appeal to the great Powers which, directly or indirectly, by their passivity, encouraged the countries which were perpetuating colonialism. They should be invited to help implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and persuade the countries which were lagging behind to accept the decolonization process. It was useless to extol the principles of freedom and democracy, while tolerating a situation in which much of the world remained subject to the colonial yoke.

177. On the eve of the Special Committee's departure to continue its mission, he wished to state that the Congo would never shirk its responsibility to aid Africa. He reaffirmed that his Government would aid Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and all the other African countries which had not yet been

liberated. He also wished to reiterate the heartfelt appeal which the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Committee had made at the opening of the session at Kinshasa to all African combatants to work together in a united movement in order to speed the liberation of the whole continent.

178. The Congolese Government had been particularly touched by the kind words addressed to it by the members of the Special Committee, and wished to avail itself of the opportunity to reaffirm its faith in the work of the United Nations.

179. He congratulated the Special Committee warmly on the work it had done at Kinshasa and expressed his conviction that its recommendations to the General Assembly would advance the cause of the liberation of the Territories which had not yet gained their independence. He wished the Committee every success in the continuation of its mission.

General statements

180. The Chairman thanked the Foreign Minister for his encouraging address which clearly reflected the active support of the Congolese Government in the fight to liberate colonial countries, its dedication to the aims of the Charter and its complete solidarity with the Special Committee's objectives and efforts. The Special Committee's meetings at Kinshasa had, thanks to the lavish hospitality, co-operation and goodwill of the Government and people of the Democratic Republic, taken place in an atmosphere which left nothing to be desired and none of the technical prerequisites for successful meetings had been lacking.

181. He expressed the Special Committee's deep gratitude to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic and assured them that the impetus which the Congolese Government had given the Committee would be an important source of sustenance during the remainder of its journey.

182. The members had been very happy to visit Kinshasa, not only because of the opportunity thus provided to strengthen contacts and friendships with the warm, vital and dynamic Congolese people, but also because the visit had enabled them to sense at first hand the attachment of that people to the cause of liberty, its concern to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism from its system and its progress in consolidating its independence.

183. While at Kinshasa, the Special Committee had heard eleven groups of petitioners concerning the Territories under Portuguese domination and had been horrified by the additional and incontrovertible evidence provided concerning the atrocities and acts of genocide being carried out by the Portuguese

colonialists against people whose only demand was to exercise the right of self-determination. Further evidence had been received of the continued assistance, both material and moral, which certain of the friends and allies of Portugal, together with foreign and other economic interests, were giving to the Salazar régime in the pursuit of its brutal colonial policies. There had, nevertheless, been encouragement in the news of the unremitting struggle being waged with increasing intensity by the national liberation movements seeking to free themselves from the yoke of the oppressors.

184. The Special Committee had also noted the commendable efforts being made by those movements to advance the social and material welfare of the Angolan people in the liberated areas and of the Angolan refugees in the Democratic Republic. It had been directly informed of the difficulties and needs of the national liberation movements: their difficulties in assisting the hundreds of thousands of refugees from Angola, and their urgent need for assistance from the High Commissioner for Refugees and from the specialized agencies, particularly in education and health.

185. The Special Committee had thus acquired a greater understanding of the sufferings and legitimate wishes of the people of Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda, a fact which constituted yet another justification of the Committee's decision to hold a series of meetings at Kinshasa, since the information received would not have been available had that decision not facilitated the appearance of petitioners before it. It would be a disservice to the cause of decolonization if leaders of national liberation movements were always expected to relinquish their posts to appear before the Committee in New York. The Committee fully supported their fight, which was as just as it was urgent, and would redouble its efforts to hasten the independence of Angola.

186. The Special Committee had been unanimous in calling for the intensification of aid to the refugees from the Territories under Portuguese administration, in consultation with the OAU and, through the OAU, with the national liberation movements in those Territories. He reminded the petitioners that the Committee's action would not be limited to that consensus. After it had heard the other petitioners, who would appear before it at the other capitals to be visited, the Committee would proceed to the adoption of conclusions and recommendations concerning all aspects of decolonization, taking full account of the valuable testimony furnished to it at Kinshasa.

187. He reiterated his plea for unity among the liberation movements - unity of thought, purpose and action - since only through such unity could colonialism be eliminated and freedom and independence achieved for the people of Angola.

188. He requested the Foreign Minister to convey to the President of the Democratic Republic, to his Government and to his dynamic people the gratitude of the Special Committee for the hospitality and friendliness with which it had been received.

189. The representative of Ethiopia associated himself most heartily with the Chairman's remarks. He had the honour to speak on behalf of the African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia in thanking the Foreign Minister not only for his inspiring address but also for the great hospitality the Special Committee had received from the Government and people of the Democratic Republic. That was not, however, unexpected, since such hospitality was an integral part of the best African tradition.

190. He assured Mr. Bomboko of the ever-increasing interest of the delegations, for which he was speaking, in the development of the Democratic Republic and their sympathetic admiration and full support for the work of its people in the cause of national reconstruction. He also thanked them for the strong moral and material support they have given to the Angolan patriots. By inviting the Special Committee to Kinshasa, the Congolese Government had clearly demonstrated the great importance it attached to decolonization in general and to African freedom in particular. Despite the activities of Salazar, Vorster, Smith and their like, the flame of freedom would continue to burn bright and, though the pace might be slow, decolonization would continue on its inexorable march until all Africa - and, indeed, the whole world - had won the basic human right of self-determination.

191. He thanked the Government of the Democratic Republic for the facilities it had extended to the petitioners in enabling them to appear before the Special Committee and to supply it with so much valuable evidence. He conveyed the fraternal greetings of the delegations for which he spoke to the Congolese people and its President and wished them every success.

192. The representative of Australia said that he was speaking for the representatives of Finland, Italy and the United States in addition to his own delegation. He expressed his thanks for the excellent facilities and great hospitality with which the Special Committee had been received. Meetings had been expedited in a most effective manner and, although his anticipations on coming to the Democratic Republic had been high, they had been more than completely fulfilled.

193. He offered the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic his most sincere wishes for their continued prosperity and happiness and assured them that the Special Committee was leaving their country with great regret and with many pleasant memories.

194. The representative of Venezuela said that, on behalf of the Chilean delegation and his own, he wished to congratulate the Foreign Minister on his inspiring statement and to thank him and the Congolese Government for the warmth of their welcome and the facilities and hospitality they had provided. The reception given to the Special Committee was yet another sign of the devotion of the Congolese people to the cause of decolonization. The Government was also to be congratulated on the progress that the Democratic Republic had achieved and on its dedication to the cause of liberty which made countries great.

195. The Special Committee's presence at Kinshasa had enabled it to meet many important petitioners and obtain much valuable information which might not otherwise have been available. Its report would be much the richer as a result of its stay in the Democratic Republic. That happy result could not have been achieved without the help and co-operation of the Congolese Government and people and the facilities they had so generously provided.

196. The representative of Poland said he was speaking on behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as well as his own. He expressed his gratitude to the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic for their generous hospitality and the facilities they had so kindly provided to assist the Special Committee in its work. The impressive statement by the Foreign Minister was further evidence of the determination of the Congolese people to assist the United Nations in the important work of decolonization.

197. It had been useful and, indeed, indispensable for the Special Committee to hold a series of meetings at Kinshasa, close to the battle-front, since members had thus been able to listen to spokesmen for the national liberation movements and to obtain further evidence of the atrocities committed by the Portuguese in their savage war against the Angolan people. There was no longer a shadow of doubt that the régimes in control of Angola, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were engaged in a conspiracy to maintain white domination in southern Africa. The evidence which the Committee had heard at Kinshasa had enabled it to gain a closer insight into the situation and learn more concerning the needs of the national liberation movements.

198. He conveyed fraternal greetings to the patriots of Angola and assured them that they had the full support of the socialist countries in their fight for freedom. He associated himself with the Chairman's appeal for unity in the Angolan patriotic movement which would, undoubtedly, greatly assist it to attain its cherished goal.

199. The information obtained by the Special Committee at Kinshasa had been very valuable and would prove extremely useful in drawing up the report.

200. In conclusion, he wished the President, Government and people of the Democratic Republic every success in their endeavours to build up a happy and prosperous future for their nation.

201. The representative of Iraq thanked the Government of the Democratic Republic for its prompt response to his appeal that permission should be granted to MPLA to produce captured weapons manufactured in Israel and elsewhere for the enlightenment of the Special Committee. That rapid action was typical of the helpful attitude adopted by the Congolese Government throughout the Committee's stay at Kinshasa and had enabled the Committee to identify the source of the arms that had been used to kill scores of Angolan freedom-fighters.

II. MEETINGS HELD AT KITWE, ZAMBIA

A. OPENING OF MEETINGS

Address by the President of the Republic of Zambia

202. The President of the Republic of Zambia, speaking on behalf of the Government and people of Zambia, welcomed the Special Committee to Zambia, which was greatly honoured to have once again the opportunity of acting as host to the Committee. This was the second very historic meeting held at Kitwe during the first half of 1967. In January he had addressed about 800 delegates attending the Zambia National Convention "Achievement 1967" - a convention of party and government officials, teachers, industrialists, miners, financiers and people from all walks of life, who had met to exchange views on various aspects of Zambian development plans and problems. He regarded the meetings of the Special Committee as a continuation of "Achievement 1967" from a different angle. The Committee had the blessing not only of the city of Kitwe but of the whole country.

203. As the Inter-governmental Copper Conference was being held at Lusaka it had been decided that the meetings of the Special Committee should be held at Kitwe. That gave members an opportunity to see another side of Zambian life, namely the Copperbelt. The memories of the Committee's last visit to Zambia were still fresh in his mind. At that time Zambia had been only eight months old as an independent nation, born out of a difficult fight for independence. Without help from the freedom-loving sons and daughters of Africa and from Africa's friends abroad, Zambia's fight for independence would have been much more difficult. In that respect he did not forget the support which the Committee had given to the people of Zambia in the darkest hour of its fight for liberty and justice.

204. The members of the Special Committee had been in his country for only a few hours, but he was sure they already had the feeling of the kind of life the people of Zambia were leading: the economic and social effects of the colonial and racial problems that plagued southern Africa. It was perhaps only fitting that the Committee should breathe such an atmosphere and get to know the problems it had set out to solve at grass-root level.

205. Five years ago, when he had appeared before the Special Committee in New York, the plight of the Zambian people had been so unbearable that it had made him weep at the sad realization that man, for no other reason than colour, should be the greatest enemy of man, due to his selfishness and parochialism, should be the greatest single cause of unhappiness for all mankind. That state of affairs still continued east, south and west of Zambia.

206. Zambia was passing through the most critical period of its history. Since the Special Committee's last visit to Zambia, the white racialists in Southern Rhodesia had seized power from an apparently feeble and decidedly hesitating British Government. With the unilateral declaration of independence had come not only increased oppression of the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia, but also immense economic difficulties for the young Republic of Zambia. Its transport and communication systems had suddenly had to be re-orientated, costing millions of pounds in contingency measures and a great deal of inconvenience in that supplies of essential goods had not come in such quantities as formerly. What greater sacrifice could a young Member of the United Nations like Zambia make?

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207. But thanks to God's blessings, to the kind help it had received from brothers and sympathizers, and thanks to the resoluteness of the people themselves, Zambia was still holding its own. It would continue in its efforts for peace, justice and happiness for all human beings, not only in southern Africa but in the world as a whole. The fight of the majority for democratic rights was a human one in which all men of goodwill the world over must be actively, and not just passively, interested.

208. If the Zambian people deplored the situation in which it found itself it was because the creators of the problems facing it - problems to which the Special Committee's mission was designed to find answers - were doing little to undo what they had done. But the Zambian people knew that its cause was noble and just and that right was on its side. The very presence of the Committee at Kitwe was an indication of mankind's determination to see that justice and freedom were brought to the oppressed millions the world over.

209. So far, he had spoken only in very general terms about the southern African political complex and the way Zambians had been battling with that problem. He would now turn, in equally general terms, to the various trouble spots that concerned the work of the Special Committee.

210. The question of Rhodesia had, of course, been exercising the minds of Committee members, who had doubtlessly been following the turns and twists of developments in that matter. He regretted to say that the international community seemed to be treading along a blind alley in its quest for a solution to the Rhodesian question.

211. Since the passage at the United Nations of the resolution on selective mandatory sanctions, there had been no sign of the rebel economy running down as a result and no indication that the objective of the resolution would be achieved. If anything, the Rhodesian economy was holding its own. Zambians were not at all surprised that that was so because, ever since the beginning of the Rhodesian crisis, they had held the view - and had repeatedly warned the United Kingdom Government - that sanctions would never bite deep enough to bring down the rebellion. How, indeed, could sanctions work when Southern Rhodesia's economy was secretly and openly supported by South Africa and Portugal through deliberate leakages in the sanctions wall, and when the United Kingdom Government was not prepared to seal off those leakages? Recent events had proved beyond all doubt how easily the rebel régime at Salisbury could defeat any sanctions which

fell short of comprehensive mandatory sanctions backed by force. Rhodesia was selling its tobacco under iniquitously secret conditions; and brokers in South Africa, Portugal and other European countries were re-exporting many Rhodesian products to various countries under the guise of South African, Portuguese or European exports. Only a few weeks before, thanks to the vigilance of Zambian customs officials, the Zambian authorities had seized 1,000 tons of Rhodesian raw sugar which was being imported into Zambia by such devious means.

212. It should be clear to everybody that the United Kingdom Government's Rhodesian policy, to which some Members of the United Nations had, well-meaningly, but regrettably, lent their support, was not only a dismal failure but a disgrace to freedom-lovers. The most urgent question which the Special Committee and its parent body as a whole should now ask themselves was: after the failure of selective mandatory sanctions, what next?

213. The people of Zambia had never found an alternative to the use of force. They had been accused of being unrealistic and unduly pessimistic on account of their consistent stand that only force could solve the Rhodesian question. But if being realistic meant compromising moral principles for "kith-and-kin" sentiments, and if being optimistic meant making ill-conceived pronouncements that the situation created by the unilateral declaration of independence would be over in a matter of weeks as a result of inadequate and piecemeal voluntary sanctions, then the Zambian people would have nothing to do with such "realism" or "optimism".

214. The United Kingdom Government had tried persuasion, threats to use effective measures and voluntary sanctions. The problem had not been solved. Neither "realism" nor "optimism" had restored the rights of the 4 million human beings in rebel Rhodesia. In the meantime, United Kingdom troops were continually in action killing Arabs in Aden. Were the human beings in Aden different from the rebellious whites in Rhodesia?

215. As the United Nations procrastinated, the rebels in Rhodesia were losing no time in tightening their grip on that unhappy country. It should be common knowledge to all members of the Special Committee that the rebels were now heading for a watertight apartheid State. A legislative move was under way in the rebel parliament that would soon empower them to do that.

He strongly repudiated the unfounded allegations by the rightist supporters of Smith and his gang, that Zambia was bloodthirsty. Zambia was a peace-loving nation. All it said was that, if the United Kingdom Government found it worth while to mow down Arabs in an Arab country just to ensure its own presence there until 1968, then it saw no reason why that Government should not be equally resolute in a just cause. Was the world to be forced to conclude that the United Kingdom Government was following the "kith-and-kin" approach? Yet those who declared that that was a blatant form of racial discrimination were accused of being unrealistic and bloodthirsty! For him it was immaterial whether God's blood ran through veins that were under a red, brown, yellow or black skin. Its worthiness in God's sight was the same. Zambia demanded that the United Kingdom Government should hold the black blood in Rhodesia to be as sacred as the white blood. Rhodesia was a colony of the United Kingdom in the same way as Aden, at the moment, was a United Kingdom Protectorate.

216. He had always maintained that, if man's life was indivisible among white communities, it could not but be indivisible among the so-called dark races, unless God had created two species of man, but of that there was no evidence anywhere in the world. He asked the United Kingdom Government which had significantly contracted out of its responsibility to the Special Committee, what it wanted to achieve in Rhodesia and what its objective was. What was the killing in Aden about? If Members of the United Nations which subscribed to the ideals and principles of the Charter failed to honour its provisions, then their membership of the world body was but a mockery.

217. He then referred to a very well-organized smear campaign against countries which were fighting hard to achieve freedom and justice for all. A very vicious campaign was going on in the right-wing Press of the United Kingdom and most other capitals of the West. They painted such a dark picture of what countries like Zambia were doing that, even if one quarter of it were true, those countries would have collapsed a long time ago. But that was designed to give a distorted picture of the efforts that Zambia and its friends were making to bring sense and realism to the politics of southern Africa. The campaign was well financed and well organized, and the tragedy was that people tended to believe what those ill-intentioned planners said to them.

218. On Africa Freedom Day, he had said that the United Kingdom Government had tricked the world and the United Nations into a false strategy, a false start in seeking a solution to the unilateral declaration of independence. After several months of protracted talks about talks with the rebels, the United Kingdom Government after the summit meeting on H.M.S. Tiger, had made the belated pronouncement that, from then on, it would have no more negotiations with the rebels and that it would not grant Rhodesia independence before majority rule. Those, in themselves, were very welcome assertions of noble principles - the principles that Zambia and its friends were at pains to make the United Kingdom recognize and live up to. But, coming so belatedly from a Government reputed for unpredictable and grasshopper tactics, they merited little appreciation from the Zambian Government: it saw, lurking beneath those seemingly well-intentioned pronouncements, the United Kingdom Government's design to wash its hands of the Rhodesian problem.

219. As early as last year, he had warned that the United Kingdom Government was pursuing a dangerous policy of "honourable defeat". He had described the policy of the "protracted war" as dishonourable and disastrous and he was now more than ever convinced that the United Kingdom Government did not intend to honour its obligations in Rhodesia. He had no reason to believe otherwise. He had been told that the United Kingdom Government was immune from criticism with regard to Rhodesia, but he believed that its impotence in quelling the rebellion, coupled with meaningless declarations, was part of a deliberate design to mislead the world. That was the tragedy of Rhodesia. The picture was dark and brutal.

220. It was clear that the United Kingdom Government knew full well that its present sanctions policy would not bring about the desired results. At the same time, the use of force was anathema to it. There was therefore no alternative but to conclude that that Government was trying to saddle the United Nations with the problem so that the world body took all the blame for the United Kingdom's failure to settle the problem. In that way, and taking advantage of the apparent present inability of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to take effective action against Smith and South Africa, the United Kingdom hoped that the Rhodesian question would be buried and forgotten and that

Smith would get away with it, as South Africa had done in 1910. That was what he had meant by saying that the United Nations was treading along a blind alley in following the United Kingdom Government's lead over Rhodesia.

221. During its deliberations, the Special Committee must pause for serious reflection on its responsibilities in the matter of freedom for the oppressed who cried for legitimate representation in the Government of their own country and in the United Nations. The Committee had a duty to maintain and it must discharge it without prejudice based on colour or race.

222. If the Rhodesian crisis had exposed the slipperiness of United Kingdom policy in southern Africa, the question of South West Africa had laid bare the collusion of some big Powers in colonial matters. It was also clear that the great Powers were being obstructionist in the United Nations. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) revoking South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa should have logically led to the establishment of United Nations administrative machinery in South West Africa. But, alas, that logical sequence of measures and events had been conveniently lost sight of by some big Powers: for some of them a United Nations presence in South West Africa meant a diplomatic as well as a physical confrontation with South Africa, the bastion of their economic and racial interests in southern Africa; for others, the implications of a take-over in South West Africa by the United Nations conjured up the image of the Congo situation of the early sixties, with its attendant financial commitments. So they had abstained from voting.

223. Here again, matters of principle had been thrown to the wind; some big Powers had found in the pursuit of their parochial interests a semblance of mankind's hopes and objectives. If that was not brute selfishness and a betrayal of world peace and happiness, then he did not know what else to call it. Certainly the fear of a confrontation with South Africa did not encourage support for the principles of the fight for human rights.

224. Out of all the fracas surrounding the question of South West Africa one very significant fact had emerged more prominently than ever before, namely, that the processes of democracy in the United Nations could be rendered impotent by the plutocratic influences of some big Powers. The majority of Member States had, by their vote, decided to take steps to implement the 1966 resolution on

on South West Africa. But without the support, money and arms of the big Powers the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its fifth special session might very well be abortive. He added that Africa was not going to be weak for ever.

225. If the big Powers vacillated so much over the question of South West Africa, it was easy to imagine what they thought about South Africa proper. There one could see man in his crudest form, nakedly oppressing his fellow man, and, whereas the world had been prepared to fight the Nazis, there the big Powers were silent: they allowed themselves to be guided, not by the noble principles of the Charter but by their economic interests.

226. Recently the world had learnt of yet another tragic step taken by men who had little regard for the sufferings of humble people in their society, black or white. A girl - Sandra Laing - born of white parents had been singled out by Vorster's all-powerful and crushing machinery, and Vorster, as was common knowledge, had been a wartime admirer and supporter of the Nazis. The poor girl had been classified as "non-white" and would therefore suffer non-white treatment in that country. Was it possible to think of anything more devastating to the human soul? The people concerned claimed to be Christians and to maintain Western values and civilizations. He preferred to be simple and down-to-earth and to believe in the importance of man regardless of his colour. That was what Zambia was trying to do and the Zambian Government made no apologies to anyone for being non-tribal and non-racial.

227. The question whether or not Portugal should direct the destiny of millions of people in Angola and Mozambique from Lisbon against their will was a matter for serious consideration by the international community. Very few of the present generation of Americans and Europeans knew what it was to suffer the miseries of oppressive colonial régimes. In the present age of enlightenment, it was inconceivable that a foreign country should subject other people to a rule in which they had no voice in the administration of their affairs. The spirit that had animated the General Assembly in adopting its resolution on decolonization must be rekindled to bring reality into full focus once again. That depended on each and every member of the Special Committee as representatives of their respective Governments.

228. He implored the representatives to tell the States Members of the United Nations that the people of southern Africa were truly suffering; Angolans and Mozambicans were pleading for no more than the restoration of their birthright of freedom and justice, of fair play and full participation in the development of their homelands without institutional impediments calculated to stifle their efforts to build up stable and progressive societies.

229. Those powers which had the capacity to bring about stability in freedom and justice must be converted to the view that the consequences of delay, reluctance, selfishness or lack of timely action were grave in the extreme not only for the people of Angola and Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, but for them, too, for the Members of the United Nations and, indeed, for mankind as a whole.

230. One of the strange ironies of history was that the same countries which had been principally instrumental in the formation of the United Nations and in the formulation of its Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights should today throw to the winds the very principles upon which their solemn affirmations had rested two decades before. It would be better for such countries to declare publicly that they no longer adhered to those principles than to pay lip service to freedom and justice.

231. Those were some of the ugly problems to which the Special Committee would have to find solutions. The problems of southern Africa posed a very serious danger to international peace and security. Southern Africa was, so to speak, like a dormant volcano: nobody knew when it would erupt, but everybody knew that it certainly would. When that happened, the results would be disastrous.

232. There was thus a grave risk of a third world war, fought not merely on racial but also on ideological grounds. Race being a very sensitive aspect of man's nature, such a war would be a war not of conquest but of extermination, and would certainly make the Second World War look like the rehearsal for a play. It would truly be a war to end all wars, for nobody would be left to tell the story or to talk of peace or war. It was tragic, therefore, that the big Powers should treat the problems of southern Africa with the light-mindedness of actors in a melodrama. If prevention was better than cure, then the United Nations, in the true spirit of its Charter, representing in a large degree what man stood for, must take effective preventive measures immediately.

233. He craved the indulgence of the Special Committee if, by saying those rather hard words about certain Members of the United Nations, he had given the impression that the Committee was standing trial in Zambia: that was far from being the case. He was merely trying to apprise the Committee of the seriousness with which the Zambian people viewed the situation in southern Africa and the failure of some States Members of the United Nations to see the situation in the same light. Fellow human beings suffering the pangs of oppression and inhuman laws needed the support of the United Nations, of the free international society of man. It was, however, his sincere hope that the Special Committee's visit to Zambia would arm it with more facts, so that from its on-the-spot observations it would be better able to find timely and more effective solutions leading to the humanization and liberation of that part of the African continent.

234. He hardly needed to remind the Special Committee of the high esteem in which it was held by the people of Zambia, for it was in it that the world's oppressed millions had vested their hopes for liberty and justice. What reason had anyone to feel happy and free, while the rest of mankind languished in the slough of serfdom and oppression? The Committee's mission, therefore, called not only for faith but for action as well.

235. The people of Zambia believed in the United Nations. The Special Committee could depend on the Zambian people even though they were beset by a multiplicity of problems. Zambia was barely three years old, and therefore not strong in the conventional sense, but it would do whatever was in its power to support the noble cause which had brought the Committee to Africa.

236. The Zambian people were only too conscious of the fact that the world body which the Special Committee represented was a true thermometer of the feelings of its individual Member States. If they decided to make it strong it would be strong and vice versa. The Zambian nation believed in the United Nations and wanted it to be strong and would therefore, small and young though it was, give it all the support it was capable of giving. It could do no better.

237. He assured the members that they were very welcome in Zambia and that the Zambian people would do everything possible to make their stay in the Republic a pleasant one. He wished the Special Committee success in its deliberations.

General statements

238. The Chairman speaking on behalf of all members of the Special Committee, expressed deep appreciation of President Kaunda's extremely moving and sincere address, which deserved the most careful attention, coming as it did from one of Africa's most respected statesmen, highly regarded for his courage and magnanimity by friends and foes alike. Based as they were on the realities of bitter confrontation with the champions of colonialism in southern Africa, the considerations and views to which President Kaunda had given expression would undoubtedly be of great assistance to the Committee in its work.

239. The Special Committee was deeply grateful to the President, Government and people of Zambia for their invitation which had enabled the Committee to continue its meetings in Africa at Kitwe. In 1965, the Committee had had the signal honour of meeting at Lusaka at the invitation of the Government and people of Zambia. The records of the Committee bore testimony to the important decisions taken at those meetings, which reflected the Committee's sincere appreciation of the fraternal hospitality and co-operation extended by the Government and people of Zambia. The address which President Kaunda had delivered at the opening meeting at Lusaka in 1965, had stood the test of time.

240. In that address he had stressed that the time had come for Member States to make the United Nations a force for action rather than a forum for speeches, and in support of that plea he had warned of the consequences of continued non-co-operation by the administering Powers concerned in the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the colonial Territories in southern Africa. Today, two years later, that address read like a prophecy which had come to pass, particularly in the case of Southern Rhodesia.

241. Personally, it was a great pleasure for him to be in Zambia: it was like being at home again. Few countries reflected so well the cruel past and the glorious prospects of the great African continent. The fact that that was so was no credit to, but a severe indictment of, the moribund colonialist system.

242. As was well known, Zambia had occupied an important part in the schemes of those megalomaniacs who had dreamed of an unbroken empire stretching from the Cape to Cairo. Ambitious and unscrupulous men, drawn by Africa's coveted wealth and backed by the imperialist Powers, had engaged in the ruthless exploitation of the human and material resources of Zambia to the exclusive advantage of the interests and powers they represented.

243. The culmination of all that deplorable process had been the creation, despite the opposition of the African peoples, of the Central African Federation.

Conceived with the objective of delaying the inevitable demise of colonialism, of imposing a one-sided partnership of horse and rider, and of enabling the racist settlers of Southern Rhodesia to participate even more effectively in the merciless plunder of Zambia's wealth, that unworthy scheme had surely deserved to fail. That it had failed was due in large measure to the resoluteness and solidarity of the Zambian people under the leadership of the United National Independence Party and its President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.

244. Zambia was truly fortunate to have produced such a worthy son of Africa as President Kaunda. Being a forthright, sincere, dedicated and humble man, the virtues he possessed were exactly those calculated to evoke the finest response from the Zambian people. And there was need of such qualities and such response now, for Zambia found itself in the thick of the anti-apartheid campaign, one of the greatest epics of the latter half of the twentieth century. Caught in a vise between the all-African resolve to bring down the illegal racist régime in Rhodesia and its own undeniable necessity to survive, a less courageous and united country might long ago have weakened. Indeed, it might be said that some less dangerously placed countries of Africa had done so.

245. But Zambia under President Kaunda stood stalwart and undaunted. In doing so, it had given hope and courage to all Africa, and not least to the struggling African people of Zimbabwe. The example of Zambia would shine as a light to brighten and inspire the Special Committee's deliberations and endeavours during the present series of meetings.

246. At Kitwe, the Special Committee would concentrate on the situation of the people and Territory of Rhodesia. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was, and continued to be, applicable to that colony despite attempts to deny its applicability. The long and continuing denial of the rights of the indigenous people of the Territory to self-determination and independence had contributed materially to the present deplorable situation. The neo-apartheid system, the discriminatory land laws and the exclusion of the African peoples from any significant participation in economic and political life had been and were a flagrant violation of fundamental human rights.

247. After the collapse of the Federation, it had been hoped that at last the rights of the African people of Southern Rhodesia to self-government and independence on a genuinely democratic basis would be recognized. Instead, a series of manoeuvres, covert and overt, had been carried out, resulting in the betrayal of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population and in the entrenchment of the racist settler minority. During all those shameful manoeuvres and preparations, a firm display by the United Kingdom Government of regard for, and determination to uphold, the legitimate rights of the indigenous population would undoubtedly have had a beneficial effect. Instead, vacillation and implicit collusion had resulted in the present grave situation. No one who had studied the problem in its entirety could refrain from saluting the Government and people of Zambia for the heroic stand they had taken against the Smith régime at great cost in terms of human and material resources. Through the colonialist manipulations of the administering Power, aided and abetted by foreign economic and other interests, Zambia at the time of its independence had been heavily dependent on Southern Rhodesia for its economic well-being: communications, transport power and many essential supplies. Hence the Smith régime, at the time of the unilateral declaration of independence, had assumed, in its folly, that it had a trump card to play if Zambia did not fall into line with its sinister racist plans. Not surprisingly, attempts by the Smith régime to hold Zambia to ransom by a process of economic strangulation had met with a magnificently defiant response from the Government and the people of Zambia, even though that had entailed heavy sacrifices and serious dislocation. What was more, Zambia had not faltered in its whole-hearted support of the African people fighting against the racist Salisbury régime for their freedom and independence. Contrary to the expectations of the Smith régime, the Republic of Zambia had continued to keep faith with the African people of Zimbabwe.

248. The praiseworthy stand taken by the Government and people of Zambia against the reactionary racist Smith régime had won it the respect and admiration of all freedom-loving people. For that reason it was only fitting that the Special Committee should open its discussion on the question of Southern Rhodesia in Zambia. At Kitwe, the Committee would receive the testimony of the representatives of the freedom-fighters in Zimbabwe, seek additional information on recent developments

in that Territory and study at first hand, near the theatre of conflict, all aspects of that very grave problem. The Committee would also give attention to and hear petitioners concerning Angola, South West Africa and Swaziland.

249. The Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia to be a most serious threat to international peace and security. The defiance of the whole international community by the racist Salisbury régime called for decisive action against it and its supporters, particularly South Africa and Portugal. It must be recalled that if now, belatedly, the international community was obliged to come to grips with and put an end to an intolerable situation, that was because of the unprincipled failure of the United Kingdom Government to discharge what it had all along insisted was its legal responsibility.

250. The Special Committee's meetings at Kitwe would, he hoped, throw new light on the problem and enable it to arrive at conclusions and recommendations which would contribute to a speedy solution consistent with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

251. He would be failing in his duty if he did not appeal to the freedom-fighters to unite because, in disunity, they would always find that the forces that could have been used to fight colonialism would be wasted in fighting among themselves. In disunity, they would find the prolongation of their sufferings and the postponement of their day of liberation. But in unity, they would find the strengthening of the fight against colonialism, the bringing together of all their forces against the oppressors and the bringing closer of their day of independence. He appealed to representatives of the freedom movement inside and outside the meeting room to show unity of thought, unity of purpose and, above all, unity of action.

252. He was confident that the Special Committee's work at Kitwe would lead to positive and significant results.

253. The representative of India expressed sincere appreciation to the President, Government and people of Zambia for their generous invitation to the Special Committee to meet at Kitwe. The hospitality offered and the overwhelming enthusiasm of the people were deeply appreciated. The invitation was a practical demonstration of the genuine and profound interest of President Kaunda and his people in decolonization. It was hardly necessary to describe the vital contribution which Zambia was making to the eradication of injustices and indignities in all parts of the world. That the leaders of Zambia had selected 24 October, the anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, as their day of liberation from colonial subjugation was conclusive proof of their dedication to the ideals of the Charter. The election of Zambia by the African group at the United Nations to be one of the three countries to serve on the Council for South West Africa was further evidence of the leading role they played in African affairs. The experience of coming to Zambia and of listening in person to its President was for him the fulfilment of a long-standing wish.

254. President Kaunda's moving address could not fail to inspire anyone who had the slightest concern for the well-being of the millions of people still suffering under the colonial yoke. The President's reference to his appearance in the Fourth Committee some five years before was both a source of satisfaction and a reminder. It was a satisfaction to see a person who had appeared before the United Nations as a petitioner occupying such a distinguished position, and it was a reminder that the battle against colonialism was almost always long, bitter and often frustrating. The President's analysis of the colonial problems in southern Africa was unsurpassed in the history of the Special Committee. The Indian delegation had been deeply impressed by the address and would endeavour to live up to the lofty goals he had set. It was to be hoped that President Kaunda's sombre warning that southern Africa was a dormant volcano which would one day erupt unless the colonial Powers joined those on the side of right and justice would be heeded in the appropriate quarters.

255. The subject to which the Special Committee would give particular attention during its meetings at Kitwe was, of course, Southern Rhodesia, on which his delegation would give its views in full at a later stage. It considered that the United Kingdom bore sole responsibility for the deplorable state of affairs in Zimbabwe. By its various acts of omission and commission, the United Kingdom Government had encouraged the blindly racist minority in Southern Rhodesia in its evil designs. Had the necessary measures been taken and a firm warning given to the Rhodesian racists, the present situation would never have arisen. The Indian delegation condemned in the strongest possible terms the illegal and unjust seizure of power by an insignificant proportion of the population to the detriment of almost 95 per cent of the rightful owners of Zimbabwe. The half-hearted and meaningless measures adopted so far had conclusively proved their impotence to deal with the situation. Unless and until the United Kingdom Government was prepared to use force against the rebel regime, Ian Smith and his henchmen would not be brought to heel. The appeal for the use of force made by a person known for his sincerity, his love of mankind and his preaching of non-violence should be taken with the utmost seriousness. India demanded for its brothers in Zimbabwe, to whom it would continue to lend whole-hearted support both in the Committee and elsewhere, immediate and unconditional independence on the basis of one man, one vote.

256. India was particularly gratified that the Special Committee should be meeting in Zambia, with which it enjoyed extremely friendly relations. Zambia and its President were held in the highest esteem, not only by the Government, but also by the common people of India, who greatly admired their dynamism and the firm determination with which they were tackling their manifold problems. Both countries belonged to the economically developing group of nations; there was therefore ample scope for co-operation between the two to their mutual advantage. The actual record of such co-operation since the early days of Zambia's independence was a glowing testimony to the friendship between them and the forthcoming visit of President Kaunda to India, to which the Government and people of India were eagerly looking forward, would bring the two countries yet closer together.

257. In conclusion, the Indian delegation extended its greetings to the people of Zambia and wished them every success in their undertakings.

258. The representative of Ethiopia thanked President Kaunda, the Government and the people of Zambia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Kitwe and for their warm hospitality. His delegation had been deeply touched by the President's frank, sincere and inspiring opening address. To those who had come to know him closely since the days of Zambia's fight for its own independence, his statement and delivery were no revelation, but characteristic of a man who had not been changed by the trappings of power, and who, in spite of the many vicissitudes of life, had the courage of his convictions, a man whose devotion to duty had never flagged. Africa, and indeed the entire world of today, were in great need of more leaders of his calibre.

259. The Ethiopian delegation fully endorsed the comprehensive analysis of the Southern Rhodesian problem made by the Chairman and President Kaunda. It took a serious view of the worsening situation in Rhodesia since the Special Committee had last considered the problem. In spite of all protestations to the contrary, Ian Smith's rebel regime, by all evidence aided and abetted by the United Kingdom, the administering Power, had become even more defiant of international public opinion and had adopted far more oppressive measures towards the African masses of Zimbabwe. It was now devising a constitution which would permanently entrench minority rule and racism. In an attempt to suppress the African people's legitimate fight for independence, the illegal regime was imprisoning and massacring the gallant sons of Zimbabwe and, no doubt helped by South Africa, was attempting to introduce apartheid. It was difficult to believe that that was being done without the connivance of the United Kingdom. The crux of the problem in Southern Rhodesia had been and remained the refusal by that Power to face its responsibilities honestly and to put the interest of the majority of the population above that of the minority who happened to be its kith and kin. When viewed in the context of the problems of southern Africa, that attitude was fraught with great danger. President Kuanda's warning that the dormant volcano of southern Africa might erupt any time was therefore very opportune. The United Kingdom should be made to realize that the world could not be deceived by "talks about talks" and mandatory sanctions which were never meant to achieve anything substantial for the African masses of Zimbabwe. The Ethiopian delegation considered that the only honourable course open for the United Kingdom, if it was to retain its respect in the eyes of Africa and the world, was to crush the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia.

260. Ethiopia deplored the United Kingdom Government's tendency to shirk its responsibilities which, no matter how much it wished to pass the problem on to the United Nations, should rest squarely on its own shoulders.

261. While the fight for freedom from the ferocious brand of settler colonialism in Rhodesia continued on its inexorable course, the Special Committee should call upon the nationalist movements to close their ranks and present a united front to the enemy. The Chairman's fervent appeal to that effect had the full support of the Ethiopian delegation, for the nationalist movements in Zimbabwe could not afford the luxury of division at so critical a juncture in their nation's history.

262. With regard to South West Africa, the General Assembly at its fifth special session had further implemented its resolution of October, 1966, when it had voted unanimously to revoke South Africa's Mandate and provided for the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the Territory. In its resolution of 19 May 1967, the General Assembly had voted to establish a Council for South West Africa and a Commissioner responsible for the Territory's administration. That positive step had been acclaimed by all freedom-loving peoples, and it was to be hoped that the great Powers who held the key to its successful implementation would see the wisdom of giving their unstinted support to the United Nations. The fascist regime of South Africa was still defying the resolutions of the General Assembly but Vorster and his war council, facing the last political battle both internationally and from within the Territory, had been driven to the futile expedient of attempting to impress the world by their so-called "one man one vote" offer to some parts of South West Africa, a move which deceived nobody. South Africa should recognize that its status as the mandatory authority for South West Africa had ended in October 1966 and that, subsequently, the only body competent to lead South West Africa to self-determination and independence was that established by the United Nations.

263. Attention should also be drawn to the grave problem of racial discrimination in South Africa. The anti-colonial revolution had abolished racial discrimination as a criterion in international relations, but in some Territories the practice still continued, the victim being mainly the black race and the area in which it was practised - colonial Africa. White man had been deprived of his power in most parts of the African continent and the hated system of racial discrimination eliminated in the process, but it was significant that the areas in which discrimination prevailed today were the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. The Special Committee, which represented the

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moral conscience of mankind as a whole and which had been set up to act as a watch-dog and to work relentlessly for the total elimination of the evil of colonialism, should also adopt the same approach towards racial discrimination.

264. In conclusion, he recalled President Kaunda's call for a resurgence of the spirit which had led the United Nations to adopt the historic resolution on decolonization in 1960. If, as a result of the Special Committee's action and the heart-rending evidence supplied by petitioners from areas still suffering under the yoke of colonialism and racial bigotry, some headway could be made towards bringing the entire problem of colonialism into a new focus, the Committee would have achieved its purpose.

265. The representative of Chile expressed his delegation's sincere gratitude to the Government of the Republic of Zambia for the generous hospitality being extended to the Special Committee during its stay in Zambia. The Zambian Government's invitation had made it possible for the Committee to meet for the second time in that land of freedom, where it had been privileged to hear the lofty address - whose human content was stamped with the die of the most absolute sincerity - of President Kaunda, as every indefatigable in the forefront of the struggle against colonialism.

266. The Chileans knew and admired President Kaunda's dynamic personality, for the Chilean Government and people had been privileged to receive him as a guest of honour, and his presence and words alike had made a deep impression on all sectors of the population. Everyone had recognized him as an eminent statesman who was leading his people with a sure hand and extraordinary clear-sightedness along the path of progress and ever-increasing prosperity.

267. For the Chileans, President Kaunda was, above all else, a great African leader who stood at the head of the battle being waged to overthrow the last bastions of a hateful colonial régime and put an end to racial discrimination and infringements of human rights. By its sacrifices, Zambia had given proof of its devotion to the cause of African liberation and its determination to give effective support to that cause. In that most just struggle, President Kaunda and the Zambian people knew that they could count on Chile's sincere solidarity and full support. In that land of liberty, the Chilean delegation once more assured the people of Zimbabwe, subjected to the cruel tyranny of Ian Smith's racist minority régime, of its support. It would not be possible, without

seriously endangering world peace, to tolerate for much longer the existence of that régime, which trampled human rights underfoot and presented a challenge to the conscience of the international community. The economic sanctions adopted by the Security Council had been applied in full by Chile and by the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations. Nevertheless, as President Kaunda had pointed out, those sanctions would not be enough in themselves to bring down Ian Smith's rebel régime because of the considerable assistance being given him by his allies in the criminal venture which aimed at maintaining colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa. That unholy alliance would not take anyone by surprise; it only strengthened the courage and determination of those who were fighting for the freedom of Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and South West Africa. It would clearly be necessary to use infinitely more vigorous methods in order to attack the evil at its roots. If the United Kingdom was to crush the rebellion, it must use force, and the oppressed peoples themselves must, before all else, unite in order that that vitally important undertaking might be crowned with success. The Chilean delegation fully supported the appeal for unity which the Chairman of the Special Committee had just made. As, however, the international community too bore a collective responsibility for that lamentable situation, it had the obligation to take effective action to put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination.

268. The Latin American countries, and Chile in particular, had co-operated with their African and Asian brothers in the United Nations for the adoption of the resolutions calling for the liberation of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The special session of the United Nations General Assembly which had been convened for the purpose of considering what means should be employed to give effect to the historic decision of October 1966, under which the United Nations was to assume full responsibility for South West Africa, had ended just a few days ago. On that occasion, the Latin American nations had given further proof of their solidarity with Africa and Asia by submitting and unreservedly supporting a joint resolution providing that the United Nations should assume the direct administration of South West Africa in order to enable it to attain independence by way of self-determination.

269. He felt sure that the work done by the Special Committee in that hospitable land would help to bring closer the liberation of the peoples still subject to the colonial régime in Africa. The Republic of Zambia would have the satisfaction of having made a noble and effective contribution to the common effort.

270. The representative of Iran recalled President Kaunda's farewell to the Committee after its visit in 1965, in which he had expressed the hope that it might never have to come back. That hope, cherished by all freedom-loving peoples, was a fittingly sincere wish for the success of the Committee's work and the speedy liquidation of colonialism. That the Committee should again be in Zambia at the invitation of the President himself, who together with his Government and people were providing such generous hospitality, was due to the Committee's failure to fulfil its mandate, or rather to the failure of the Powers concerned to honour their obligations under the Charter. The unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia and the establishment of Ian Smith's rebel régime had taken place despite the action of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The situation had gone from bad to worse, and more fuel of the most explosive type had been added to the flames in southern Africa.

271. In his brilliant opening address, President Kaunda had outlined a picture of southern Africa which could not have failed to move even the most heartless. It depicted not only the sufferings and deprivations of the victims but also the irresponsible acts of the culprits. The address had been delivered by a man who was obviously deeply concerned with the human conditions and at the same time fully alert to the bitter facts of his environment. The Chairman had expressed the feelings of all members in saying that Zambia was truly blessed to have produced such a worthy son of Africa and that his virtues were likely to evoke the finest response from the Zambian people. The address would guide and inspire the Committee's work.

272. The Committee's return visit provided an opportunity to see at first hand the great strides made in Zambia's development. The gathering of 800 participants three months earlier in the same hall for Zambia's National Convention - Achievement 1967 - testified to the Government's determination to continue and intensify its development programme despite the obstacles created by the Southern Rhodesia problem. The Copper Conference at Lusaka was a further

reflection of Zambia's achievements in the quest for progress and prosperity. The problems to be studied were the outcome of the explosive situation created by some racist colonizers in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration, who had persistently obstructed the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In addition, they had systematically consolidated their stranglehold over the vast masses of Africans, intensifying the reign of terror they had instituted to shield them against the people's wrath in the hope of perpetuating their exploitation and domination. The Africans, however, remained steadfast in their determination to overcome the forces of darkness and oppression. During the hearings at Kinshasa, fresh evidence had been provided concerning Portugal's rule in the Territories under its domination and in particular in Angola and Guinea Bissao. The Committee had also learnt that different Angolan organizations were actively engaged in the fight for liberation; a similar fight was being waged in Guinea Bissao and Mozambique. In order to obtain maximum results in the shortest possible time, the nationalists had been repeatedly exhorted, especially by the Chairman, to unite.

273. In the beautiful city of Kitwe, the industrial centre of Zambia, the Special Committee hoped to hear petitioners from Zimbabwe, South West Africa and Swaziland. The information which they provided would be of immense value to the Committee, which would at the same time, be able to assure them that they were not alone in their fight for freedom and independence.

274. The Iranian Government, one of the few original participants in the preparation and drafting of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, would spare no effort in seeking the speedy liquidation of colonialism. It had already taken the action called for by the Security Council and the General Assembly to bring down the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia and was continuing to urge the release of all political prisoners, particularly such African leaders as Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole.

275. In its anti-colonial and anti-racist policy, the Iranian Government was moved by a strong desire for peace and justice. It recognized that there could be no lasting peace in Africa until the dark forces of oppression and exploitation were overthrown and until every African regained his dignity and full freedom and

rights. No peace was possible so long as the despicable episode of Sandra Laing could recur. The day of liberation from the remaining vestiges of colonialism in Africa was drawing near, but its coming could be hastened only if the various nationalist groups took a united stand against the oppressor. The paramount importance of unity among the ranks of the freedom-fighters could not be exaggerated. He therefore reiterated the appeal which the Chairman had so wisely launched. With unity, not only would the attainment of freedom and independence in the remaining parts of Africa be greatly hastened, but President Kaunda's prophecy would also come to pass and Africa would be able to contribute much to world happiness and enlightenment during the second half of the twentieth century. It had, in fact, already begun to do so, but the full impact of its contribution would be felt only when all the continent was free.

276. The opportunity to hold some of the Special Committee's meetings in Zambia would enable it to co-ordinate its action, especially with the African freedom-fighters, in the pursuit for freedom and justice. Reiterating his thanks to the President, Government and people of Zambia for their kind invitation, he assured them that the people and Government of Iran wished them every success in their tremendous and courageous efforts to better the life of the Zambian people and liberate the Zimbabwe people.

277. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania thanked the Government and people of Zambia for their invitation to the Special Committee to meet in their gallant country. Their typical warm hospitality was all the more praiseworthy in view of the fact that they were not perturbed by the aggressive designs of the henchmen of imperialism lurking south of their border.

278. The strong bonds binding the people of Tanzania and Zambia had a historical background of long standing. The efforts of the Government and people of Zambia had always been a necessary and important complement to Tanzania's own efforts to liberate the African continent, to bring about the rapid development and progress of its lands and, above all, to achieve the unity of Africa which all the forces of reaction strongly feared. In those efforts, the people and Government of Zambia, headed by their wise and gallant leader, held a prominent position. Their fight for liberation was an illustration of the iniquitous manoeuvres of the United Kingdom colonialists and their efforts to coerce and

suppress the African peoples. Under the steadfast leadership of President Kaunda and the unflinching dedication of the masses to their patriotic fight for national emancipation, the forces of United Kingdom colonialism had been defeated. The Zambian people's gigantic economic and other achievements had been possible only because they had routed the exploiters and wrested from them control of their motherland's destiny.

279. President Kaunda's opening address had been not only the counsel of a great statesman but also the inspiring appeal of a gallant fighter for the acquisition and consolidation of Africa's freedom and liberty in all parts of the world and reflected the militant spirit of his own country.

280. It was therefore only natural that the Government and people of Zambia had invited the Special Committee to meet in their country in order that, by direct contact, it could acquaint itself at first hand with the situation in Southern Rhodesia where Ian Smith and his racist minority régime were continuing the colonial subjugation of the African people. That situation was the result of the colonial policies of the United Kingdom Government, which had for decades, while exploiting the rich resources of their land, suppressed the African people of Zimbabwe and manoeuvred the white minority into power, with the consequent usurping of State control. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia was a tool of international imperialism and the caretaker of the foreign financial monopolies which were even extending their illegal operations in Zimbabwe.

The Tanzanian delegation would deal with that aspect in greater detail later, in order to expose the hypocrisy and opportunism of the forces of reaction which, because of their lust for profit, were boosting the illegal Smith régime and impeding the attainment of independence by the African people of Zimbabwe.

281. It was such factors which revealed the true motives and hypocrisy of the opposing forces which had been calling the loudest for so-called economic sanctions and engaging in every possible kind of manoeuvre in order to prevent the use of force which was the only effective way of crushing and eliminating that product of imperialism, the Ian Smith régime. The continuation of colonialism in any part of the world was a threat to freedom everywhere, and the situation in Southern Rhodesia was even more threatening because it was based on the racial policy of a fascist minority and deviously protected by the United Kingdom. The

minority régime, as a tool of international imperialism, was committing all types of atrocities in order to maintain its illegal position. As late as 19 April 1967, its spokesman had announced that the oppressive forces had been reinforced. The budget of its aggressive army for the financial year 1966-67 had been increased by roughly 20 per cent over the previous year. Such militaristic moves, with the introduction of the apartheid armed forces in Zimbabwe, not only revealed the desperation of the imperialist henchmen but also reflected the aggressive designs against the African peoples as a whole and those of Zambia in particular.

282. A similar situation prevailed in Mozambique and Angola, where the Portuguese colonialists were daily committing barbarous crimes against the population in order to exploit those lands for the sole benefit of the international financial monopolies. In South West Africa, the apartheid régime of South Africa, in defiance of the international community, was desperately attempting to cling to the Territory. Those were, however, all temporary phenomena, because the revolutionary forces of the peoples of those Territories were waging a just and necessary fight which would finally triumph. The Africans and freedom-loving people everywhere had pledged themselves to rid humanity of colonialism. The Tanzanian delegation, therefore, appealed to the heroic people of Zimbabwe and to all freedom-fighters to close their ranks, and, in an irresistible wave, to eliminate the forces of colonialism from their homeland.

283. The Special Committee was most anxious to receive all possible information which would serve the interests of decolonization, as called for by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It was therefore grateful to the Government and people of Zambia for the opportunity to meet the Zimbabwe and other liberation forces. His delegation was convinced that, under the wise leadership of President Kaunda, the people of Zambia would attain yet greater achievements which, in the final analysis, were those of Africa as a whole and a blow to the forces of colonialism and imperialism.

284. The representative of Venezuela thanked the President, Government and people of the Republic of Zambia, on behalf of his delegation, for their warm welcome and generous hospitality. The meetings which the Special Committee was holding in Zambia were of very special significance. In the short time which had elapsed since it had become independent, the Republic of Zambia had twice extended

an invitation to the Special Committee and had welcomed it with unbounded enthusiasm. That gesture was a clear manifestation of that country's desire to serve the cause of decolonization. But the most irrefutable proof of its anti-colonial dedication was afforded by the sacrifices which that young country had had to make and the high price it had had to pay for its loyalty to the cause of freedom in that part of the African continent which was still dominated by colonial forces. Amid all those sacrifices, the President and people of Zambia had come before the Special Committee to give testimony to their firm resolve to support its work. At the most critical moment in their short history as an independent country, as President Kaunda had said, the Government and people of Zambia had come and told the Committee that their revolt against colonial oppression and their readiness to fight for the ideal of freedom remained unswerving. The Venezuelan delegation admired the Zambian people for their resolve to make their country a symbol of salvation for their oppressed brothers. Zambia's flank bore a wound which would heal only when colonialism and racism had finally disappeared from the African continent. It was a small country, but the cause for which it was fighting and the principles by which it was inspired would make it immortal. As long as Africa and the world had before their eyes examples like that of Zambia, the principles on behalf of which the Special Committee was opposing the paranoid madness of the racists of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa and colonialism wherever it appeared would never perish. As long as there were freedom-loving men like President Kaunda and peoples resolved, like the people of Zambia, to sacrifice themselves in the cause of freedom, the conspiracy being hatched in Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration against the most elementary principles of the civilized world would have no possibility of survival.

285. He expressed his heartfelt appreciation to President Kaunda for the constructive and moving address he had made before the Special Committee. His emotion had expressed itself in tears which would cease to flow only when the ignominious fate imposed on other African peoples had been ended for all time. The problem of Southern Rhodesia had reached its most critical point following the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith's racist minority Government. That declaration had been the consequence if not of the complicity

at least of its complaisant attitude, an attitude that remained unchanged.

The measures taken to put an end to the illegal situation in Southern Rhodesia had not only come too late but had proved incapable of affecting the Rhodesian régime mainly because the allies of its odious policy continued to disregard the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council. More effective measures must therefore be taken to bring the situation in that Territory to an end once and for all.

286. True to its anti-colonial tradition and unwavering in its support for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Venezuelan Government had rigorously applied the measures adopted by the Security Council. Those who believed that the people of Zimbabwe could be deprived by force of their right to freedom and independence were mistaken. Venezuelan and Latin American solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe needed no comment; it was lasting and unshakable.

287. The representative of Finland thanked the Government of Zambia for its invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in that young, proud and dynamic country. Members had been struck by the warm welcome and felt the keen interest taken in their work.

288. He particularly wanted to thank President Kaunda for his moving address and to say that he was very much impressed by President Kaunda's sincerity and great understanding of the serious problems that concerned not only Zambia but all countries present.

289. Members were well aware that they were, geographically speaking, very close to the scene of one of the most difficult and serious situations which had confronted the United Nations: the situation in southern Africa and especially Southern Rhodesia, concerning which the Finnish delegation fully shared the indignation, frustration and impatience expressed by previous speakers. It was most unfortunate that the measures so far taken had not produced any decisive results. In spite of the weight of world opinion and contrary to all accepted principles of human rights, Mr. Smith's illegal régime continued to uphold its system of minority rule and oppression of the African people. The solution of that explosive problem called for concerted action. Unless all countries were united their efforts to achieve a peaceful solution, the danger of violent racial conflict was bound to increase.

290. He was fully aware of the special problems posed by the situation for Zambia and appreciated the economic sacrifices referred to by President Kaunda in saying that his young country was passing through the most critical period in its history, but past experience had shown that sanctions, to be really effective, must be extensive and fully implemented. Finland had fully responded to the recommendations and decisions of the Security Council. An act had recently been passed authorizing the Government to take all necessary measures to implement fully Security Council resolution 232, although, in fact, in pursuance of the recommendations contained in resolution 217, it had already decided to bring all trade between Finland and Southern Rhodesia under government control, as a result of which it had come to a virtual standstill.

291. He reiterated his belief that the Special Committee's fact-finding visit would lead to a better understanding of the difficult and serious problems of Territories still under colonial rule and facilitate their effective solution in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples.

292. The Finnish Government's attitude to the problem of colonialism was quite clear and well known. It followed the nordic tradition of opposition to all forms of minority rule and racial discrimination, considering it to be self-evident that all peoples of the world should have the right to choose their own future and to live in a society based on equality of opportunity and freedom from discrimination.

293. As the representative of one of the nordic countries, he expressed his appreciation that a visit to the Dag Hammarskjold Memorial had been included in the official programme. It was very proper that a United Nations body in Zambia should pay homage to the late Secretary-General, who had lost his life in the service of the Organization.

294. Finally, he thanked the Government of Zambia for its efficient organization of the Special Committee's visit. The contacts between Finland and Zambia were far closer than it would appear from the two countries' geographical position. In September 1966, Finland had had the pleasure of welcoming an important delegation from Zambia, headed by Vice-President Kamanga and including the Minister for Foreign Affairs which would contribute to the establishment of closer relations between the two countries.

295. The representative of Syria said that, on behalf of his delegation, he wished first of all, to join the previous speakers in expressing his heartfelt gratitude to the people and Government of Zambia for the warm hospitality which the Special Committee was meeting throughout their beautiful country. Thanks to that hospitality, the Committee had been able to pursue its scrutiny of certain African questions and to seek out an equitable solution for the countries and peoples still living under the yoke of colonialism.

296. The Syrian delegation had been especially moved by the wise and impressive words addressed to the Special Committee at the opening meeting by President Kaunda. As it had listened to him, it had recognized clearly the sincerity of that great African leader's feelings and his unfailing dedication to the task of ensuring his people's prosperity and of helping other African peoples who were fighting to recover their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. Southern Rhodesia, about which Mr. Kaunda had spoken at length and which the Chairman of the Special Committee had himself mentioned in his brilliant address, had undoubtedly been one of the main focal points of that struggle for a number of years. The illegal racist minority régime which Ian Smith was stubbornly maintaining in that troubled part of Southern Africa continued to present an explosive situation which was threatening international peace and security and was of especial concern to the Special Committee and other principal organs of the world Organization.

297. The racial discrimination, segregation and other abuses committed by Smith's rebel régime for the benefit of a white minority which kept itself in power at the expense of the inalienable rights of the overwhelming African majority of the Zimbabwe people were rightly regarded by those forums of international opinion as an abominable crime against the whole of mankind. It was hardly necessary to recall that the ink of General Assembly resolution 2022 (XX) of 5 November 1965, solemnly declaring the opposition of the United Nations to any unilateral declaration of the independence by the United Kingdom colony, had not yet been dry when Ian Smith had proclaimed that so-called independence on 11 November 1965, less than a week after the date of the General Assembly resolution. Since that date, Ian Smith had persistently continued to defy the United Nations and world public opinion.

298. He would not have been able to do so had he not enjoyed the solid support of his racist partners in Portugal and South Africa, which those régimes had, moreover, been obliged to provide in face of the ever-rising tide of popular liberation movements. It would undoubtedly have been unable to persist in its defiance if it had not enjoyed the questionable complicity of the United Kingdom, which had consistently engaged in a complex series of clever manoeuvres to spare a rebel minority that was usurping the rights of an entire people.

299. The Security Council meeting of 8 December 1966 which had been convened on the initiative of United Kingdom diplomacy in order to propose mandatory selective sanctions against the rebel régime had turned out to be just another link in that skilfully forged chain of manoeuvres. It was, indeed, hardly likely that those sanctions against Smith's illegal régime could be effective so long as Portugal and South Africa firmly refused to apply them and Smith's other imperialist partners were determined to safeguard the strategic and economic interests of their business firms, which were continuing to direct Southern Rhodesia's production.

300. Africa had refused to endorse that new policy of the United Kingdom. In November 1966, a month before the Security Council had declared itself in favour of those sanctions, the Conference of African Heads of State and Government, meeting at Addis Ababa, had declared that the programme of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as conceived and directed by the United Kingdom Government, was incapable of bringing down the illegal government at Salisbury, had condemned the United Kingdom's refusal to crush the rebel government of Southern Rhodesia and had once more urged the United Kingdom to bring about the immediate downfall of that government by every possible means, including force.

301. Syria, which had already taken successive decisions, on 31 May and 26 June 1966, to break off all economic and trade relations with the illegal Salisbury régime and to suspend all direct and indirect dealings with Southern Rhodesia, had been and remained convinced, together with the African States, that the United Kingdom Government bore full responsibility for the present situation in Southern Rhodesia and was in duty bound to remedy that situation by all the means available to it in its capacity as administering Power, including the use of force. The Syrian Republic had clearly stated its position in a letter which it had addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 16 February 1967 (S/7748).

302. In his eloquent address, President Kaunda had made several references, when speaking of the Rhodesian rebellion, to the struggle of the Arab people in Aden. He had mentioned, in particular, how the people of Aden were still being ruthlessly held down by the British settlers, whereas the Salisbury rebels were still being treated with scrupulous circumspection. As President Kaunda had so eloquently put it: "Are the human beings in Aden different from the rebellious whites in Rhodesia?". The logic of colonialism was, indeed, strange, and it was to be wondered how it could justify before the world its use of a double standard without fear of being discredited by such flagrant discrimination.

303. Under the impetus of Mr. Kaunda's profound observations, the Syrian delegation was led to carry the comparison somewhat further. The colonialism in Southern Rhodesia was in essence a colonialism based on settlement in the heart of Africa. A similar kind of colonialism had been rife for years in the Middle East, in the midst of the Arab nation, for a part of that nation, so dear to his own heart, had itself been invaded by bands of Zionists who, through the collusion of imperialism and colonialism, had come from all corners of the earth to settle in Arab Palestine at the expense of the inalienable rights of the indigenous population. The outrage committed in the Middle East had been more flagrant than those committed elsewhere because the original inhabitants of Palestine had been driven by armed force from their homes, which had then been occupied by the baneful alien usurper whose successive acts of aggression were still disturbing the peace in that part of the world. Just as it was true that colonialism based on settlement was by its very nature racist, it was also true that it could survive only by violence.

304. In the brilliant address he had made at the opening meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee had once again rightly stressed the importance of unity in the struggle of the popular liberation movements. The Syrian delegation fully endorsed that opinion. It was convinced also that the common cause of the liberation of peoples would be strengthened if, in the resolute struggle being waged in the three great awakening continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the national liberation movements continuously supported each other in their efforts to recover the inalienable rights of the peoples still subjected to the colonialist yoke.

305. The representative of Poland expressed his delegation's gratitude to the President, Government and people of Zambia for their generous invitation to the Special Committee, which greatly appreciated their warm welcome. That it should issue a second invitation was further proof of the deep interest Zambia had always taken in the activities of the United Nations and of their dedication to the noble cause of liberating the millions of Africans suffering from colonialism and racism. Those members who had had the privilege to visit Zambia in 1965 would be gratified to see the progress achieved under President Kaunda's great leadership and to admire the determined approach to the great task of development adopted by Zambia since its independence in 1964.

306. The Polish delegation was grateful to President Kaunda for having spared the time to open the Special Committee's meetings in his country. It had been greatly impressed by his moving address in which he had described in the most touching terms the seriousness of the situation in southern Africa. Wedged in between Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, Zambia occupied a unique position in the heroic struggle against those strongholds of racism and colonialism and was playing a major role in helping the freedom fighters in those Territories. A special tribute should be paid to the young Republic for its gallant contribution and the sacrifices it was making at a crucial juncture in the fight for human rights and independence.

307. Poland's attitude on colonial matters was well known. For centuries it had been fighting to preserve or regain its independence and was therefore particularly sympathetic to the efforts made by other peoples in the same cause. The Polish Government had expressed those feelings on many occasions and in various forms and would continue to support the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique to freedom and independence.

308. Since the Committee had last met at Lusaka in 1965, important resolutions had been adopted by the General Assembly, which, if they had been implemented, would have led to the liquidation of the abhorrent colonial régimes in southern Africa. However, the events that had taken place during that period bore witness to the grave deterioration of the situation in the whole region. His delegation was particularly concerned at the situation in Southern Rhodesia and deeply regretted the absence from the Special Committee of the representative of

the United Kingdom, which was politically responsible for the Territory. Blame for the unilateral declaration of independence and the continuing existence of the illegal minority régime lay with the United Kingdom Government which had reprehensibly failed to take any vigorous action in its capacity as administering Power to end the rebellion of the racist minority. As expected the selective sanctions, initiated at the request of the United Kingdom, had proved ineffective because of the open defiance of South Africa, Portugal and Western Powers with vested interests in the area to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The illegal minority régime was taking full advantage of the apparent weakness of the United Kingdom Government and above all of its repeated announcements that force would not be used to quell the rebellion. It was also obvious that the Smith régime, confident of the support of the monopolistic industrial combines of the United Kingdom, United States and the Federal Republic of Germany and other foreign financial groups interested in the preservation of the colonial status quo in southern Africa, was engaged in an unholy alliance with South Africa and Portugal to perpetuate white supremacy. Smith had come out into the open with his apartheid policy of separate development and was tightening his grip on the 4 million Africans of Zimbabwe. Thus the United Kingdom Government and its allies had once more paid lip service to the appeals and recommendations of the OAU and the many United Nations resolutions. The Polish delegation shared the opinion expressed by President Kaunda in his opening address that the United Kingdom's impotence in quelling the rebellion, coupled with meaningless pronouncements, was part of a deliberate design to mislead the world. In its view, the Committee and the United Nations were in duty bound to bend their efforts towards defeating those designs.

309. During its meetings in Zambia, the Special Committee would have ample opportunity to explore more deeply the various items on its agenda, particularly the question of Southern Rhodesia, Zambia's immediate neighbour. The sons of Zimbabwe who would appear as petitioners would provide first-hand information and new evidence which would help the Committee better to understand the realities of the situation in the area.

310. The Polish delegation considered that the principal function of the Special Committee during its present series of meetings was to work out practical measures to assist the national liberation movements and secure the compliance of the colonial Powers with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those States which assisted the enemies of the people of Zimbabwe and were instrumental in building up the vast colonial empire in southern Africa should be denounced and isolated. It should be impressed upon the United Kingdom that it must live up to its responsibilities and introduce democratic institutions in Southern Rhodesia, based on the principle "one man one vote", and grant independence to Zimbabwe.

311. In conclusion, he hoped that the Special Committee's meetings at Kitwe would achieve practical results and encourage the freedom-fighters in their legitimate fight for the liquidation of colonialism in Africa.

312. The representative of Sierra Leone said that the President of Zambia had delivered yet another of his very moving addresses to the Special Committee at the previous meeting. As the Chairman had said, it was undoubtedly the most striking address that the Committee had heard since its arrival in Africa. Zambia was not a new country for his delegation since it had been present in May 1965 when the President had expressed his strong conviction that Ian Smith would make a unilateral declaration of independence, a view rejected by the United Kingdom as unthinkable. Events had subsequently proved that the President's assessment of the situation was correct. On the occasion of the Committee's last visit, it had been able to share with the people of Zambia the joy of recent independence when that country became the newest Member of the United Nations. That, in the face of strong opposition, so young a nation had been prepared to extend an invitation to the Committee had kindled his imagination and commanded his respect. That courageous nation was currently facing economic, political and diplomatic problems created by the double-dealing United Kingdom Government, and the fact that it had once again invited the Committee to study the problem of Southern Rhodesia from close at hand, was not only a supreme act of sacrifice but also a tremendous reminder of the fact that President Kaunda and his people placed in the United Nations a faith he had once again reiterated in his address. It was vital that the Committee should not fail them and should

convince its parent body that every endeavour must be made to persuade the administering Power with jurisdiction over Southern Rhodesia to cease its vacillation, which only added to the strength of Smith, Salazar and Vorster.

313. The President had suggested that it might be a blessing in disguise that the Committee was meeting at Kitwe, in the heart of the copper belt. It would be able to judge for itself the impact of United Kingdom intransigence on Zambian life and realize the problems posed by the Rhodesian threat to the main source of the Zambian economy.

314. In the name of the people of Sierra Leone, he saluted the people of Zambia for their firm stand and assured them that his country would continue to support them to the best of its ability. His country had not changed its attitude towards the Southern Rhodesian crisis and would continue to insist that it was folly on the part of the United Kingdom Government to have told Smith in advance that force would not be used. It was still convinced that voluntary sanctions were a mockery and that the only effective way of quelling a rebellion was by force. If force could be used to suppress a strike, a minor tumult or a popular uprising, what logical reason was there why all the might that the United Kingdom could command should not be used to quell the rebellion of Ian Smith and his 200,000 partners who were trying to enslave 4 million indigenous Africans in Zimbabwe?

315. The confrontation between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia was between a multiracial society in which all men lived in harmony and one dedicated to white domination. The white Rhodesians, the white South Africans and the white Portuguese were welcome in the African continent, but Africans could not and would not tolerate a situation in which they were third-class citizens in their own lands.

316. When, in 1965 and earlier, the African and Asian countries had told the United Kingdom that it should not preclude the use of force, they had been accused of being unrealistic and unduly pessimistic. He agreed with the President's analysis that, if being realistic meant compromising moral principles for "kith-and-kin" sentiments and being optimistic meant making ill-conceived pronouncements that the situation created by the unilateral declaration of independence would be over in a matter of weeks as a result of inadequate and

piecemeal voluntary sanctions, then he preferred to have nothing to do with such "realism" or "optimism". After the unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country, together with three other African Ministers, had attempted to convince the United Kingdom that only total sanctions with the possibility of using force could be meaningful, but no attention had been paid to them. The Security Council had ended its deliberations with the famous Manuela resolution of 20 November 1965 on the subject of two oil tankers. By 16 December 1966, the United Kingdom was initiating action for another Security Council resolution concerning voluntary sanctions, a resolution which was doomed in advance. Violations were a daily occurrence and governments and nationals turned a blind eye to leakages. Quite recently, as President Kaunda had mentioned, third parties had had the audacity to export to Zambia 1,000 tons of crude Rhodesian sugar.

317. Such flagrant breaches were symptomatic of the world's reaction to the crisis. The fact that sanctions had failed had become so notorious that even Wilson had accepted it. It was reliably suggested that, within the next few weeks, the United Kingdom would once again appear before the Security Council to ask for further sanctions. If such an application was made, his country would once again point out that it was impossible effectively to strangle an economy unless there was willingness to carry out enforcement action under Chapter XI of the Charter. As if to emphasize the United Kingdom's lack of faith in its own policy, the Foreign Minister of that country was reported to have said a week before that his Government would ask the Secretary-General to send a special representative to Southern Rhodesia for purposes of conciliation. His delegation wondered what conciliation was intended.

318. It was reminded of United Kingdom intransigence over another Territory. For many years, the members of the Special Committee and the Members of the General Assembly had been urging the United Kingdom to establish a United Nations presence in Aden. That Government had always refused. Suddenly, at the end of 1966, when its policy had created the worst relationship ever in that Territory, the United Kingdom had asked for a United Nations presence to clean up the mess it had created. Similarly, in Rhodesia where, having by its foolish attachment to "kinship" rather than the principles of human

rights and the Charter made it possible for Smith to consolidate his illegal régime, the United Kingdom Government now wanted the Secretary-General's special representative and through him, the General Assembly to take the blame for its failure. His Government had constantly maintained that Southern Rhodesia was a colonial question and that the responsibility for solving it lay with the United Kingdom. The United Nations was not empowered to negotiate with a colonial Territory but it could discuss with the administering Power how decolonization could best be effected, and an administering Power seeking such help should be prepared to accept the recommendations made. It was to be hoped that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom would have the courage to take an unpopular decision which would command world respect and contribute to the stability of southern Africa, namely, to make it perfectly clear to Ian Smith and his group that their days were numbered and the time had come for all the people of Zimbabwe, and not just white Rhodesians, to build a nation in accordance with the will of the majority.

319. He mentioned, in passing, the Southern Rhodesian White Paper which would bring the Territory nearer to apartheid and a diabolical union with South Africa. In that connexion, President Kaunda had warned the Special Committee of the grave danger of a racial and ideological war in southern Africa and of the duty of the world community to avert that threat. To do so it was necessary that the super Powers, the major Powers and all others should pool their efforts and not be separated by selfish parochial interests. Wherever the will existed, every nation, whatever its ideology, found a means of acting. The nations of the world had to unite to save southern Africa and ensure the freedom of all its peoples.

320. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics thanked the President, Government and people of Zambia for their hospitality, and President Kaunda for his address which manifested, once again, the readiness of the Zambian people to continue the fight for the freedom and independence of African countries from colonialism. The Soviet Union, which would shortly celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution and had transformed itself from a backward and exploited country to a united and prosperous one, well understood the difficulties confronting Zambia on its path to independent development.

321. Zambia was an immediate neighbour of the colonial Territories of Portugal and the racist strongholds of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It was also close to South West Africa, whose people were suffering under the yoke of the South African racists who were illegally maintaining their hold on that Territory. Zambia's successes in overcoming the sequels of colonialism were an inspiration to its neighbours still under the domination of the colonialists. The Soviet Union would continue to co-operate with Zambia and other African countries in giving support to the people of Zimbabwe in their legitimate fight for national independence.

322. The Special Committee again had to consider the question of Southern Rhodesia, involving the fate of the 4 million people of Zimbabwe. The racist minority in Southern Rhodesia, flouting world opinion and in defiance of a number of United Nations decisions, continued to deny the right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence. That was due to the refusal of the imperialist Powers to implement the Declaration on decolonization because they did not want to give up their plans to maintain southern Africa as a stronghold of colonialism.

Eighteen months ago when, as a result of the rebellion, the situation in Southern Rhodesia had become dangerous, the General Assembly had approved measures aimed at helping the people of Zimbabwe in their fight for freedom. The General Assembly had recommended that the explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia should be discussed by the Security Council which, on 16 December 1966, had adopted a resolution imposing economic sanctions on the racist Salisbury régime. Those sanctions had proved to be insufficient and ineffective. The situation in Southern Rhodesia continued to deteriorate instead of the rebels in Southern Rhodesia being brought to heel, the racist régime had been able to consolidate itself; instead of the establishment of a government representing a majority of the population, the Zimbabwe people continued to be the object of cruel repression; instead of action to end the racist persecution of 1961 and its replacement by a democratic constitution, legislation was being promulgated which only strengthened racial discrimination and was designed to perpetuate the privileges of the white settler minority.

323. In violation of United Nations decisions and despite the imposition of sanctions, the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, with the support of its many patrons abroad and the help of the international monopolies, continued to build up a new bastion of racism in southern Africa which constituted a menace not only to

the indigenous population of Southern Rhodesia but also to the independent African States, since the Rhodesian racists were working in close collaboration with their spiritual brethren in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

324. The United Kingdom, as the administering Power, was unquestionably responsible for the situation in Southern Rhodesia. In December 1966, the Soviet delegation in the Security Council had drawn attention to the fact that the measures taken by the United Kingdom in relation to Southern Rhodesia were quite inadequate to divert the minority régime from its criminal policy towards the indigenous inhabitants. The sanctions imposed did not cover oil, on which the economy of Southern Rhodesia was largely dependent. Even the partial sanctions imposed were ignored by the Western Powers, whose monopolies were ruthlessly exploiting the national wealth of Zimbabwe. Those monopolies had not limited and had in fact extended the scope of their operations in Southern Rhodesia. Exhaustive evidence of that fact was contained in numerous publications, in particular in document A/AC.109/L.393 of April 1967.

325. Investments by the United Kingdom monopolies in Southern Rhodesia amounted to £200 million; more than 180 United Kingdom firms had more than 290 branch offices in Southern Rhodesia. Other countries with large investments in Southern Rhodesia were South Africa with £75 million; the United States with £20 million; and the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Portugal and others. Seventy-five per cent of Rhodesia's mining industry belonged to foreign monopolies. Amongst western European countries, the Federal Republic of Germany in particular had increased its trade turnover with Southern Rhodesia. That showed that the West German Government was continuing to co-operate with the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. Document A/6300/Add.1, for instance, confirmed the striking fact that the Federal Republic of Germany took 40.8 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's exports to western Europe and provided 29.1 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's imports from western Europe. During 1966, the average monthly value of the goods delivered by Southern Rhodesia to West Germany had risen from \$3.8 million to approximately \$5 million. That stood in marked contrast to the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which had strictly complied with the United Nations resolution and had refused to recognize the Smith régime. As could be seen from document S/7794, the German Democratic Republic had reaffirmed its determination to fulfil without

reservation the demands set forth in Security Council resolution 232 (1966). In conformity with its consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy, the Government of the German Democratic Republic was supporting the just struggle of the African population of Southern Rhodesia for freedom and independence and was actively working to bring about the end of the racist régime. In statements dated 13 November 1965 and 9 June 1966, that Government had already made it clear that it refused to recognize the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, which ran counter to the principles of international law, and that even at that time it had broken off all trade relations with Southern Rhodesia. That stood in marked contrast to the policy of the German Democratic Republic which had strictly complied with the United Nations resolution and had refused to recognize the Smith régime.

326. Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins of the Southern Rhodesian Air Force had recently claimed that, except for the South African Air Force, the Southern Rhodesian Air Force was the most powerful within a radius of 3,500 miles. The military budget of Southern Rhodesia had been increased by 20 per cent during the past year.

327. The delegation of the Soviet Union insisted that effective measures must be taken against the fanatical racists of Salisbury. The problem could be solved along the lines of the programme approved by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: through the repeal of the racist constitution of 1961, the release of political prisoners, the holding of elections on the basis of "one man, one vote" and the transfer of power without delay to a government representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. In order to implement that programme, the Western Powers - and above all the United Kingdom - must be required to fulfil without duplicity the decisions of the United Nations aimed at guaranteeing the rights of the people of Zimbabwe to true independence and freedom. States which undermined the United Nations decision on Southern Rhodesia, in particular South Africa and Portugal, deserved the severest condemnation.

328. The Soviet Union would continue to comply to the letter with the Security Council's decisions. It held the views that no decisions of the United Nations relieved the United Kingdom, as administering Power, of the full responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia and the tragic plight of the people of Zimbabwe. That applied not only to the United Kingdom but also to its NATO partners which supported the United Kingdom in its Southern Rhodesian policy.

329. True to its policy of supporting the national liberation movements of colonial peoples and countries, the Soviet Union was in complete sympathy with the people of Zimbabwe and was ready to co-operate with the African countries in providing full support to the people of Zimbabwe in its just fight for national independence. The Soviet Union would endorse all United Nations decisions aimed at eradicating colonialism and racism from southern Africa.

330. The representative of Mali expressed his delegation's gratitude to the people of Zambia, to their party and to their Government under the clear-sighted leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda for the kind invitation which had been extended to the Special Committee and for the warm and brotherly welcome accorded it. Mali had not been surprised by the Zambian gesture because ever since that country had become independent, it had been the bastion of anti-colonialism in an especially sensitive region where injustice, racism and the most flagrant kind of exploitation had unfortunately run rampant to the detriment of the African population. Mali respected Zambia's brave stand, expressed its full sympathy with that country and gave it its unconditional support in its struggle to endow the black man with the dignity which the racist settlers of Salisbury and Pretoria, with the support of the big Western Powers, were flouting with impunity in defiance of world public opinion.

331. The Special Committee could not do better than to study the situation in Southern Rhodesia from the vantage point of the mining region of Zambia, a short distance from Salisbury. Its presence there should give fresh confidence and courage to the ZAPU and ZANU nationalists fighting against the racist minority of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. The last United Nations General Assembly had considered the grave situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and had adopted important recommendations which had become binding upon all States Members of the United Nations. Since the previous autumn, the situation had continued to deteriorate in that United Kingdom colony. Ian Smith had consolidated his position, as the President of the Republic of Zambia had so rightly pointed out at the opening of the session at Kitwe. Ever since the unilateral declaration of independence by the clique of racist colonialists led by Ian Smith, the United Kingdom, the administering Power, had confined itself to statements of intention, while refusing to take any vigorous action to restore the rule of law in the country, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

332. The delegation of Mali reaffirmed its consistent stand, which was one of condemnation for the unilateral independence of Southern Rhodesia. It considered that the United Kingdom bore full responsibility for the situation created in that country, and it denounced the manoeuvres of Wilson's Government. The only purpose of such delaying tactics was to enable Ian Smith's clique to establish itself comfortably in its illegal position, in order the better to exploit the people of Zimbabwe for the benefit of the United Kingdom companies and foreign monopolies operating in Southern Rhodesia.

333. On the proposal of the United Kingdom Government, the Security Council had adopted resolution 217 (1965) and, most important, resolution 232 (1966) imposing selective sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. Those resolutions had had no effect because of the negative attitude of the Pretoria and Lisbon régimes, which had vigorously supported Ian Smith. Thanks to that support and Wilson's procrastination, the Rhodesian economy was now even better off than before. Statistics published by the United Nations had shown the ineffectiveness of those sanctions, for the major Powers, from the United States to the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom included, had been expanding their trade with Ian Smith's régime even while their delegations, in their statements, had been condemning the stand taken by the racist settlers. That ambiguous situation had lasted long enough; the time had come for action. Document S/7781/Add.1, published on 23 February 1967, namely, more than two years after the adoption of the Security Council resolution, showed that the value of Southern Rhodesian exports of all commodities to the United States had totalled \$8,434,000 for the period from January to October 1966. During the same period, the value of Rhodesian exports to the Federal Republic of Germany had been \$25,579,000; to the United Kingdom, \$12,754,000; and to Japan, \$13,280,000. Sugar exports to the United Kingdom during the same period had totalled 20,486 tons, representing a value of \$1,278,000, and sugar exports to Canada had totalled 14,921 tons, representing a value of \$747,000. 334. During the same period, Southern Rhodesian exports of tobacco had amounted to: 714 tons, representing a value of \$933,000, to the United States; 1,751 tons, representing a value of \$1,742,000, to Belgium and Luxembourg; 6,293 tons, representing a value of \$7,267,000, to the Federal Republic of Germany; and 2,484 tons, representing a value of \$3,236,000 to Portugal (Mozambique).

335. Those were only a few examples selected from a list - appearing in document S/7781/Add.1, which had been compiled by the Secretariat - of commodities sold by Southern Rhodesia to the major Western Powers. That document showed that the United Kingdom had imported from Southern Rhodesia, between January and November 1966, 6,904 tons of tobacco, representing a value of \$8,243,000, and that, in the case of commodities such as hides and skins, asbestos, chromium ore and concentrates, iron, pig iron, copper and so forth, the major Powers were rushing to the support of Southern Rhodesia by purchasing those commodities at favourable prices, in violation of Security Council resolution 232 (1966). It was thus no longer surprising that Ian Smith was defying international opinion and strengthening his position by taking stricter coercive measures against the people of Zimbabwe. The reason why the major Western Powers refused to take the only valid and just course which could resolve the Rhodesian crisis, namely, the use of force, was obvious. It was to safeguard selfish interests and enable companies such as Hippo Valley Estates or Rhodesian Anglo-American (subsidiaries of the trust company, the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa), which had vast holdings in the sugar industry and in agriculture and other economic sectors of the country, to make bigger profits at the expense of the Zimbabwe people. Furthermore, the United Kingdom was drawing off from the Rhodesian economy 70 to 80 per cent of the profits which were transferred to London banks. There was thus an organized system of exploitation at all levels within that unfortunate country.

336. Mali denounced that collusion of interests which was preventing the people of Zimbabwe from attaining self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Zimbabwe people had been betrayed, and their natural wealth was being pillaged for the benefit of the international trusts and monopolies. For that reason, Mali welcomed the inclusion of the following item in the agenda for the next session of the General Assembly: "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination". There could be no doubt that it was precisely those sordid economic interests which lay behind the attitude of certain major Powers, and of the United Kingdom in particular, towards Ian Smith and Vorster.

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337. To the foregoing reasons must be added the alleged strategic value which the countries where racial discrimination prevailed represented for the hypothetical defence of the so-called free world. Mali rejected such a claim and considered that the principle of self-determination should apply for all alike.

338. Now that the world had realized the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions, it was time, if the worst was to be avoided, for the United Kingdom to use force to overthrow Ian Smith. It had been the United Kingdom which, four years previously, had armed the racist settlers by its refusal to comply with United Nations recommendations. It alone was thus responsible for the situation. In his country's opinion, economic sanctions, whether selective or total, would serve no purpose. The only suitable course was the use of force by the administering Power. That the United Kingdom was firmly convinced of that fact was demonstrated by its use of force to stifle Arab nationalism in Aden and the Protectorates. However, as President Kaunda had said, the blood of the white Southern Rhodesians was the same as that which flowed in the veins of the Arabs of occupied South Arabia and in the veins of the people of Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom's procrastination could be accounted for, it seemed, only by the fact that the racist settlers were of British stock and that the British preferred to sacrifice 4 million Africans rather than shed a single drop of British blood. If that were so, the nationalists were left with no other choice than to take up arms to liberate their country.

339. The Malian delegation joined with the Chairman in calling upon all nationalists to unite their efforts in order to join battle against the Salisbury racists. They could be assured of the total support of the Republic of Mali in their fight for the liberation of their country. He recalled that his Government did not recognize the present régime in Southern Rhodesia. He reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the United Nations Charter and all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Mali recognized the legitimacy of the struggle being waged by all the oppressed peoples - whether in Asia, the Middle East or right there in southern Africa - in order that man might live in freedom and dignity.

340. The representative of the United States of America expressed his warm appreciation for the invitation of the Government of Zambia, the hospitality of the people of Zambia and the excellent arrangements made for the Special Committee's stay at Kitwe. His delegation had been impressed and moved by President Kaunda's address in which he had spoken of the problems of colonialism, minority rule, and the denial of fundamental human rights in the area of southern Africa with which the Committee would deal during its meetings in Zambia.

341. Those problems were matters in which all free people were involved; they appealed to the conscience and the enlightened self-interest of the entire world community. The existence of colonial minority régimes in the countries surrounding Zambia created for it particularly pressing economic, political and social problems. His delegation was impressed with Zambia's progress in meeting those difficulties during the short time since its independence, notably in lessening its economic dependence on Southern Rhodesia and in strengthening alternative transport routes and sources of supply. In that connexion he recalled that the United States, immediately after the Smith régime's illegal declaration of independence, had assisted with a \$5 million emergency petroleum airlift to Zambia, and had supplied additional resources for road maintenance. Moreover, the United States Government was at present financing a full engineering survey of that portion of the Great North Road which lay in the United Republic of Tanzania. Zambia was progressing rapidly with practical plans for creating a dynamic, multiracial society, typified by its ambitious four-year development plan.

342. Relations between the United States and Zambia were characterized by mutual respect and understanding, although the two countries did not always agree on the best means of reaching mutually desired goals in the complex and potentially explosive political arena of southern Africa.

343. Turning to the two problems upon which the Special Committee would deliberate during its meetings in Zambia, he said that the United States supported the principle that the people of South West Africa should be enabled fully to exercise their right to self-determination and independence under the Charter of the United Nations, that the hateful and doomed policy of apartheid should be brought to an end in South West Africa and that the United Nations should discharge its

responsibilities with regard to that Territory. The General Assembly, in adopting resolution 2145 (XXI) which ended South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, had taken an important step. His Government supported that resolution and, in the words of Mr. Goldberg, "would do whatever it could by all appropriate and peaceful means to implement it".

344. Concerning the critical and unsolved problem in Southern Rhodesia, his Government had given strong support to the measures taken by the Security Council to bring the illegal Smith régime to an end. He reaffirmed his country's support for a peaceful solution to the Rhodesian problem to ensure the achievement of its objective, which, in the words of President Johnson, was "to open the full power and responsibility of nationhood to all the people of Rhodesia, not just 6 per cent of them".

345. His Government had voted for Security Council resolution 232 which imposed certain mandatory sanctions on Southern Rhodesia, and had complied fully with its provisions.

346. The representative of Yugoslavia thanked the President, Government and people of Zambia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in the beautiful city of Kitwe, thus demonstrating that Zambia was ready to contribute to the elimination of colonialism from Africa. President Kaunda's remarkable address reflected Zambia's determination to contribute fully to the liquidation of all remnants of the brutal and inhuman régime of colonialism.

347. The major Western Powers, in particular the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, were those most responsible for the present situation in Africa. They should regard President Kaunda's words as a serious warning of what would happen if they continued to support the illegal Smith régime. Moreover, President Kaunda's wise words would inspire the Special Committee in its work at Kitwe.

348. His own country was linked with Zambia by ties of friendship, a common policy of non-alignment, and a common desire to combat the threat of colonial and neo-colonial pressures and interference in the internal affairs of independent States. Both countries attached great importance to the United Nations and were doing all they could to make it an effective instrument for the achievement of its lofty aims.

349. The prompt eradication of colonialism was one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations. All progressive peoples were gravely concerned at the recent stagnation in the process of decolonization. Colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers were doing their best to impede the process of development in the newly independent countries and were attempting to strengthen their rule over Territories still under colonial domination. The most glaring examples were the racist régimes in the south of Africa, and Zambia, because of its geographical position, was directly threatened by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

350. Yugoslavia fully sympathized with the dangers and difficulties faced by Zambia. During its sessions at Kitwe the Special Committee would give special attention to the question of Southern Rhodesia. Because of the ineffective measures so far taken and the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to assume its responsibilities and employ military force, the situation in Southern Rhodesia was deteriorating, representing a direct threat not only to the future of the people of Zimbabwe, but also to that of Africa as a whole. The people of Yugoslavia fully shared the fears expressed by President Kaunda in that respect. It was the Committee's duty to denounce the real causes of concern in southern Africa and to address its demands to those upon whose policies, in the final analysis, the solution of the problem of southern Africa and other colonial problems depended.

351. His delegation was confident that Africa, with the aid of the progressive elements in the international community, would succeed in uprooting the last remnants of racism and colonialism from its soil. Progress was too irresistible to be diverted by the selfish interests of the racists of southern Africa or by their allies. Yugoslavia would, as in the past, continue to support the people of Zimbabwe, South West Africa and others who were fighting for their independence.

352. The representative of Bulgaria associated himself with the expressions of thanks to President Kaunda, his Government and people. In inviting the Special Committee, the Zambian Government had demonstrated its sense of responsibility with regard to finding a solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. Zambia had not only offered hospitality to thousands of refugees, but was also in the forefront of the fight against the criminal régime of Ian Smith and those who supported him.

353. The Special Committee would not forget President Kaunda's moving appeals to the conscience and goodwill of the Government of the United Kingdom to take effective measures against the Smith régime, nor his warnings to the United Kingdom and its Western allies that the illegal unilateral declaration of independence would have catastrophic consequences for Africa and the world as a whole. Members of the Committee had already had the privilege of hearing the remarkable statements of Mr. Kapwepwe, the Zambian Minister for Foreign Affairs in the General Assembly and the Security Council, in which he had declared that only the use of force by the United Kingdom could bring down the rebel régime. Unfortunately that country and its allies had not listened to those appeals. The United Kingdom was continuing blindly with its old imperialistic policies and had indeed encouraged the illegal régime by declaring before the unilateral declaration of independence that it would not use force against the rebels.

354. He assured the people of Zambia that Bulgaria admired their courage and determination to help their brothers of Zimbabwe at great personal sacrifice. Zambia's non-compromising policy was one of the most important factors in fighting the illegal Smith régime and in restoring the lawful rights of the Zimbabwe people.

355. His delegation had been deeply impressed by President Kaunda's address, by his evaluation of the present situation in Africa, and by his analysis of the unrealistic policy of the United Kingdom.

356. His Government's policy with respect to Southern Rhodesia coincided with that of the majority of the African States, which considered that only the use of force by the United Kingdom could bring down the illegal Smith régime. His delegation unhesitatingly supported President Kaunda's assertion that there was no alternative to the use of force by the United Kingdom, which bore full responsibility for the events in Southern Rhodesia. It also agreed that only thus could mandatory sanctions contribute to the elimination of the Smith régime.

357. The Special Committee would be discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia at a time when the Zimbabwe people's fight for liberty was entering a decisive phase. The Zambian invitation would give the Committee an opportunity to come into contact with the genuine representatives of the liberation movement. His delegation hoped that those representatives would concentrate and not dissipate

their efforts, and that they would inform the Committee of the role that the United Nations could play in mobilizing world opinion against the racist régimes in southern Africa. It also expected to hear new information concerning the support for those régimes afforded by the Western Powers and the members of NATO, and the activities of international monopolies and financial interests.

358. He asked the Observer for Zambia to transmit the cordial greetings of the Bulgarian people to the people of Zambia, and to assure them of Bulgaria's desire to develop friendly relations with them.

359. The representative of Madagascar said that he too wished to express sincere and profound gratitude on behalf of his delegation to the Government and people of the Republic of Zambia for their kind invitation, which had enabled the Special Committee to meet in Zambia once again. He was very touched by the hospitality and the brotherly welcome which the Zambian people had extended to the Committee.

360. His delegation also wished to state that it greatly appreciated the important and wise statement which President Kaunda had made at the Special Committee's first meeting in Zambia. That outstanding statement, which would undoubtedly provide the Committee with useful guidance in its work at Kitwe, had eloquently demonstrated the determination of the Government and people of Zambia to work for the liberation of the countries and peoples still under colonial domination.

361. Despite the long frontiers which it shared with the main proponents of colonialism, the Republic of Zambia was showing truly remarkable vigilance and courage in opposing the white racists of Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa.

362. His delegation shared the concern expressed by President Kaunda when he had denounced the United Kingdom's policy of "honourable defeat". It was the United Kingdom's duty to honour its responsibilities and obligations in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government was completely free to use all means at its disposal to solve the Rhodesian crisis. It was in that perspective that the Council of Ministers of the OAU, at its eighth regular session, at Addis Ababa, had adopted a resolution condemning the United Kingdom Government yet again for having evaded its moral and constitutional responsibilities with regard to the people of Zimbabwe.

363. Madagascar remained faithful to its policy of non-violence and did not advocate the use of force to solve colonial problems. However, if the use of force was

considered the ultimate solution to the Rhodesian problem, in his delegation's view it was for the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom alone, to use it. That was the solution which the United Kingdom Government had already adopted to crush nationalist movements in other colonies.

364. In conclusion, he wished to reaffirm his delegation's firm resolve to work for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to assure the national liberation movements of Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration once again that the people of Madagascar supported their heroic struggle to exercise their right to freedom, self-determination and independence. Lastly, his delegation requested the Chairman of the Special Committee to convey Madagascar's brotherly greetings and sincere good wishes to President Kaunda, the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the dynamic Zambian people for their faith in the dignity of man and their determination to free Africa from colonialism.

365. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that his delegation was happy to salute the Government and people of Zambia and to thank them sincerely for the brotherly welcome they had extended to the members of the Special Committee. The warmth of that welcome showed the importance which Zambia attached to the United Nations and to international problems. The Ivory Coast was used to playing host to international conferences and knew that the organization of such meetings involved enormous efforts and sacrifices for the host country. It was for that reason that his delegation had appreciated the traditional African hospitality offered by the brother people of Zambia.

366. He particularly wished to thank the President of the Republic of Zambia and to congratulate him on the moving and masterly statement he had made before the Special Committee. In his delegation's view, that statement would stimulate the members of the Committee and lead them to reflect deeply on the serious situation in Rhodesia. By inviting the Committee to meet on its soil, Zambia and its distinguished President would enable the Committee to work more efficiently and give substantial assistance to the African peoples of the Territories still under foreign domination, who were struggling unceasingly for their lawful rights and freedoms.

367. The Ivory Coast was not indifferent to that struggle. It attached particular importance to the problems of decolonization and would therefore spare no effort within its means to make a full and complete contribution to the application of the principle of decolonization and to the Special Committee's work at its current session. Its desire to see all Africans, without exception, enjoying that essential nutriment, freedom, had been demonstrated on many occasions, in particular throughout the debates on the Territories under Portuguese administration, the problem of Rhodesia and South West Africa. Its position was clear and well-known: the Ivory Coast believed it to be its duty, as an African State, to demand the liberation of all African territories and justice for their peoples. It had always believed and still believed that the most reasonable way to achieve that goal was to settle international crises by peaceful means, for as President Houphouët-Boigny had said, war had never really settled anything.

368. Unfortunately, the hopes of the Ivory Coast had been disappointed on more than one occasion, particularly with regard to the Rhodesian affair. It had placed its confidence in those responsible for the Rhodesian crisis, because it had believed that under the wide powers which they held, it was their duty, as administering Powers, to lead the Rhodesian people to independence in conditions which would permit all citizens to enjoy equal rights. Economic sanctions had been in effect for over a year but it was an open secret that they had failed miserably.

369. His delegation was uncertain what steps should be taken to resolve that situation, but nevertheless wished to reaffirm emphatically that the African countries could not wait forever. Ever since the beginning of the Rhodesian crisis the United Kingdom had been perfectly well aware of what world opinion expected of it, namely, to crush the rebellion which it had recognized as such, to destroy the illegal régime of Ian Smith, and in short to restore legality and grant independence to Rhodesia in the best possible conditions.

370. The Ivory Coast called on its African friends to join it in launching a new and urgent appeal to the United Kingdom to recognize the failure and ineffectiveness of economic sanctions and invite it to use the appropriate energetic means recommended on several occasions by the United Nations General Assembly and the majority of African States. At the same time, the Ivory Coast appealed to all the nationalist movements to unite in their struggle for freedom.

371. The representative of Italy recalled that, for its meetings in Zambia the Special Committee had one of the heaviest agendas outside Headquarters, which proved the wisdom of accepting the Zambian invitation. All the items for the meetings at Kitwe affected Zambia directly and deeply, since that country was so very near the scene of what might be termed "ultra-colonialism". The events in southern Africa constituted a major political problem, often involving the denial of fundamental freedoms and human rights.

372. The defiance of the international community by the illegal Smith régime was a source of anxiety to the United Nations, and in particular to the Special Committee. Recent news, some of which was contained in document A/AC.109/L.393/Add.1, showed that the Salisbury régime was introducing even stronger measures of racial discrimination. It was easy to guess what the provisions of the new Rhodesian constitution in course of preparation would be.

373. The Special Committee's meetings at Kitwe would provide it with direct evidence concerning the unfortunate consequences of policies that denied fundamental human rights. His delegation looked forward to taking part in the careful examination of whatever additional information was submitted to the Committee for further action by the United Nations. President Kaunda's opening address had given the Committee a picture of the economic strain placed upon Zambia by the present situation. In spite of those difficulties, however, Zambia was maintaining and strengthening its measures to combat the Smith régime in pursuance of the United Nations decisions.

374. Italy's position was clear and had recently been reaffirmed in a decree promulgated by its President designed to ensure full and prompt compliance with the Security Council's decisions and which compounded and completed previous administrative decisions.

375. He endorsed the remarks made by the Chairman and previous speakers in expressing gratitude to President Kaunda and his people for the welcome they had given the Special Committee and for the reaffirmation of Zambia's faith in the United Nations. No better words of encouragement could be given to the Committee in its work.

376. The representative of Iraq thanked the Zambian Government for its invitation to the Special Committee and for its warm welcome, good planning and foresight.

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377. President Kaunda's brilliant address would greatly influence the Special Committee's work and decisions, for he had expressed his point of view with sincerity, thought and good judgement. The Arab countries ascribed particular importance to the Rhodesian situation since they had faced and were still facing similar problems; they understood the miseries involved when the majority of an indigenous population was subjected to the rule of a foreign authority which denied it fundamental freedoms. Rhodesia was, so to speak, another Palestine, for the racist Government of Ian Smith paralleled the racist leadership of Israel, which was supported by international Zionism and the forces of colonialism. Indeed, the administering Power, namely, the United Kingdom, was the same in both cases. Each country had to tackle the problem of protecting refugees from despotism and brutality. For that reason his delegation fully sympathized with the Zambian Government and people who were offering hospitality to many thousands of their brothers who had escaped from the Rhodesian dictatorship.

378. His delegation reserved the right to speak later on the problems created by the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

379. The representative of Tunisia said that first of all he wished to associate his delegation with all those which had spoken previously and to express to the President the people and the Government of Zambia its sincere thanks and deep gratitude for their invitation to the Special Committee, which had enabled it to meet for the second time in just a few years, in a sister country whose hospitality did honour to Africa and whose faith in the work of the United Nations and of the Committee was well known.

380. He wished to pay a special tribute to President Kaunda for his untiring efforts to ensure the well-being of his people and country and for his continuing action on behalf of the countries which were still colonized and the peoples who were still oppressed and enslaved. The moving statement which he had made at the opening of the Special Committee's work had deeply impressed all those who had heard it. That statement revealed both profound humanism and an acute and moderate political sense, and every Government and individual of goodwill who desired peace would endorse the conclusions to be drawn from it. The significance of President Kaunda's statement was all the greater because it had been made by a Head of State whose level-headedness, wisdom and sense of responsibility were recognized by all.

381. As a result of its geographical situation and its economic structure, Zambia had been deeply involved in the Rhodesian tragedy and had suffered the consequences of that involvement from the moment it had been independent. The courage of its President and the determination of its people alone had enabled it to survive the terrible ordeals to which it had been subjected. However, despite the warning notes which President Kaunda had long been sounding and the efforts of the peoples of Africa and Asia, no serious steps had yet been taken to settle the problem of Southern Rhodesia once for all; no steps had been taken to prevent the racist minority in Rhodesia from transforming that territory into a new field for experimentation in the widely criticized policy of apartheid. There was no doubt as to the United Kingdom's responsibility in the matter. In fact, the United Kingdom had always asserted its responsibilities, but by its hesitations, its tergiversations and its so-called negotiations it had allowed Smith and his accomplices to seize power illegally. By advocating the application of economic sanctions, it had enabled him to consolidate his régime, for it was obvious to all that the sanctions had failed. Because they were selective and because they could easily be circumvented, those sanctions had not weakened Smith's minority, illegal, racist régime or disturbed the country's economy. On the contrary, they had enabled Smith to gain time, to move closer to South Africa and to submit himself entirely to the orders of his masters in Pretoria. They had enabled the evil and criminal triple alliance to consolidate its position and to defy the conscience of the world with impunity. Smith now felt encouraged: his régime had been consolidated, the restrictions he had imposed in the country were being relaxed and a constitution even more racist than its predecessor was being prepared. The United Kingdom, like all the other Powers which had supported its policy, was responsible not only for the present situation in Southern Rhodesia but also for the explosion of violence which would unfailingly occur in the territory, for oppression and injustice could not continue. Law and justice would eventually triumph in Southern Rhodesia, as they had triumphed in other countries. The Zimbabwe people would eventually rise and expel the usurpers. Fortified by international support, they would ultimately recover their rights, their independence and their freedom. The Special Committee should make specific recommendations, for only energetic action could avoid bloodshed and an explosion of violence in the future.

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382. In conclusion, he reaffirmed that the Tunisian people would always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Zimbabwe people and would defend their cause, support them in their combat and assist them in their struggle.

383. The representative of Australia thanked President Kaunda for his lucid and moving address, which revealed him to be a man whose first consideration was always the well-being of his fellow men. His delegation was also grateful for the opportunity to visit Zambia and had been impressed by the achievements and friendliness of its people. To some extent Australia was itself still a developing country and could therefore appreciate Zambia's many problems. It had unreserved faith in the future of the vigorous and robust young Zambian nation under the leadership of its distinguished President.

384. His delegation was looking forward to hearing first-hand accounts of the situation in the Territories surrounding Zambia, which would be of great value to the Special Committee's work. Australia was deeply conscious of the problems arising for Zambia in an unhappy and difficult situation.

385. In many ways Australia could claim a special relationship with Zambia, since both countries shared a common heritage. Moreover, Australia was fortunate in having the opportunity to learn more about the African members of the Commonwealth because of the significant number of Africans who were studying there. That special Commonwealth relationship, was, he felt, best exemplified by Australia's action in imposing voluntary sanctions on the illegal Rhodesian régime within five days of the unilateral declaration of independence. That action had thus anticipated Security Council resolution 217. Since then, Australia has complied fully with the resolution requiring the imposition of mandatory sanctions. Australia opposed any system of government which denied basic human rights to any part of its people, and adhered unequivocally to the principle of self-determination.

386. His country's attitude towards colonialism, with particular reference to Southern Rhodesia, could be summed up by a quotation from recent speeches by Mr. Paul Hasluck, the Australian Minister for External Affairs: "... we have taken various steps including drastic restrictions of imports from Rhodesia, to try to induce the régime under Mr. Ian Smith to return to constitutional government. We continue to believe that the objective should be a government in Rhodesia responsible

to all the people of the country and with effective safeguards for all elements of the population... Australia believes that a society and form of government cannot, and should not, persist where a minority dominates the majority and where basic human rights and opportunities are denied to any of the population. We in Australia believe in basic human rights and participation for all persons in the life of a country. We believe that neither a majority nor a minority should be oppressed, or denied human rights, or shut off from opportunities of participation in government.... Australia was one of the first countries in the world to apply sanctions against Rhodesia (and) has refused to recognize the unilateral and illegal declaration of independence by the régime in Southern Rhodesia.

387. Australia believed in the promotion and encouragement of the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion as proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

B. CLOSING OF MEETINGS

Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia

388. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia thanked the Special Committee for affording him the opportunity of addressing it. He knew that the past week had been a week of toil and trouble for the Committee and perhaps also a period of frustration for some members, but he hoped the Zambian people would be forgiven for any mistakes they had made and for any inconvenience such shortcomings might have caused.

389. For the Zambian people, the Special Committee's deliberations had been a source of further inspiration in the very difficult situation in which, through no fault of their own, they found themselves. Members had not minced their words in condemning the United Kingdom's Rhodesian policy or in castigating South Africa and the Western Powers for their obstructionist policies on South West Africa. Now had they closed their eyes to the heart-rending sufferings of the millions of Africans under the feudalistic and genocidal Portuguese oppression in Angola and Mozambique.

390. There was nothing more reassuring to the people of Zambia than to find that the Special Committee viewed the problems of Southern Africa in the same light as they did. But the Zambian people were not armchair political philosophers: they did not content themselves with sitting back and philosophizing about problems which called for action. The unanimity of purpose which the Zambian people shared with the Committee was not enough. The Committee should go more than half way to meet the demands and wipe away the tears of Southern Africa's oppressed millions. Words, and indeed resolutions and solemn pronouncements were meaningless, if they were not followed by action; it was pointless for the Committee to listen to the humble pleas and sad revelations of freedom fighters merely as a formality and to do nothing thereafter.

391. Thousands of families in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa were close to death from starvation. Some of them were homeless and without medical care. Freedom fighters needed substantial financial and material assistance if they were to wage a successful fight for independence. If the Special Committee was to rise above a status of a debating society, to which the passage of time seemed to have relegated it, it should engage in practical programmes designed to assist the oppressed peoples of dependent Africa and to help them attain independence. The colonial problems of southern Africa would not be solved merely by resolutions in the Special Committee, in the General Assembly or in the Security Council, but by action outside the conference halls - and daring action at that.

392. In that connexion, he reminded his brothers in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and South West Africa that independence would not be won by petitions, nor by elaborate and academic denunciations of what the colonial and racist régimes

in southern Africa were doing, but by blood and iron. The peoples of southern Africa must fight for their independence and not just shout from the roof-tops or stage war dances. That was the lesson taught by colonial history; and history was repeating itself every day.

393. He had unfortunately been unable to be present during the Special Committee's deliberations owing to prior commitments with another international conference at Lusaka. But he had tried to follow the trend of the discussions. It was instructive to note the statements by some delegations on the question of Rhodesia. Certain delegations had entered reservations on what should surely have been a unanimous appeal to the United Kingdom, as administering Power in Southern Rhodesia, to release all political prisoners and prevent the passage of the apartheid bill in the rebel Parliament. Those delegations had given as the reason for their reservations the argument that, because Southern Rhodesia was in rebellion, the United Kingdom Government was incapable of implementing such an appeal. Should that be taken as a confession of defeat by that Government? It appeared to him that, although the United Kingdom was absent from the Special Committee's tour, it was being effectively represented by those delegations. Perhaps it was sheer coincidence and, if so it certainly was a very curious coincidence, that the people who were defending the United Kingdom should be of the same stock. Did that not justify the conclusion that those countries were looking at the Rhodesian problem through the same "kith and kin" spectacles as the United Kingdom? The burden of proof to the contrary lay on their shoulders.

394. He found it strange that some of those countries should continue to have consular or trade missions at Salisbury. It had been said that the reason for the continued existence of such missions was to look after the interests of those countries' nationals in the rebel colony. But it was known that the rebels' flag was still flying in the capitals of those countries. Were the interests of their nationals more important than those of the international community? That was the hypocrisy of sanctions: to maintain trade relations and, at the same time, to enact ineffectual laws against trading with Southern Rhodesia was, according to those countries, to abide by the Security Council's resolution on Southern Rhodesia. Could there be any more transparent pretence?

395. The reason why the United Kingdom delegation had stayed away from the Special Committee's present series of meetings was that country's realization that the African people resented the United Kingdom's asking for United Nations support for such a "rider-and-horse" partnership. What the United Kingdom Government had done was to try to avoid embarrassment over the confusion and failure of its policy towards Southern Rhodesia. That was why he had recently called it a toothless hyena. Some people in Zambia and southern Africa might regard that as a mere emotional outburst, but it was a serious matter because the picture was now very very clear. It was not a matter of playing politics but of an agreement between the big Powers. If behind Southern Rhodesia stood South Africa, and behind South Africa the United Kingdom, and behind the United Kingdom the rest of the imperialist Powers, that was part of a consistent, concerted policy to maintain white supremacy in southern Africa.

396. The original aim had been a white South Africa, just as there already existed a white Australia and a white North America; and everybody knew what had happened to the Australian aborigines and the Red Indians of North America. The only thing that had prevented that fate being repeated in Africa was the fact that the world had become a little more civilized than when the British had killed off the aborigines in Australia. Today there were committees, such as the Special Committee, to denounce them. Had it not been for that little advance in civilization, the African people in South Africa would have been wiped out to make room for the white colonists.

397. The problem of southern Africa was the problem of white people believing they were a Herrenvolk, born to rule, born to govern, born to inherit the earth. They claimed that the Africans could not govern themselves and had to be governed, dominated, exploited; white farms and white factories had to be manned by cheap African labour. That was why South African policy was supported in fact, though denounced in words.

398. Colonialism was a two-faced phenomenon: the colonialists really thought it was their duty to educate the "natives", but in practice it turned out to be a duty to exploit them. When they said "We must teach the Africans to work" what they meant was "We must force them to work for us". All the high-minded intentions of certain white colonialists were distorted and corrupted by the underlying greed and

arrogance. What the Africans finally received from their "civilizing mission" was the barbaric régime of the pass-laws and detention camps. So far as the black man was concerned, the white civilizing mission was a smoke screen for "gracious living" at the expense of black misery.

399. South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia were not separate problems: there was a single problem of southern Africa which, if not handled properly, would lead to a clash between black and white to a war of disaster for both races.

400. Portugal claimed that Angola and Mozambique were provinces of Portugal. A glance at the map was enough to show the madness of its claim.

401. The United Kingdom refused to exercise its constitutional rights in Southern Rhodesia because the latter had a special role marked out for it by the United Kingdom and the other imperialist Powers: to act as a buffer State protecting South Africa from direct contact with African nationalism. The United Kingdom and other Powers had thousands of millions of dollars worth of investments in South Africa which were highly profitable; Southern Rhodesia was the buffer which protected those investments and profits.

402. There was no mystery about what colonialism did for the colonialists. But while it gave them millions, it also robbed them of their human values. Humanity, ethnics, logic counted for nothing, and all that remained was the "Kingdom of Business" where reason was absent.

403. It was grim and painful for a people to see their country's policy manipulated from outside and the best of their natural resources and raw materials squandered without any hope of redress. When men believed in materialism, they forgot about mankind. Human values became secondary and money became their major preoccupation.

404. The time had come for all freedom fighters to stand together. They should not hope for any Government to set them free. They must free themselves. They must be prepared for sacrifice. They must accept death. No price was too high to establish their human dignity and the power to shape their own destiny.

405. The imperialists were cruel and had not left any colony by simply handing it over. They had to be driven out. The liberation movements would have to produce fighting men with wills and bones of iron. Africa would not rest till the whole of Africa was free. Africa would regain its self-respect and the world's respect only when the last of the colonialists was driven out. Today Africa was not respected. Africans were thought of as children who had to be guided and governed.

Africans, it was said, did not deserve freedom because they had made no contribution to world culture, to thought and philosophy. But the truth was that, because Africa was not free, African thought and culture were ignored and neglected.

406. It was only since some African nations had become free that the world was waking up to the existence of the Africans as people. In the past, when tourists had come to Africa, they had stared at the elephants and the zebras and the antelopes; they had not seen the African people. They could afford to overlook the rich culture and wisdom of Africa and the fact that Africa had been the birthplace of civilization, because Africa was not free.

407. The story of South West Africa was sad indeed. The views of the Zambian Government had been stated on a number of occasions and he would not reiterate them. But he stressed that the future of the United Nations hung in the balance because of South West Africa. The sincerity and genuineness of the big Power's professed belief in the world body was perhaps undergoing the greatest test since the foundation of the United Nations. Its future, for better or worse, must depend on the fate of the formerly mandated Territory. Compromise with the forces of apartheid would make the world body a futile institution which had lost sight of its cardinal principle of establishing and maintaining liberty and peace.

408. He was grateful to the Special Committee for coming to Zambia and providing an opportunity for those things to be said, and he hoped that the representatives would go back to the United Nations and impress upon the international community the urgency of the southern African problem. Their resolutions must not be buried but must result in practical and timely action. The Bible said that with faith man could move mountains; but that biblical truth hardly applied to the brutal facts and lessons of everyday life. Action was the prerequisite.

409. The people of southern Africa still clung to the hope that the big Powers would realize the dangers ahead and turn back to the path of truth and civilization, because no one who exploited other human beings could be truly civilized. No one who believed in exploitation could believe in Christianity, and anyone who said he did was a hypocrite. He asked the great Powers to show sincerity and not to mouth good words without acting on them.

410. Today Africa was weak, but it would not be weak tomorrow. Empires came and went; they ruled and disintegrated. Man was everywhere the victim of time and change. It would therefore be foolish to believe that Africa would always be weak

and helpless. The African people prayed that those who controlled the destinies of mankind would realize that it was not colonialism, or cannibalism, that should guide their thinking, but the welfare of their fellow men.

411. He thanked the Special Committee for having considered Zambia worthy of the honour of acting as host for its deliberations. He hoped that the members' stay in Zambia had not been as unpleasant as it had been tiring and trusted that, in the future, they would again accord the Zambian people the privilege of their visit. On behalf of the President, Government and people of Zambia, he wished them a safe journey throughout their mission.

General statements

412. The Chairman expressed the Special Committee's deep appreciation of the address with which it had been honoured by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia. His address had touched the hearts not only of the members of the Committee, but of all who had heard it. As Chairman, he had, at the opening meeting at Kitwe, paid a tribute to the eminently wise, statesmanlike and courageous leadership of the President of Zambia, and had taken the opportunity to applaud and to express solidarity with the resolute and heroic stand taken by the Government and people of Zambia, at the cost of enormous sacrifice and economic dislocation, in their bitter confrontation with the forces of colonialism and imperialism in southern Africa. He had expressed deep gratification at the unswerving dedication of the Government and people of Zambia to the cause of freedom and independence for all peoples under colonial domination, and in particular at their whole-hearted support of the fight by the national liberation movements in that part of the world. Further justification of those sentiments had been more than amply provided by the eloquent address the Committee had just heard.

413. A week of deliberations as fruitful as they had been constructive had brought the meetings at Kitwe to a close. It was his pleasant duty, as Chairman, to express the warm gratitude of the Special Committee for the generous hospitality extended by the Government and people of Zambia and for the facilities which, unstintingly placed at its disposal, had ensured the smooth running of its meetings. It was no less grateful for the opportunities that had been afforded to it to see something of the delightful country of Zambia, to renew its friendships and consolidate its fraternal links with the gentle and courteous but brave and indomitable people.

It went without saying that it also set a very high value on the contribution the Government of Zambia had made to the success of its meetings by its co-operation and participation in its work. If its meetings could be said to have achieved positive results, of which he had no doubt, then due credit must be given to the President, Government and people of Zambia for making it possible for the Committee to hold them. In the course of its meetings at Kitwe, the Committee had heard seven groups of petitioners concerning Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa. By virtue of the close proximity of those Territories to Zambia, the Committee had had a unique opportunity to study the sinister role of the Salazar, Smith and Vorster conspiracy in entrenching racism and the most nefarious forms of imperialist exploitation in southern Africa. It had acquired more direct knowledge of the unscrupulous interest of that unholy alliance, aided and abetted by its friends and well-wishers, in perpetuating colonialism in southern Africa, and had gained a deeper understanding of the living realities of the continuing struggle against the forces of colonialism and reaction in that part of the world, and of the obstacles blocking the way to their effective elimination.

414. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, as outlined by the petitioners, was indeed grave and depressing. They had drawn attention to the consequences of the unprincipled refusal of the United Kingdom Government to take effective action to bring down the illegal minority racist régime, and to guide the Territory to independence in conditions of complete democratic freedom and equality of political rights. In its devotion to its kith and kin in the Territory, and in its concern to protect its economic interests in that part of the world, the United Kingdom, which had never been slow to intervene with armed force, often without justification, in its other colonies, was not even co-operating in the effective implementation of the selective mandatory sanctions which it had advocated in the United Nations with such sanctimonious urgency. It was common knowledge that Portugal and South Africa had shown flagrant disregard for the relevant United Nations resolutions. But, as the petitioners had pointed out, it deserved to be more generally known that a number of Western countries, while paying lip service to those resolutions, had maintained their trade with Southern Rhodesia at an only slightly reduced level.

415. Meanwhile, the economy of the Territory had shown no sign of serious damage, let alone of collapse. What was more important, none of the political objectives postulated by the United Kingdom - objectives deliberately limited for reasons which were easy to guess - had been achieved. It was small wonder then that the illegal régime had continued to ride roughshod over the legitimate interests of the African people of the Territory; nor was it surprising that the régime had intensified its suppressive and repressive activities, and had adopted new and even more Draconian measures aimed at the African people, nor unexpected that the régime should embark on a programme of legislation designed to entrench apartheid policies and minority dictatorship in the Territory. The so-called Constitutional Commission would soon be submitting its reports, which would undoubtedly provide the United Kingdom with the pretext it sought for carrying forward in discussion with the illegal régime the infamous arrangements made at HMS Tiger in December 1966, to the further detriment of the interests of the African majority.

416. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Portugal continued to cling desperately to its anachronistic colonial policies and to insist, contrary to the most elementary notions of realism, that those Territories were integral parts of the so-called pluri-continental Portuguese nation. In contemptuous defiance of the will of the international community, it was determined forever to trample the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the African people of the Territories underfoot. In response to the legitimate demand of those people to exercise their right to self-determination, Portugal had vastly increased the intensity as well as the scope of its war of extermination, a campaign of genocide accompanied by savage brutality which was without parallel in the recent annals of colonial history.

417. Not content with ruthlessly exploiting the resources of the Territories, it had taken steps to transform their economic and social system in order to serve the purposes of a war effort far in excess of its own capabilities. In that effort it continued to enjoy diplomatic, economic and military assistance from a number of its friends and allies, including certain members of NATO, in addition to the support it received from its racist collaborators of Salisbury and Pretoria. It had also intensified its violations of the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the large-scale settlement of foreign immigrants, and by

adding to the system of forced labour the forcible export of African workers to South Africa. The Special Committee had also learnt how, in the face of those overwhelming odds, the national liberation movements had nevertheless pressed their just and honourable fight to free the Territories from the colonial yoke. It was much encouraged by the information it had received concerning the efforts of those movements to rehabilitate the liberated areas and to promote the welfare of the refugees from the areas yet to be liberated. In that connexion, the petitioners had also reminded it of their urgent need for more assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international assistance organizations.

418. Regarding South West Africa, the petitioners had informed the Special Committee that, far from offering its co-operation in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), South Africa had recently stepped up its naked fascist oppression of the people of the Territory, including the use of organized terrorism and inhuman torture. Moreover, the white supremacists of Pretoria had taken steps to establish so-called self-government for Ovamboland. As the petitioners had rightly observed, that was a usurpation of the United Nations role and flagrant defiance of its authority. It was an extension of the Bantustan policy of the Pretoria régime aimed at fragmenting the Territory, at misleading indignant public opinion, and at setting up a smokescreen for continued domination by South Africa.

419. The Special Committee had also heard testimony concerning the installation of new military bases, designed to crush the fight for liberation and to provoke and threaten neighbouring African States. It had been informed that, in spite of all those handicaps, the fight for national liberation in South West Africa was being waged in earnest and that the Vorster régime had been obliged to increase its military establishments on the borders of the Territory. It had also heard about the massive assistance which South Africa was receiving from its major trading partners, which no doubt made it easier for that régime to refuse to make any concessions either to reason or to the principles of the Charter.

420. Finally, all the petitioners from Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa had stressed the prominent role played in the economic life of those Territories by international economic, financial and related interests. They had all pointed to the merciless exploitation by those interests of the human and

422. To that end, the Special Committee had reaffirmed the obligation of the administering Power to transfer power without further delay to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of elections conducted on the "one man, one vote" principle. Further, the Committee had, inter alia, condemned the support of Portugal and South Africa for the illegal régime, as well as the activities of the foreign financial and other interests to which he had referred. The Committee had also urged increased assistance by all States to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, and by all international organizations to the refugees from the Territory. Finally,

the Committee had recommended that the Security Council take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to implement its own recent resolution 232 of 16 December 1966.

423. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese domination and South West Africa, it was hardly necessary to explain why the Special Committee had not taken any decisions. A number of other petitioners were to be heard at Dar es Salaam concerning those Territories, and it was only appropriate that the Committee should await their testimony before adopting any conclusions and recommendations. The Committee would, of course, take the valuable evidence it had so far received into full consideration in formulating its conclusions and recommendations.

424. Members of the Special Committee had been impressed by the way in which the freedom fighters had accepted the challenge in the colonial Territories. Victory would doubtless soon be theirs. He appealed to them to intensify their efforts. The tide of freedom could not be stemmed, and they must march on until all Africa was free. He appealed for unity among the various liberation movements, since the forces of colonialism and imperialism could scarcely be expected not to take full advantage of any gaps in the vanguard of the fight for their elimination, and such gaps would only delay the achievement of freedom and independence. The peoples under colonial domination and the African and other anti-colonialist States could not afford those gaps.

425. He thanked the members of the Zambian delegation for their help, expressed appreciation to those who had publicized the meetings, particularly the Ministry of Information and Zambia Radio, and voiced the sincere gratitude of the Special Committee to the President, Government and people of Zambia for their generous hospitality and for making possible the very fruitful meetings the Committee had held at Kitwe.

426. The representative of Sierra Leone, speaking on behalf of the African, Asian and Yugoslav members, expressed gratitude to the Government and people of Zambia. When they had invited the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings on their soil, it had been convinced that its presence so near to Southern Rhodesia would help it to understand more fully the problems to be faced. The Committee's proximity to the scene of crime had enabled petitioners who could not have gone to New York to describe in detail the sufferings of their people, and the members had

been able better to understand the great dangers that threatened the world. As President Kaunda had pointed out, the situation could lead to a third world war not only on racial but on ideological grounds. Such a war would be one not of conquest but of extermination, a war indeed to end wars, for nobody would be left.

427. It was tragic that the major Powers should treat the people of Southern Rhodesia with the light-mindedness of actors in a melodrama. Effective and immediate preventive measures must be taken. President Kaunda had stated succinctly the same thoughts as were in African and Asian minds. The delegations for which he spoke would persevere in the fight and leave no stone unturned to bring freedom to the people of Zimbabwe.

428. The Government of Zambia and the Mayor and Council of Kitwe had spared no effort to ensure that the Special Committee's stay in Zambia was a pleasant one. He wished them and the Zambian people continued prosperity in their industrial growth. They were a particularly happy people, and it was heartening to see the different races working together to form one nation and one people. Their example should not be lost south of the Zambezi, and he hoped that the Committee's visit would contribute to a change of heart in that part of Africa. The extreme kindness, help and courtesy of the Zambian people would always be remembered. He thanked the Mayor and Council of Livingstone for having arranged the interesting visit to Victoria Falls.

429. The President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and other members of the Government had voiced their faith in the United Nations and the Special Committee, and the members of the African and Asian group and Yugoslavia would not betray that trust but would endeavour to rise above the standard of a debating society and take action on the resolutions adopted. The most recent resolution had been sponsored by all the members of the group for which he spoke.

430. He appealed to the freedom fighters to unite against the common enemy. It had become clear that to attain freedom in the twentieth century, force was needed.

431. All the members of the group would take away with them fond memories of their stay in Zambia, and would rededicate themselves to the eradication of colonialism in Africa.

432. The representative of Chile, speaking on behalf of his own delegation and that of Venezuela, expressed his deep gratitude to the Zambian Government and people for their generous and cordial hospitality to the Special Committee.

433. During the meetings at Kitwe, the Special Committee had been able to hear many petitioners representing Angolan and Rhodesian liberation movements, and had collected a considerable amount of extremely important information which would enable it to assist the United Nations in its difficult struggle to eliminate colonialism throughout Africa.

434. The delegations of Venezuela and Chile had been greatly impressed by the progress achieved by the Zambian people and by the climate of freedom prevailing in Zambia. They had no doubts as to the great destiny reserved for Zambia.

435. He was particularly gratified that the copper conference recently held at Lusaka had led to a further strengthening of the bonds linking Chile and Zambia.

436. The representative of Bulgaria, speaking on behalf of the delegations of Poland, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, associated himself with the expressions of thanks to President Kaunda and the Government and people of Zambia, and expressed gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs for his moving and thought-provoking address. Members would leave Zambia with deep feelings of gratitude for the excellent conditions in which they had been able to carry out their work.

437. The resolution which the Special Committee had adopted was the best proof of the inspiration it had drawn from President Kaunda's moving address. It had discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia at a time when the fight of the people of Zimbabwe for their liberty was entering a decisive stage. The contacts established with the liberation movements and the petitions that had been heard were therefore of the utmost importance. He hoped that the Committee had reflected their feelings in condemning the policy of the United Kingdom and those who assisted it, and in declaring that racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity.

438. The Special Committee had had a unique opportunity of observing the patience and courage of the people of Zambia, who were helping their brothers of Zimbabwe at great personal sacrifice. It had noted the successes they had already achieved, which were the best proof of what a free nation could do when there were no colonial masters to suppress it.

439. On behalf of the three delegations for which he spoke, he asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs to transmit their sincere thanks to the people of Zambia, and their best wishes for further success in their independent country.

440. The representative of Italy, speaking on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Finland, Italy and the United States, expressed to the Government and people of Zambia sincere gratitude for their generous hospitality. They had spared no effort to ensure good facilities, pleasant accommodation and a cordial atmosphere. The delegations for which he spoke were grateful to the President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs for their addresses. He also thanked the Mayor of Kitwe and the Zambian delegation for their help.

441. The Special Committee was proceeding to Tanzania to pursue its work there, but its admiration for the impressive achievements of the young and energetic country of Zambia in the face of the sufferings caused by the illegal régime at Salisbury would remain. He expressed sincere wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the Government and people of Zambia.

III. MEETINGS HELD AT DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

A. OPENING OF MEETINGS

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

442. The Second Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania, recalled that it was the third time that the Special Committee had included Dar es Salaam in the itinerary of its meetings outside New York. For many representatives, therefore, it would not be the first time they had tackled the question of colonialism in southern Africa from so close a vantage point. Their past experience of the problems of decolonization would be of great assistance to the Committee during its deliberations in Tanzania.

443. For some other members it would be their first visit to Dar es Salaam and perhaps even to Africa. He hoped that they would find the opportunity for co-operation with African nationalists rewarding and that, as a result, they would be better able to judge the issues involved.

444. On behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania he extended to all members a warm and sincere welcome.

445. During its meetings in Tanzania, the Special Committee would be considering the question of southern Africa, which was a compound of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination. The two latter phenomena did not fall within its competence, but they were an integral part of the over-all problem of southern Africa and formed an unavoidable background.

446. Africa's fight in Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa was in fact a fight against white minority domination and exploitation. Their realization of the fundamentals common to those problems had led the Special Committee and the Committee on Apartheid jointly to sponsor the forthcoming Seminar on Apartheid, which would enable both Committees to benefit from an exchange of knowledge and experience, so that the issues involved and the possibilities for action would be clarified and each Committee would be better able to fulfil its mandate.

447. It was not his intention to talk at length on South Africa. That he did so at all arose from his conviction that it was impossible to talk of colonialism in

Africa without mentioning apartheid and racial discrimination. They were closely linked in an unholy alliance; their methods and objectives were similar, as were their economic structures and their dangerous and corroding effects upon their victims.

448. No case was more typical than that of South West Africa, where colonialism and apartheid were wedded. For almost fifty years the international community had turned a blind eye to the nefarious abuses committed in that Territory under cover of the Mandate. Finally, all patience exhausted, and stirred to moral indignation by the International Court's shocking abdication of its duty, the United Nations had revoked the Mandate and had assumed responsibility for leading the South West African people to self-government and independence.

449. South Africa was still defying the United Nations resolutions, and it was still being suggested in some quarters that the United Nations should avoid a confrontation with South Africa. That policy was mainly advocated for reasons of national self-interest, but sometimes it was argued as a matter of tactics. It was suggested that by tackling South Africa, efforts and energies would be wasted which could more usefully be expended on weaker areas, such as Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. But whatever the reasons advanced, the Tanzanian Government could not agree with the suggestion. South Africa's international position in relation to South West Africa was very weak and the international community should ensure that its defiance was not successful. The attack on that front should not be weakened even while other aspects of the southern Africa problem were being tackled.

450. In Southern Rhodesia, the narrowly based, unrepresentative Government was grimly clinging to its illegal seizure of power. The Government and the people of Tanzania were waiting, like the rest of the world, for the collapse of the régime through the weight of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations, but they were not optimistic as to the result. It was their conviction that sooner or later force would have to be used to topple the Smith régime. It would then be the responsibility of the international community to ensure the independence of the Territory under conditions of genuine self-determination.

451. The subject of Angola had already been exhaustively dealt with by the Special Committee at Kinshasa and Kitwe; in Tanzania the Committee would confine itself to the matter of colonialism in Mozambique, but the problems of Portuguese colonialism

were by and large similar in each Territory. In each, there were people living in misery, being tortured and denied their legitimate birthright. In each, people were being hanged and separated from their relatives and were experiencing all the suffering caused by those inhuman acts. Tanzania had a special interest in the problem of Mozambique, because its border was often violated by the Portuguese in their savage acts of repression and its people had close ties and relations with the neighbouring tribes.

452. Finally, the Special Committee would have the opportunity of hearing petitioners from French Somaliland. It was well known that the so-called referendum recently held in that Territory was a fraud unworthy of those who practised it. Nothing so exposed the ill-intentions of the present authorities as the proposed change of name. The Government and people of Tanzania supported the wishes of the people of that Territory for true self-determination. Only when conditions permitted the inhabitants of the colony to choose freely the form of their government and their future could there be peace and security in that troubled part of Africa.

453. As the Special Committee was universally recognized as an authority on problems of colonialism and imperialism, he would not take much more of its time at the formal opening of its meetings in Dar es Salaam and extended to it once again the warm welcome of the Government and the people of Tanzania, who were confident that its work would be crowned with increasing success.

General statements

454. The Chairman, speaking on behalf of all members, sincerely thanked the Second Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania, for attending the opening meeting and expressed deep appreciation of his important address, which would, of course, be given the most serious consideration. The Special Committee was particularly appreciative of his concise and enlightening analysis of the very grave colonial problems which continued to plague the southern region of Africa and of his assurances of continued whole-hearted support for its objectives and work. His address had once again underlined Tanzania's contribution and irrevocable commitment to the struggle for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism everywhere, and especially in Africa. It would be an inspiration to all those who, concerned about domination by colonialist and neo-colonialist forces, attached importance to the speedy liquidation of colonialism and racialism.

455. He also wished to convey, through the Second Vice-President, the Special Committee's profound gratitude to the President, Government and people of Tanzania for the gracious invitation which had enabled it to hold yet another series of meetings at Dar es Salaam. All members were deeply impressed by the fraternal welcome and the traditional African hospitality so generously extended since their arrival and by the demonstrations at the airport, a reminder of their heavy responsibilities and of the confidence placed in the United Nations by the peoples still under colonial domination.

456. It would be invidious for him, as a citizen of Tanzania, to mention his justifiable pride in his country, his confidence in its leaders and his solidarity with its people. Yet, as Chairman, he would be wanting in courtesy and indeed failing in his duty, if he did not, on behalf of the members, acknowledge the special position and esteem enjoyed by the Special Committee in Tanzania. It was only necessary to recall that the Committee had held meetings at Dar es Salaam, on the invitation of the Government and people of Tanzania, in 1962, in 1965 and again in 1966.

457. That the Special Committee was meeting in Dar es Salaam for the fourth time testified to the view expressed by the Second Vice-President in his address in 1966 that, for Tanzania, the Committee's work was fundamental to the whole purpose of the United Nations. For Tanzania, the very basis of the Committee's mission - to ensure without delay the eradication of colonialism - was the noble principle of human equality. For Tanzania, no durable peace was possible which allowed the abominable injustice of colonialism to persist. For Tanzania, the great and irresistible movement for the emancipation of Africa was inseparable from the universal fight of progressive forces everywhere for freedom and peace.

458. It was only to be expected therefore that the Government and people of Tanzania should always have taken an uncompromising stand against colonialism. They were acutely and painfully conscious of the sufferings of their brethren under colonial bondage. After all, it was but a few years before that they had thrown off the colonial yoke and regained their independence. Moreover, Tanzania was physically as well as ideologically in the front line of the grim fight against colonialism. To the south lay Mozambique, dominated by the ruthless fascist régime of Salazar. Also in close proximity lay the colonial Territories dominated by the racist régime of Vorster and Smith. Inevitably, therefore, Tanzania had been a haven for thousands

of African people seeking refuge from these oppressive régimes. In addition, Tanzania had been doing its utmost, at considerable hardship to itself, to give material as well as moral succour to the neighbouring national liberation movements in the confident hope that such assistance would bring closer the day of freedom and independence for the whole continent. It was therefore no coincidence that Dar es Salaam was the headquarters of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Organization of African Unity for the Liberation of Africa and eagerly looked forward to its continued co-operation.

459. The Government of Tanzania was nevertheless not unaware of the implications of its unshakeable anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist stand. In rejecting the path of indifference to the inhumanity of colonialism, in resolving fully to discharge its duty to assist all those striving to exercise their inalienable rights, it fully realized that Tanzania would be victimized by intrigues and threats of every kind from the forces of reaction. But it also appreciated that only thus could it find meaning in its declared objective of national reconstruction and development, only thus could it fully meet the aspirations of the people and only thus could it give even greater substance and reality to its own independence.

460. At its forthcoming meetings in Tanzania, the Special Committee would give further consideration to the more intractable colonial problems in Africa, including the question of South West Africa and that of the Territories under Portuguese domination, particularly Mozambique. It would no doubt hear further harrowing accounts of massive violations of fundamental human rights, of brutal atrocities and of monstrous crimes committed by the colonial régimes in those Territories.

461. The stubborn refusal of Portugal and South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions was well known. But the Special Committee would no doubt receive further evidence of increased oppression and intensified military action against peoples who asked for no more than the rights proclaimed in the Charter. It would no doubt be told of the assistance which the anachronistic régimes of Salazar and Vorster were receiving from some of their friends and allies, without which their nefarious policies would be difficult if not impossible to pursue. It would no doubt be shocked by further information regarding the cruel exploitation of the human and material resources of those Territories and the pernicious role being played by foreign economic and other

interests in impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It would also derive some encouragement from news of the unremitting struggle of the liberation movements to free themselves from the chains of their oppressors.

462. The Special Committee would probably hear petitioners on French Somaliland, Mauritius, Seychelles, Ifni and the Spanish Sahara in addition to the colonial Territories of southern Africa.

463. The Special Committee would no doubt be interested in examining the progress made in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) and its own resolution of 15 March 1967, concerning French Somaliland. The inalienable right of the people of that Territory to freedom and independence was beyond question, but attention would no doubt be given to the further measures necessary to ensure that decolonization proceeded without delay, and in conditions of peace and harmony.

464. With regard to Mauritius and Seychelles, the Special Committee would consider whether political progress towards independence had been adequate and in conformity with the Declaration's provisions. The unsatisfactory economic situation of those Territories, and the creation of the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory in violation of their territorial integrity, would no doubt be the subject of serious concern.

465. The Special Committee would also be called upon to express its views on the latest developments in Ifni and the Spanish Sahara and in particular, the response of the Spanish Government to the relevant General Assembly resolution and the steps necessary for its full implementation.

466. In all those colonial Territories, it was the Special Committee's duty to consider the best ways and means whereby the United Nations could meet the just demands of the people. It would no doubt be asked whether the Committee was doing everything within its power in that respect and whether it was a tribute to its efforts that, in spite of four visits to southern Africa, only limited progress had been made in the elimination of colonialism from the region. Such queries would be unfair unless they were accompanied by recognition of the fact that the responsibility for the unsatisfactory situation lay principally, if not entirely, on the shoulders of the colonial Powers and their friends. At the same time it was the Committee's duty, in anticipation of such queries, to consider whether there might not be some way of improving the effectiveness of its work, by drawing the appropriate conclusions from its previous experience and applying the lessons of the past.

467. For instance, the Special Committee was to be commended for not contenting itself with general resolutions and pious exhortations addressed to the colonial Powers. It had rightly attached importance to the adoption of concrete resolutions, outlining in specific terms the measures, emphasis and modalities for the implementation of the Declaration in each Territory - a policy which should be continued. Moreover, he thought the Committee should place greater stress on its work of checking on and following up the implementation of its own and the General Assembly's resolutions, and of adopting further recommendations for remedial action as necessary. It was obvious that resolutions, however constructive in intention, which were not implemented might as well not have been adopted. The necessity for continuous supervision of their implementation was therefore evident, as was the need to set up appropriate machinery for the purpose. In addition, it would probably be advisable for the Committee to avail itself to a greater extent than before of operative paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) which authorized and requested it to make concrete suggestions and recommendations to the Security Council to assist the latter in considering the necessary measures to be taken under the Charter.

468. He reiterated the appeal for unity made to all freedom fighters, reminding them that every day they remained disunited meant another day's delay in their fight for freedom, another day during which people would be killed and tortured. Disunity between the liberation movements had even led to depletion of their forces, so that the means available were not properly utilized. When Africa as a whole decided to unite in the fight for its freedom, it would realize that the United Nations and especially the Special Committee stood solidly behind it. In that connexion, he emphasized the Committee's dedication to the cause of decolonization and its determination to leave no stone unturned until the whole of Africa was free.

469. In conclusion, he thanked the Second Vice-President once again for his inspiring address and through him the President, the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for inviting the Special Committee to meet at Dar es Salaam. With the confidence inspired by the atmosphere of militant anti-colonialism and revolutionary enthusiasm prevailing in Tanzania's dynamic capital, the work of the Committee should yield important and constructive results.

470. The representative of Ethiopia sincerely thanked the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for inviting the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Dar es Salaam and for their remarkable hospitality. As Ethiopian Ambassador to Tanzania he had had the unique opportunity and privilege to observe very closely the rapid progress of that country under the able, wise and dedicated leadership of President Nyerere and to obtain first-hand knowledge of the great work in development and reconstruction which had been going on in all sectors since its independence in 1962. In such a very short period Tanzania had made great strides, of which its people could rightly be proud.

471. Perhaps the most important aspects in which Tanzania had given a lead to Africa and the world were those of unity and decolonization. The union between the mainland and Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania was a shining example worthy of emulation by the whole of Africa, especially at a time when the scourges of division and fratricidal strife were emerging elsewhere. The great sacrifice that Tanzania was making for the advancement of the cause of decolonization in Africa and the rest of the world could not fail to impress even the most casual observer. The growing number of refugees from neighbouring colonial areas such as Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa had put a great strain on its human and material resources; the establishment of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity in Tanzania had made that country a target of imperialist attacks and machinations; yet, as the Vice-President's inspiring address had clearly indicated, the Government and people of Tanzania were moving forward undaunted on the path of militant anti-colonialism.

472. During the previous two weeks the Special Committee's attention had been drawn once more to the highly dangerous and potentially explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese domination. Racial confrontation was growing more critical and intolerable every year and if nothing was done to bring it under control, there was every reason to

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fear that it would one day reach such proportions as to engulf the entire continent in open conflict and bloodshed. The Committee's work was therefore of great significance to the whole cause of international peace and security and the States Members of the United Nations had to do all in their power to forestall a dangerous explosion.

473. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese administration the distressing information supplied by the petitioners was still fresh in everyone's mind, and the sinister aims behind the alarming measures taken by the Portuguese were abundantly clear, without even re-examining the brutality, killing and arbitrary arrests taking place every day.

474. It was well known that Portugal was neither rich nor militarily powerful and there was no need to ask what forces were helping it to continue its relentless fight against the irresistible forces of African nationalism. It was clear that Portugal's anachronistic policy in Africa had always been inspired by the determination to exploit the abundant resources of its colonial Territories to the detriment of its indigenous population.

475. Since 1964, Portugal had been fighting a defensive war against the liberation forces in Mozambique - which by some fantastic trick of the imagination Portugal considered merely a province - with a consequent rise in the cost of military and related expenditure. The Territory's budget for defence and security in 1966 had been about 255 million escudos more than the allocation for 1965 and about twice the expenditure on the armed services in 1963, before the fighting had started. There had also been a progressive tightening of security measures in Mozambique to counter any possible subversion, and the same situation existed in Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Since 1960 the world community had been appealing to Portugal to cease its repressive measures and to undertake reforms with a view to the transfer of power to the indigenous population. The non-compliance of the Portuguese Government and the deteriorating situation in the Territories had been the subject of numerous resolutions by the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, but Salazar continued to turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The Committee should therefore once more call upon the Powers involved to honour the resolutions they themselves had supported, not only in the interest of the Organization's very existence but also in order to end the enslavement and degradation of millions of Africans.

476. Even during the past few months there had been fresh but poignant reminders of the dangers underlying the understanding between Vorster, Salazar and Smith. The current dilemma in the whole of southern Africa was inextricably tied up with the policies being separately pursued by the Governments of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. Unless those Governments were compelled to abandon their policies, their continued harassment and their violations of human dignity would remain unchecked.

477. The Vice-President had also touched upon the question of Djibouti - or so-called French Somaliland - which was of vital concern to Ethiopia and its Government. In the referendum held on 19 March 1967 to decide the future status of the Territory, the vast majority of the people had decided to retain their links with France, a decision which might have been a surprise or even a disappointment to some members of a Committee dedicated to the cause of decolonization in its ultimate sense. The surprise or disappointment felt by some members of the Special Committee about this decision was not, however, the point at issue; the important point was that the people of Djibouti had been given a free choice and that in their own wisdom they had decided for themselves. If it was remembered that, in 1958, out of the many countries then forming the French Community, only Guinea had opted for a complete break with France, the decision of the people of Djibouti might appear less surprising. The fact that almost all the countries which in 1958 had voted to retain their links with France had since become independent sovereign nations was a clear indication that, when deciding its destiny, a people always adopted its own tactics and methods of evolution. It should not cause disappointment that they did not always conform to cut-and-dried formulas.

478. The Ethiopian delegation was aware that attempts had been made from a certain quarter to challenge the decision of the people of Djibouti. Had the challenge been motivated by a true feeling for their welfare, it might have been taken seriously, but since it was common knowledge that it was aroused by an ulterior motive of a more selfish nature, it should be dismissed with the contempt it deserved.

479. In any case his delegation strongly held the view that the people of Djibouti should be the sole arbiters of their own destiny and that no outsider had the right to interfere or to challenge their decision; it would be the height of folly to pass judgement on their verdict.

480. As for the allegation, which had been heard continuously from the same quarter, that France did not conduct the referendum in a fair and impartial manner, he stated categorically that his delegation had not found a single shred of evidence to substantiate the claim. Unfortunately, it was an example of the current success of distortionist propaganda that so malicious a falsehood had gained currency among usually knowledgeable circles. On the contrary, the French Government should be congratulated on the timely steps it had taken to ensure that the referendum reflected the true feelings of the people of Djibouti at the time and on providing the inhabitants of that small Territory with the necessary protection from the coercion, intimidation and attempted infiltration to which they had been subjected by a neighbouring country in order to distort and negate their true democratic choice. The role of France under the enlightened leadership of that great European liberal leader, General de Gaulle, in the matter of decolonization was, he considered, beyond reproach. The Ethiopian delegation felt that the recent experience in Djibouti had clearly indicated France's dedication to and belief in the process of decolonization. His delegation considered that the decolonization process in Djibouti was proceeding at a satisfactory pace and hoped that France, in co-operation with the true leaders of the people of Djibouti, would continue the process until the ultimate goal was reached. The attempt to make a mockery of the people's decision was being continued by those who apparently did not agree with their choice. Alien interlopers had embarked on vicious propaganda in an attempt to cast aspersions on the validity of the referendum, assuming that the majority of the people of Djibouti did not know what was good for them and that their future should be decided by aliens. Those who were protesting against the decision were the same who in August 1966, had welcomed the holding of a referendum, had since tried and failed to subvert it and were lobbying to misrepresent it. That in itself was proof that what they had wanted to hear on 19 March was not the voice of the people of Djibouti but their own voices through their own agents.

481. Ethiopia accepted in principle and in practice the right of the people of Djibouti to decide their own destiny; it supported the decision of the people, whatever that decision might be, and opposed and would resist any attempts designed to make a mockery of the future of the Djibouti people. Ethiopia's attitude remained what it had always been, friendly and designed to maintain and strengthen

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even further the already strong ties of brotherhood and neighbourly interdependence based on mutual respect and common benefit. Ethiopia had no designs on Djibouti's political status nor did it constitute a threat to its political future; it was to be hoped that others in the region felt the same. It was in that spirit that Ethiopia supported the recent exercise in self-determination in Djibouti and welcomed the steps taken by France to transfer power to the inhabitants, which, it hoped, would soon lead to their complete freedom.

482. That brief summary of the position of his delegation on an issue of vital concern to the peace and stability of the region was intended to clarify the policy pursued by the Ethiopian Government so as to leave no doubt in the minds of the Special Committee as to its exact position in that respect. His delegation reserved the right to intervene again in the discussions should the situation warrant further clarification.

483. The Ethiopian delegation has already expressed its views on the question of Mauritius and the Seychelles in Sub-Committee I, the report of which would soon be examined by the Special Committee. He reiterated his appeal to the administering Power to take effective measures to implement fully General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to expedite the long-promised elections and the granting of independence to those Territories.

484. In conclusion, he reaffirmed his country's determination, in concert with freedom-loving countries throughout the world, to do all in its power to eradicate the evil cancer of colonialism and imperialism from the face of the earth. Ethiopia considered its own independence incomplete so long as any part of African soil remained under colonial rule. The heroic fight of the Ethiopian people for freedom and independence through the centuries and the glorious tradition of their long history as an independent and sovereign nation had taught them the great lesson that no sacrifice was too great for freedom and human dignity. It was a matter of satisfaction and pride for the whole Ethiopian nation that the example of dedicated sacrifice for freedom and independence it had set in its long and chequered history had not been ignored. It was in that spirit of dedication to the eternal cause of freedom and human dignity that it called upon the freedom fighters in the remaining areas of colonialism and imperialism to unite and redouble their efforts to achieve final victory. They could rest assured that,

in the sacred fight which they were waging, Ethiopia and all freedom-loving men stood solidly behind them.

485. The representative of India associated his delegation with the thanks already expressed to the Government and people of Tanzania by the Chairman and the preceding speaker. Their invitation to the Special Committee to hold meetings at Dar es Salaam for the fourth time was evidence of Tanzania's irrevocable dedication to the cause of liquidating the remaining vestiges of colonialism. The election of Mr. Malecela as Chairman was yet another proof of his country's interest in the Committee's efforts to eradicate the evil of colonialism and racism from Africa. That Tanzania was the seat of the Liberation Committee of the Organization for African Unity was further proof of its deep concern to accelerate the process of decolonization. In that connexion, he renewed India's pledge of continued and whole-hearted support in the fight against colonialism.

486. The Second Vice-President's inspiring address and succinct analysis of the problems in southern Africa would be a most important contribution to the Special Committee's work. He had emphasized that racialism, colonialism and apartheid were closely intertwined and formed an unholy alliance which should be attacked as a whole. He fully endorsed the Ethiopian representative's proposal that both the Vice-President's address and the Chairman's reply should be recorded in extenso.

487. During its meetings at Dar es Salaam, the Special Committee would be dealing with the problems of southern Africa and particularly the Territories under Portuguese domination, South West Africa, Swaziland, Mauritius and the Seychelles, and his delegation would have the opportunity to state its views on those matters more fully at a later meeting. He wished, however, to outline briefly his country's position. India was particularly interested in the Portuguese colonies, having itself suffered under Portuguese rule and, like the freedom fighters in those Territories, had realized that the language of force was the only one understood by the fascist dictators.

488. The question of South West Africa had been discussed at great length both by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly and his delegation had had an opportunity to state its views on both occasions. It fully supported the resolutions adopted and hoped that all Member States would co-operate to ensure their speedy

implementation. In spite of the almost unanimous endorsement of those resolutions, the racist régime at Pretoria had not abandoned its designs on South West Africa, and his delegation heartily condemned its manoeuvres to detach Ovamboland with a view to forming a separate entity and extending the policy of Bantustan to South West Africa.

489. With regard to Mauritius, Swaziland and the other Territories mentioned, he pledged his delegation's full support in their fight for independence. It was in particular strongly opposed to the establishment of the projected Indian Ocean bases in Mauritius.

490. India had enjoyed extremely cordial and friendly relations with Tanzania since the latter's independence. Its Government and people had the highest esteem for President Nyerere, one of the most outstanding African leaders, who was successfully building up Tanzania as a multiracial society in which people of different origins could live in peace and harmony. The treaties of trade and friendship concluded between India and Tanzania in 1966 were another step towards bringing the two countries even closer together. Developing countries had much to learn from each other's experience and he hoped that the co-operation between the two countries would be intensified to their mutual benefit.

491. In conclusion, he extended the greetings of his delegation to the friendly people of Tanzania and wished them happiness and prosperity.

492. The representative of Iran said that, for the third consecutive year, the Government of Tanzania had made it possible for the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Dar es Salaam. He wished to express, on behalf of his delegation, his sincere appreciation to the President, Government and people of Tanzania for their kind invitation and the traditional African hospitality which they had shown. He had already had the privilege of attending meetings of the Committee at Dar es Salaam on three earlier occasions and was looking forward to renewing old friendships.

493. He had been greatly impressed by the inspiring and important address which the Second Vice-President had delivered and was sure that it would guide the work of the Special Committee. As a centre for African liberation movements and the seat of one of the most important units of the Organization of African Unity, Tanzania offered a unique opportunity for the Committee to discharge its obligations. That country, under the wise and dynamic leadership of its President, had made a notable contribution to the fight against colonialism, oppression and injustice, both inside and outside the United Nations. Within the United Nations, the contribution made by the Tanzanian delegation was too well-known to require any comment. The moral and material support which Tanzania offered to the various liberation movements had enabled them to continue the fight against the usurpers of African freedom and wealth. It had also generously received numerous refugees from the oppressive rule of Portugal, South Africa and the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. Very soon the International Seminar on Apartheid and Colonialism, which the representatives of more than fifty countries were to attend together with representatives of many non-governmental organizations and prominent individuals, would be held at Dar es Salaam at the invitation of the Tanzanian Government. That was a further indication of Tanzania's desire to remove racialism and colonialism from the African continent.

494. It was thus of particular value for the Special Committee to meet in Tanzania where it had the opportunity of making contact with people who shared its objectives and of obtaining first-hand information concerning the latest developments in Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, Mauritius, the

Seychelles and other colonial areas. It was to be hoped also that the Committee's presence would provide additional encouragement and assistance to the freedom fighters in those Territories. The Committee had already had the opportunity of hearing the views of various political organizations, particularly from Angola, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia at Kinshasa and Kitwe and, on the basis of those hearings, had adopted appropriate decisions, notably a resolution on Southern Rhodesia. In reaching such decisions, the Committee was bound to adhere to the facts, as well as to the principles which it had the duty to uphold. Any failure to implement the Committee's decisions should not, therefore, be attributed to a lack of realism on its part. Reproaches should be addressed rather to those Member States, particularly Portugal, South Africa and the United Kingdom, which had failed to carry out the decisions.

495. His delegation would continue to give its full and unflinching support to every decision capable of accelerating the liquidation of colonialism in Africa, in the firm conviction that the only way to prevent the eruption of the live volcano in southern Africa was to uproot the outmoded colonialist and racist systems there. Peace and justice could not be restored in Africa until that had been accomplished. Although the picture appeared gloomy and the colonialists and racists seemed to have the upper hand, he had been much encouraged by the determination and fighting spirit of the leaders of the various political organizations which the Special Committee had already heard. Provided the nationalists were united and resolute, the day would soon come when Africa would be liberated from the last vestiges of colonialism and racism. Africa would then regain its rightful place in the sun and could move towards the full realization of its cherished aspiration - African unity - as championed by one of the continent's most brilliant leaders, President Julius Nyerere.

496. He was certain that, given the excellence of the arrangements made by the Tanzanian Government, the Special Committee's meetings would prove most fruitful and expressed, on behalf of the Government and people of his country, his best wishes for the success and prosperity of the people of Tanzania.

497. The representative of Yugoslavia thanked the President, Government and people of Tanzania for their generous invitation to the Special Committee to meet once

again at Dar es Salaam to consider some of the most urgent and threatening colonial problems which still existed. He had been gratified by the warm hospitality and welcome with which it had been received. His own delegation felt particular pleasure at revisiting Tanzania, in view of the close links of friendship and co-operation between the two countries, which were both engaged in the fight for the removal of all colonialist and neo-colonialist pressures so that every country might be able to play an equal part on the world stage. Tanzania, under the leadership of its outstanding President, had done far more than most countries to help the national liberation movements in Africa and to succour the refugees from brutal colonial domination. In that connexion, his delegation had been greatly impressed by the important and inspiring address delivered to the Committee by the Second Vice-President, whose penetrating analysis of the dangerous situation developing in southern Africa was very enlightening.

498. It was obvious that the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces were making every attempt to slow down and check the process of decolonization in order to maintain their strongholds in certain areas which were of particular importance for their political and economic strategy. Those strongholds were intended not only to enable them to continue their economic exploitation and oppression of the majority of the population but also to serve for interference in the internal affairs of the newly independent African countries. The most obvious example of such designs was the fascist and racial system in southern Africa. A backward country like Portugal and minority racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were incapable of carrying out such plans alone. It was only the help they received from their Western partners which enabled them to continue their policy and to defy the numerous United Nations decisions. Verbal denunciations by some Western Powers of the racial policies of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia could not conceal the harsh reality.

499. The activities of foreign monopolies and their unscrupulous exploitation of the wealth of the colonial Territories were seriously impeding the decolonization process. The Portuguese armed forces were waging a criminal war against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), using weapons

acquired through the NATO military alliance. The United Kingdom, which was solely responsible for the colonial Territory of Southern Rhodesia, had, by its refusal to use the only language the racists understood, allowed the illegal régime to consolidate its position, to intensify its oppression of the people of Zimbabwe and to introduce the criminal apartheid system. Foreign military bases in colonial Territories not only impeded the liberation of colonized people but also served to exert pressure on independent countries. The means of pressure and interference were used today not only in Africa, but also in the Middle East and other parts of the world.

500. It was vital that rapid measures should be taken to liquidate the last bastions of colonialism which constituted a threat to the peace and tranquillity of the whole world. The fight for independence of those people who still suffered under colonial domination was just and legitimate and deserved the full support of the United Nations.

501. Yugoslavia had always staunchly supported any people fighting for its freedom and independence and would continue to do so. He believed that the international community and the United Nations had a special responsibility to assist colonized peoples freely to determine their own destiny. The Special Committee had a most important part to play, and his delegation would continue to do its utmost to ensure that the Committee effectively carried out its mandate particularly the implementation of the various General Assembly decisions on decolonization.

502. He paid a tribute to the able and energetic guidance of the Chairman, which had contributed much to the work of the Special Committee both at Headquarters and during the current visit to Africa.

503. The representative of Mali thanked the people, the TANU party and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for their kind invitation to the Special Committee and for the warm welcome accorded to his delegation.

504. The people of the Republic of Mali, its party - the Union soudanaise RDA - and its Government admired the effort being made by the courageous and hard-working people of the United Republic of Tanzania under the enlightened leadership of His Excellency Mr. Julius Nyerere. Since independence, Tanzania,

breaking with its colonial past, had courageously taken the path of independent development. Its valiant people were day by day winning fresh victories in the building of their nation. The recent decisions of the party and Government of the United Republic of Tanzania would undoubtedly clear the way for important new successes in the fight against under-development. It was gratifying that the Special Committee could hold some of its meetings at Dar es Salaam in dealing with the serious situation prevailing in southern Africa - from Angola to Mozambique by way of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa - for Tanzania was playing a leading part in the struggle of the African peoples against colonialism, racial discrimination and injustice. Tanzania had lost no time in becoming the standard-bearer of anti-colonialism, and it flew the colours of freedom and justice in a region of Africa still under the racist and fascist yoke.

505. His delegation would have an opportunity in a later statement to deal in detail with the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. It would then show how certain of the great Western Powers were acting in collusion and scheming to perpetuate colonialism so that the African peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa could be mercilessly exploited.

506. Mali, remaining faithful to its policy, reaffirmed its anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist stand. It had supported the historic Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and did not mince words in denouncing the backward policies of Salazar, who had learnt nothing from history and who would soon be driven back to the sea by the valiant freedom fighters of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola. Mali was confident that the national liberation movements would be victorious and assured them that it would make every effort to help them get rid of the Portuguese and of the white racists of Salisbury and Pretoria who pitilessly exploited the natural and human resources of southern Africa for the exclusive benefit of foreign monopolies.

507. The colonialist system which continued to exist as a baneful influence in the world, was a conspiracy by certain Western Powers, which violated the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter which they themselves had drawn up at San Francisco. It was very difficult to understand the position of some countries

such as the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, which through NATO, armed Salazar's mercenaries in an attempt to delay the liberation of Africa. Although the representatives of those countries would undoubtedly tell the Special Committee that they condemned the policies of Portugal and South Africa or the position taken by Ian Smith, their statements were daily contradicted by facts. It was time for that to stop and for Europe and the United States of America to realize that it was in their interest to hasten the process of liberation of the remaining dependent Territories. A liberated Africa could be a better partner for the industrialized countries because of its natural wealth and its contribution to civilization and to the harmonious development of the world.

508. He referred to the good relations between his country and Tanzania, which were based on a common will to eliminate colonialism for ever and to build in each of their nations a country where there would no longer be any exploitation of man by man. The recent visit to Tanzania by the President of the Republic of Mali demonstrated their common viewpoint with regard both to African problems and to the great problems at present confronting the world.

509. The representative of Tunisia expressed, on behalf of his delegation, his sincere appreciation to the President, Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for the generous invitation which they had once again extended to the Special Committee and for the warm welcome which they had given it at Dar es Salaam. The fact that the Committee was meeting at Dar es Salaam for the fourth time showed how deep was the interest of the United Republic of Tanzania in the Committee's work and in the decolonization efforts of the United Nations. Tanzania, which had succeeded in freeing itself from the fetters of colonial law, had undertaken from the early days of its independence to assist the peoples who were still oppressed and enslaved. It was therefore not surprising that the present Chairman of the Committee should be Ambassador Malecela, who had distinguished himself in the United Nations by his devotion to the cause of decolonization. It was also quite natural that the seminar on apartheid and colonialism should take place at Dar es Salaam and that that town should be the headquarters of the Liberation Committee of OAU and a refuge for freedom fighters.

510. When the Special Committee had met at Dar es Salaam in 1962, it had had seventeen members and its agenda had included such items as those relating to Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Zanzibar, countries which had since then obtained their independence. Even in 1966 it had still been discussing Bechuanaland and Basutoland, which had today become sovereign States. His delegation, and indeed all the African and Asian countries, would spare no effort both within and outside the Committee to ensure the complete and total elimination of colonialism in Africa and in other regions, for entire nations were still oppressed and enslaved in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and elsewhere.

511. At its meetings at Kinshasa and Kitwe, the Special Committee had heard petitioners and freedom fighters. The Committee would become the spokesman for those petitioners and would give voice to their aspirations; it would reveal to the eyes of the entire world the enslavement of the African peoples and the oppressive measures visited upon them. It would continue to fight against the colonial Powers and to denounce the collusion which enabled them to defy mankind. Tunisia, which had always supported and upheld liberation movements and defended the cause of decolonization, would continue to do so in the future. It would continue to appeal to the colonial Powers, as it had done in 1959 when President Bourguiba, in an effort to bring about a solution of the colonization problem, had suggested a meeting of the colonial Powers in order that they might come to some agreement on complying with the principles of the Charter and giving effect to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The forward march of history could not be turned back, and right and justice were on the side of the oppressed peoples. The Committee provided a forum where the demands of the liberation movements could find expression. Although much still remained to be done, all the peoples struggling for their independence could count on the support of the African and Asian countries and, in particular, on the moral assistance and material support which they would always receive from Tunisia.

512. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics thanked the Tanzanian Government and people, on behalf of his delegation, for the warm welcome they had offered to the Special Committee. The Committee had frequently availed itself of Tanzanian hospitality and had always held very useful meetings in that country. He was sure that the excellent facilities provided constituted a favourable augury for the success of the Committee's work during the current series of meetings also, the more so since the Committee was meeting under the chairmanship of a valiant son of Tanzania.

513. He had listened with the greatest interest and attention to the statement by the Second Vice-President setting forth the position of his country on the various colonial problems of southern Africa. It had provided further evidence of the determination of that country to combat colonialism and racialism, acting in the spirit of solidarity which was characteristic of all progressive countries. Tanzania was making a noble contribution to the liberation of those peoples of Africa still groaning under the colonialist yoke. It had earned the respect and esteem of all freedom-loving peoples. His country rejoiced at the success of Tanzania since its achievement of independence.

514. The Special Committee was called upon to take active steps to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His delegation fully supported the forces that were attempting to implement the Declaration and the provisions of the Charter. Since the Second World War, colonialism had crumbled. Immediately after the war, 36.9 million square kilometres of territory with 660 million inhabitants had been under colonial rule; the current figure was 8 million square kilometres with 37 million inhabitants. Less than one eighteenth of the people who had been under the colonial yoke when the United Nations was first established were still not free. Scores of countries in all parts of the world had obtained their independence. In Africa, 37 new States had emerged. It was no longer possible to imagine the United Nations without representation of the African and Asian States, all of which actively participated in its work on a basis of complete equality.

515. The liberation of those Territories had not been easy and many leaders of newly independent Governments had referred to the inspiration they had drawn from the Great October Revolution, the 50th anniversary of which was being celebrated in 1967.

That revolution had awakened the under-privileged world. Constant to its principles, the USSR whole-heartedly supported the forces which were fighting to destroy the last bastions of colonialism. Nevertheless, colonialism was a tenacious creature which did not give up easily. The fight continued. The function of the Special Committee was to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which had been adopted on his delegation's initiative. 516. The major purpose of its meetings at Dar es Salaam was to consider the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. The United Nations had constantly appealed to the Portuguese to grant immediate independence to their colonies, but, to the world's deep indignation, they had continued to trample underfoot the rights of the peoples in those Territories and to ignore United Nations resolutions and decisions. His delegation proposed that the Special Committee should study the question of the failure by the Western Powers to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations concerning the Portuguese colonies. The fascist Salazar régime was doing all in its power to perpetuate colonial rule and had, for many years, been waging a war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), thanks to the help it received from certain circles in some Western countries, in collusion with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, had formed a bloc of "white countries" in that region of the world to perpetuate the domination of racists and colonialists in colonial Territories and to exert pressure on the young African States. All those reactionary forces were acting together in a dastardly conspiracy to perpetuate colonialism and exert pressure on the independent countries of Africa. It was obvious that, without assistance, a backward country such as Portugal would not be able to devote 40 per cent of its budget to military purposes, a proportion exceeding that of all other NATO countries except the United States, nor hold in thrall areas twenty-three times its own size. Ample evidence had been available to the Special Committee - and information from recent petitioners had confirmed it - that arms were being supplied to Portugal by a number of its NATO allies. The arguments put forward by representatives of the NATO countries that assurances had been first received from Portugal that such arms would not be used in its colonies were very naive and misled nobody. Thus, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany was supplying arms to Portugal in complete violation of numerous United Nations decisions. Krupp was among the many monopolies engaged in that sinister

trade. Such activities were directly opposed to the interests of world peace and security. The German Democratic Republic pursued a very different policy: it gave no assistance whatever to Portugal which could possibly be used for its colonial wars. It maintained neither diplomatic nor consular relations with the Portuguese colonial régime. Furthermore, it had never in the past sold or delivered to Portugal weapons, ammunition or other military materials, nor would it in the future supply the Portuguese colonial régime with any such objects, as had been stated in the letter of Mr. Otto Winzer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, of 23 March 1966, setting out the position of the Government of the German Democratic Republic regarding Security Council resolution 218 (1965) on Territories under Portuguese administration. That letter had been circulated as Security Council document S/7290 of 12 May 1966. Moreover, the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the German Democratic Republic had issued instructions to all foreign trade enterprises of the German Democratic Republic that no deliveries whatever were to be made from the German Democratic Republic to Portuguese enterprises in the Territories under Portuguese domination.

517. Military bases in colonial Territories were particularly dangerous to peace and an obstacle to decolonization. They were used not only against the national liberation movements but also against newly independent countries. The NATO network of bases extended into southern Africa. Portugal had a number of military and naval bases in the Territories under its domination which it used in the same way that the United States of America used its military base in the colonial Territory of Guam for aggression against the people of Viet-Nam. The United Kingdom made similar use of such bases as Aden.

518. The United Nations should not limit itself merely to adopting resolutions on the elimination of foreign military bases in colonial Territories. It must go further by condemning the use of those bases by the Western Powers against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and by demanding unconditional compliance by the colonialists with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

519. In the course of its activities, the Special Committee had adopted many political resolutions. Its present task was to draw up and approve constructive resolutions aimed at the prompt implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to find more effective ways and means of giving effect to those resolutions.

520. The representative of the United States of America observed, on a point of order, that the representative of the USSR was diverging seriously from the subject under discussion by raising the subject of Viet-Nam which was not on the agenda of the Special Committee. He requested the Chairman to ask the representative of the USSR to desist and to return to the question on the Committee's agenda.
521. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exercising his right of reply, said that the question of bases in colonial Territories, particularly Guam, and their connexion with the war in Viet-Nam were indeed germane to the work of the Special Committee because of their connexion with freedom and independence. The Viet-Nam situation was a serious danger to the peace of the world and was poisoning the atmosphere of international co-operation. He was fully entitled to raise the matter under paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) which called on States to demolish any bases they maintained in foreign countries and to refrain from building new ones.
522. The representative of the United States of America protested most energetically at what he considered to be highly contentious remarks made by the USSR representative concerning a very serious matter which was not pertinent to the Special Committee's work. His delegation was fully prepared to discuss the Viet-Nameese war in the proper United Nations forum, which was the Security Council, but not in this Committee where it was totally irrelevant. He considered the attitude of the USSR representative to be foreign to the spirit of the Special Committee.
523. The representative of Poland, speaking on a point of order, drew attention to the fact that the USSR representative had referred to a military base at Guam, a colonial Territory being used in the war against the people of Viet-Nam. The point was perfectly valid and came within the Committee's purview.
524. The Chairman appealed to all representatives to confine themselves to the subject under discussion and to refrain from introducing other topics, however important they might be.
525. The representative of the United States of America agreed with the Chairman but wished to go on record as utterly rejecting the false allegations which had been made against his country. His delegation was perfectly ready to discuss the subject in the proper forum.

526. The Chairman said that the protest of the United States representative had been noted. He appealed to the USSR representative to continue his statement without introducing contentious material which was not entirely relevant to the subject under discussion.

527. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said he would follow the Chairman's advice but wished first to exercise briefly his right of reply, since the United States representative had insisted on so doing. As to the consideration of the Viet-Nameese problem in the United Nations, the Soviet Union firmly supported the position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nameese question had been considered in 1954 at the Geneva Conference, outside the framework of the United Nations. The United States bore the responsibility for the fact that the United Nations was not a universal organization, and it had made consideration of that question in the United Nations impossible. That did not mean, however, that the States Members of the United Nations should not condemn the aggression against Viet-Nam. Although the question of Viet-Nam had not been on the agenda of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, a great many representatives in their statements had shown concern about the situation in Viet-Nam. They had demanded an end to the intervention against the Viet-Nameese people and the aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, for not only was the situation in South East Asia and in Viet-Nam being affected by those activities but also the situation of all nations throughout the world. The policy of preserving colonial and racist régimes was being pursued by the very ones who were carrying out a policy of intervention and aggression and insolently violating the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

528. The military bases in the Territories under Portuguese control had been used against the national liberation movements in those Territories and also against the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The same was true of bases in South Africa. The liquidation of military bases in colonial Territories was a vital part of the decolonization process. The abolition of foreign military bases should not, however, be limited to those set up in colonial Territories since such bases could be a threat to the independence of the country in which they were situated and to that of

neighbouring countries also. It was the duty of the Special Committee to find ways of implementing General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) and all the other relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, and to support the peoples who were fighting for their independence and trying to achieve true decolonization.

529. The representative of Chile thanked the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania, for having again invited the Special Committee to meet at Dar es Salaam, thereby showing their determination to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa.

530. The zeal with which the United Republic of Tanzania was striving to secure Africa's liberation and the sacrifices which it had accepted in order that that noble cause should prevail were well known. Its work within the United Nations, together with its assistance to national liberation movements, placed Tanzania in the forefront of countries fighting colonialism and racial discrimination.

531. As the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, Mr. Malecela had spiritedly and vigorously defended the view of the Tanzanian Government and people that the African countries could never fully enjoy their liberty and independence until the whole of Africa had been liberated. His delegation had witnessed his fervent and untiring efforts to that end.

532. The Latin American countries, including Chile, had already given proof of their solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Asia still under foreign domination. They remembered having been colonies themselves and knew the price to be paid for freedom. For that reason, they supported the peoples of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and the other colonial peoples demanding their independence.

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533. There had been some criticism of the Special Committee's work by certain people who would like to see it adopt stronger measures to secure the immediate and complete liberation of colonial peoples. Such criticisms were readily understandable in view of the suffering and frustration of people who were unable to be free on their own soil and who saw that United Nations resolutions were not implemented by the administering Powers. For anyone not fully acquainted with the operation of the United Nations, such a situation seemed incomprehensible. The Members of the Organization were, however, unhappily aware that its powers were limited. The United Nations was not a world government with supra-national powers. The General Assembly, a democratic body with representatives from all States, had only moral power, a power of persuasion which was effective only in so far as it influenced world public opinion. Only the Security Council had the power to take effective action and it was controlled by the great Powers, which explained why so many General Assembly resolutions were not implemented.

534. Consequently, his delegation believed that it was first for the oppressed peoples themselves to fight for independence. The United Nations would assist them by creating a favourable psychological climate and bringing pressure to bear on the colonial Powers to adopt a realistic attitude and grant the just claims of the oppressed peoples. If such pressure failed, the Security Council and the great Powers must be convinced that the enforcement action provided for in the Charter must be taken.

535. The Special Committee would have done useful work during its meetings in Africa since it would have collected extremely valuable oral testimony which would assist it in its future work, from petitioners and representatives of liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. His delegation was convinced that the new evidence which the Committee would collect on the situation in Mozambique and other colonial Territories would enable it to adopt resolutions that would serve the cause of decolonization.

536. The representative of Bulgaria thanked the President, Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their generous hospitality and endorsed the expressions of gratitude to Mr. Kawawa for his thought-provoking address. By inviting the Special Committee, the Government of Tanzania had demonstrated its sense of responsibility for finding solutions to the grave colonial problems in southern Africa.

537. The Special Committee was meeting in the United Republic of Tanzania at a crucial juncture. Imperialist forces in the Middle East, South East Asia and especially Africa were using all possible forms of pressure to impede the fight of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence, and economic influence and foreign monopolies were being employed to that end.

538. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination proved that the Western Powers, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, continued to ignore United Nations resolutions and to challenge world opinion. Not only did those countries disregard United Nations appeals to stop aid to Portugal, but they had also intensified their military and economic co-operation with Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The crux of the colonial problem in those regions as new evidence had shown was the co-operation between the régimes of Smith, Salazar and Vorster, on the one hand, and the United States and other Western Powers, on the other. Without the close co-operation of the NATO Powers, Portugal could never resist the liberation movements of the Territories under its administration. The patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) had, however, inflicted new defeats on the Portuguese colonialists and scored new triumphs in organizing the free life of the populations in the liberated zones. His delegation looked forward to hearing the petitioners from Mozambique and other Territories and hoped they could tell the Special Committee how the United Nations could contribute effectively to their fight and how it could mobilize world opinion against the pernicious co-operation given by the Western Powers and NATO to Portugal.

539. In spite of the short time the Special Committee had been at Dar es Salaam, his delegation had sensed a new atmosphere in that beautiful city. The Government had fixed new goals for the establishment of a modern society, where no man would be exploited by another. The Bulgarian people had always admired the courage of the people of Tanzania, who were not only building an independent and democratic nation but were also helping their oppressed brothers at great personal sacrifice. He conveyed to the people of Tanzania his delegation's thanks for their warm hospitality, good wishes for their success, and its assurance that, in their fight to liberate all Africa from colonial rule and to build a socialist society, they could count on the aid and solidarity of Bulgaria.

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540. The representative of Italy said that the links between the Committee and the beautiful city of Dar es Salaam were already strong and almost traditional. As a newcomer to the Committee, he wished to express his gratitude for the kind hospitality and thoughtfulness with which the Committee had been received.

541. However, the reason why the Special Committee had had to return to Dar es Salaam was the international community's concern at the course of events in southern Africa, in Territories to which the Committee had no access, which it could only observe indirectly through the descriptions given by petitioners and refugees. Reports of oppression, inequality and the denial of fundamental human rights had been received by the Committee. Those events were a source of major political concern and showed that mankind's forward march towards a better world had not affected some areas where men were not considered equal to others for reasons of race, creed and colour, where a majority was ruled by a minority and where the people born in a country were denied the right to govern themselves.

542. The Special Committee was only too conscious of its responsibilities and, as the Chairman had stated recently, it was certainly unanimous concerning its goals even when, in a truly democratic way, different opinions were expressed. He hoped that the Committee's work at Dar es Salaam would be fruitful and free from sterile polemics.

543. He was happy that the links between Italy and Tanzania were increasing which was a good example of what could be achieved when relations between countries in different continents were based on mutual friendship and trust.

544. The representative of Poland thanked the President, the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania on behalf of his delegation for their generous invitation. His delegation had been honoured and touched by the welcome and friendliness extended to the Committee.

545. Members who had visited Dar es Salaam during previous visits were able to admire the achievements of Tanzania in all sectors since its independence, and could not fail to be impressed by the vigour and zeal with which Tanzania was forging ahead with its development programme.

546. By inviting the Special Committee once again, Tanzania was demonstrating the importance it attached to eradicating colonialism in general and to the achievement

of African freedom in particular. He was happy to pay a tribute to Tanzania's continuing contribution towards the attempts of the United Nations to ensure respect for the inalienable rights of all peoples to freedom and independence. That attitude was best expressed by President Nyerere's assurance that Tanzania "was prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa". The fact that Dar es Salaam had been chosen as the headquarters of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was itself eloquent testimony to the wide recognition of Tanzania's devotion to the noble cause of African freedom. The United Nations also recognized Tanzania's outstanding record in decolonization, which was well illustrated by the unanimous election of Mr. Malecela as Chairman of the Special Committee.

547. His delegation endorsed the expression of thanks to Mr. Rachidi Kawawa for his inspiring address, which would be a useful guide for the Special Committee in its deliberations.

548. Poland was of the opinion that the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be implemented in all Territories under foreign domination without exception. It regarded the elimination of colonialism in all its forms as an act of historic justice. Poland and the other socialist countries had always supported the national liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other parts of the world. The legitimate fight of the Africans to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence and the liquidation of colonial and racist régimes throughout Africa would continue to have Poland's sympathy and support.

549. As the Chairman had pointed out in his reply to Mr. Kawawa, the Special Committee had always sought to adopt recommendations aimed at peaceful solutions to the problems of colonialism and racialism. Responsibility for the continued suffering of the African people in southern Africa must be placed upon the shoulders of the colonial Powers, which were refusing to comply with their obligations under the Charter and continued to contravene General Assembly and Security Council decisions. While paying lip-service to those resolutions, the imperialist Powers were acting as the accomplices of the fascist régimes of

South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. The same Powers had embarked on a series of aggressive acts elsewhere, including Viet-Nam and the Middle East, intervening to crush national liberation movements in flagrant violation of international law.

550. The Special Committee, at its recent meetings at Kinshasa and Kitwe, had heard evidence from petitioners from Territories under Portuguese administration and had been shocked by the crimes and atrocities committed by the Portuguese against the Africans engaged in the heroic fight for their liberation. Further evidence had been produced on the continued military, financial and other assistance given to Portugal by the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and other NATO allies. Portugal was thus enabled to wage a savage colonial war in the Territories under its administration.

551. A similar situation prevailed in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, where the illegal racist régimes were repressing the Africans in order to continue their exploitation of the natural resources of those Territories, for the sole benefit of international financial monopolies. That situation was a threat to the security of the newly independent African States.

552. The Special Committee was also aware that Tanzania's frontiers had been violated and that plots were being hatched against the country because of its hospitality to African freedom-fighters. Another serious impediment to the liberation of the peoples under colonial administration was the continued existence of military bases in Territories under foreign administration. Those bases were used to repress national liberation movements in flagrant violation of the many resolutions of the General Assembly calling for their dismantlement. The situation could not be tolerated by the international community. The United Nations had an obligation to denounce those of its Members that directly or indirectly impeded the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

553. Practical measures such as those suggested by the Chairman should be taken to sweep away the last vestiges of colonialism and to eliminate the servitude and humiliation of millions of Africans who were forced to live under racist colonial régimes in southern Africa.

554. His delegation looked forward to hearing additional first-hand evidence concerning the situation in the various Territories, particularly Mozambique, Tanzania's immediate neighbour. The evidence would be of great value to the Special Committee in carrying out its mandate. He was confident that the Committee's meetings at Dar es Salaam would help the leaders of national liberation movements to realize that they were not alone in their fight. His delegation associated itself with the Chairman's plea for unity of action against the common enemy, and assured the freedom fighters of Poland's continued support and earnest desire to contribute to the speedy fulfilment of their legitimate wishes.

555. The representative of the United States of America said that his delegation appreciated the opportunity to express its appreciation to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was impressed with the pains to which that Government had gone to ensure the success of the Committee's visit to Dar es Salaam and thanked the Second Vice-President, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, for his words of advice and welcome.

556. It was a great pleasure for the United States delegation to return again to Tanzania, a country with which its Government enjoyed close and cordial relations based on mutual respect and understanding and on a substantial record of fruitful economic and technical co-operation. He himself was particularly pleased to return to Dar es Salaam since he had had the honour to be a member of the United States delegation to the Tanzanian independence ceremonies in 1961. Tanzania's vitality and continuing rapid rate of development were impressive, and President Nyerere's strong emphasis on hard work and self-reliance struck a sympathetic chord with the Government and people of the United States who wished the Tanzanian people every success in their efforts. The Treaty on East African Co-operation which had been signed the previous week promised a further acceleration of Tanzanian development. The leaders of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda were to be congratulated on their statesmanship. The Treaty would provide a firm basis for co-operation among the three countries involved and could serve as a model for regional co-operation in the interests of accelerated development in other parts of Africa and elsewhere.

557. At Dar es Salaam the Special Committee would be considering the important question of self-determination for the peoples of southern Africa, especially of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and Mozambique. The position of the

United States on that subject had already been set forth by his delegation and would be made clear again in forthcoming debate. The basic issue in each of those areas was whether the African majority were to be entitled to control their own destiny. His Government believed that all men were entitled to justice, human rights and liberty and that all of Africa would not long be denied their exercise.

558. Over the past fifteen years the great majority of the people of Africa had achieved independence on their own initiative and, in some cases, ultimately with the co-operation of the administering Powers. In the case of the former Trust Territories the provisions of the Charter had enabled the United Nations to play a major role in bringing about such independence. In Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories administered by Portugal, the United Nations had to tackle the difficult problem of Territories that had not achieved independence or government by the consent of the governed. The Charter had foreseen such circumstances and provided means for bringing the pressure of the world community to bear. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the situation had been regarded as a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council was seized with the problem and the progressive steps provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter were being applied. In accordance with the Charter, efforts were being made to achieve compliance by peaceful means.

559. Men who sought their freedom and the right to majority rule were, and should be, impatient. But "instant freedom", regrettably, had seldom been achieved. Countries represented on the Special Committee, including his own, knew that the struggle for self-determination and freedom could be long and difficult, but the ultimate achievement of freedom by all people was certain. His Government and all States Members of the United Nations were committed under the Charter to hastening the achievement of that goal as rapidly and peacefully as possible.

560. His delegation respected the non-aligned policy of Tanzania and would not introduce polemics or divisive arguments of a political "cold war" nature into the Special Committee's deliberations. However, his delegation reserved the right to reply to any misleading and inaccurate statements or false charges which were directed by certain delegations at his Government and its policies.

561. The representative of Finland thanked the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for once again having invited the Special Committee to meet at Dar es Salaam

which was closely associated with the work of the Committee in which Tanzania and the Chairman had played an important and dominant role. He also thanked the Second Vice-President, Mr. Kawawa, for his kind words of welcome and his understanding of the Committee's work.

562. It was his impression that all members pursued in the main the same objectives with regard to colonialism: all would like to see the system of minority rule and oppression abolished as soon as possible. But a committee of the United Nations was likely to disagree on the methods to be used to achieve that end. As the Secretary-General had said, the weaknesses and shortcomings of the United Nations lay not in its constitutional purposes, objectives and procedures, but in world conditions. Working together to achieve common goals, representatives of independent States, with their own background and history, ideals and principles, were bound to disagree on methods. But there was nothing wrong in that so long as the objectives were the same: the speedy abolition of all forms of minority rule and racial discrimination.

563. Speaking as a representative of a Nordic country with no colonial background, he fully shared the common objectives and the impatience expressed by previous speakers, but Finland was traditionally against the use of force; it firmly believed that all international disputes should be settled by peaceful means and strongly supported the United Nations as the organization set up to solve world problems in an orderly and peaceful way.

564. In coming to Tanzania he felt close to his own country: outside Dar es Salaam was a large educational project, called the Nordic Tanganyika Centre, and he sincerely hoped that the fruitful co-operation between Tanzania and the Nordic countries would increase in the future, based as it was on the common understanding of the problems confronting smaller nations.

565. He welcomed the representative of Afghanistan to the Special Committee.

566. The representative of Syria expressed his deep gratitude to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their cordial and fraternal welcome to the Special Committee, which would enable it to pursue its work of decolonization.

567. It was not the first time that the Tanzanian Government had allowed the Special Committee to hold its meetings on the soil of the young and dynamic African Republic with which his country had the friendliest relations.

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568. The wisdom of Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa's statement bore witness to the unswerving devotion of the Tanzanian people to the cause of the emancipation of peoples and to its firm determination to continue to assist those still fighting to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism from the face of the earth.

569. The evidence of the petitioners would help the Special Committee to take decisions and make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly. In the course of its travels in Africa, the Committee would have other matters to consider, with which it had long been concerned.

570. His delegation would have the opportunity to state its position on those matters at later meetings. It wished, however, to state that it would spare no effort to secure the adoption of resolutions and recommendations designed to ensure the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to assist the freedom fighters in their noble and legitimate struggle. His country had carried on the fight against colonialism and imperialism and would continue until final victory, believing that its sacrifices in the fight would strengthen still further its solidarity with and support for freedom fighters throughout the world.

571. The representative of Australia thanked the Second Vice-President for his important address, and the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for the invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Dar es Salaam. The Second Vice-President's address would be of considerable help to the Committee in its deliberations and he endorsed the Ethiopian proposal that it should be recorded in extenso.

572. The address was indicative of the understandably intense interest of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania in the problems of colonialism in Africa, an interest which was a source of inspiration to those who had not yet been able to exercise their inherent right to self-determination. It was for that reason that Dar es Salaam had become a traditional meeting place for the Special Committee.

573. He was very pleased to see at first hand the remarkable development that had occurred in Tanzania since independence under the dynamic and dedicated leadership of President Nyerere. Tanzania and Australia had many interests in common. They were both members of the Commonwealth and recent years had witnessed a steady

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development of their commercial ties. The presence of Tanzanian students in Australia had added greatly to the understanding of Tanzanian and African problems and aspirations in that country.

574. What was more important, the two countries shared a common interest in the development of a world governed by a proper relationship between nations and a proper relationship of equality between all men. He looked forward to hearing further useful evidence on colonialism in Africa and hoped that it would enable the Special Committee to make a profitable contribution on behalf of the people still striving for independence.

575. In conclusion, he expressed the conviction that the Special Committee would give careful thought to the Second Vice-President's interesting assessment of the situation in southern Africa to the effect that it was a compound of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination.

576. The representative of Sierra Leone said that it was a particular pleasure for his delegation to revisit Dar es Salaam which was traditionally a "haven of peace" and security for refugees fleeing from the oppression and slavery in their Territories. The United Republic of Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam in particular, had come to be recognized as a stronghold of liberty and the Organization of African Unity had decided to establish its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa in that city.

577. His delegation was very keenly aware of Tanzania's contribution to decolonization and the fight for human rights and Mr. Malecela's own efforts for that cause had led to his being unanimously elected as the current Chairman of the Committee. Because of its leadership in the freedom movement and its assistance to the oppressed people of neighbouring Mozambique, Tanzania was constantly threatened by the friends of colonialism.

578. Nearly all the countries represented on the Special Committee had, at one time or another, been obliged to wage a bitter fight for their independence, but it seemed that some of them now hesitated to help the peoples still under the colonial yoke. But colonialism was such that it could only be overthrown by force: independence was not given on a platter.

579. The opening addresses by Mr. Kawawa, the Second Vice-President of Tanzania, and the Chairman merited careful consideration by the Special Committee and would be of great use to it in its deliberations at Dar es Salaam.

580. He thanked the President, Government and people of Tanzania for their invitation to the Special Committee and hoped that genuine progress towards the liberation of the oppressed peoples would result from the discussions at Dar es Salaam.

581. The representative of the Ivory Coast expressed his delegation's cordial and sincere thanks to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for having allowed the Special Committee to meet once again at Dar es Salaam.

Tanzania's gesture was a further demonstration of the interest it took in international affairs in general and the problem of decolonization in particular.

582. Like all African countries, the Ivory Coast attached the utmost importance to all questions affecting the dignity and freedom of men, and of Africans in particular. It remained convinced that one cause of the serious threat now facing the world was the tendency towards hegemony, which smothered liberty and fomented rebellion.

583. The situation in Mozambique, Angola, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia was the result of the expansionist designs of certain countries which, turning back the pages of history, persisted in following outdated policies of assimilation in an Africa which was independent. Such selfish policies must be condemned; they were based on violence and could only engender violence.

584. The Ivory Coast again called on the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian Governments to adopt more realistic policies, based on respect for democracy and the right of self-determination of peoples. The Ivory Coast was persuaded that self-determination was the only just solution. Unhappily, that principle was not always respected and, as a result, world peace was continually threatened. All countries had a duty to see that international peace and security were maintained; that was why they had set up the United Nations. His country set great store by the United Nations, and particularly by the Special Committee for the complete liberation of Territories still under foreign domination. It was confident of the impartiality of the Committee's decisions for, while supporting decolonization, it believed that peoples must be able to choose their own destiny.

585. The representative of Madagascar associated himself with the previous speakers who had paid a tribute to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for having again invited the Special Committee to meet at Dar es Salaam.

586. His delegation had particularly appreciated Mr. Kawawa's welcoming address to all members of the Committee.

587. His delegation was aware of Tanzania's major role in the search for solutions to the problems of decolonization. In his important address, the Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania had emphasized that no African country could enjoy peace and freedom to the full while there were still some Territories in Africa suffering from colonial and racist oppression. The Malagasy Republic shared that view and therefore closely watched developments in the colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, with great attention. His delegation would do all in its power to secure implementation of the principle of self-determination set forth in the United Nations Charter and to ensure that the decisions of the peoples concerning their future were respected.

588. In conclusion, he asked the Chairman of the Special Committee to convey fraternal greetings and sincere wishes for success from the Malagasy people to the President, Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

589. The representative of Iraq said that it was a great pleasure for the Iraqi delegation to be able to participate in the Special Committee's meetings in the African "haven of peace" since, the historic name of the capital of Iraq, Baghdad, had also been Dar es Salaam. The Committee's thanks were due to the President, Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania who illustrated the new spirit of young and energetic Africa in their determined revolutionary drive against foreign influence and the last strongholds of foreign economic and military abuse in Africa and elsewhere.

590. Iraq had a particular regard for Tanzania and its achievements in international politics and economic development and its evident leadership on the African stage. The stand Tanzania had taken on behalf of all colonized, subjugated and oppressed peoples was clear and consistent. Especially impressive had been the messages recently sent by the President of Tanzania to President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, supporting his stand and urging him to continue in his courageous and unyielding opposition to the pressure of the racist Zionists of Israel, the insidious forces of imperialism and the well-known blood merchants. Those messages would be highly cherished by the Arab people everywhere as yet another link of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Africa and the Arab Middle East.

591. He would deal fully with the items on the Special Committee's agenda at a later stage.

592. He extended his greetings to Mr. Samnah, the newly arrived representative of Afghanistan, and wished his predecessor, Mr. Ghaus, a speedy recovery.

593. The representative of Venezuela expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold its meetings in the historic city of Dar es Salaam.

594. The Special Committee was meeting for the third time in Tanzania, which was preparing to receive delegations of every nationality and representatives of various organizations who, in a few days time, were to participate in a history-making seminar on colonialism and the policy of racial discrimination. That was further proof of Tanzania's pioneering role in the fight for decolonization.

595. His delegation expressed its gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee, a son of that generous country, for his untiring devotion to the cause of freedom and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. The torch burning on the summit of Kilimanjaro was not only the symbol of a nation in arms against dishonour, oppression and the paranoid behaviour of racists and their allies; it also symbolized the deliverance of peoples still under the colonial yoke.

596. The United Republic of Tanzania was one of the countries dedicated to peace and freedom which refused to watch human society foundering in the havoc wrought by its own lack of understanding, or to remain passive as its fundamental values were destroyed. For those and many other reasons, the Special Committee's discussions in Tanzania were of particular significance and importance.

597. The testimony of petitioners from various Territories which the Special Committee would be able to hear at Dar es Salaam would clearly be extremely valuable for its work. Those who denied the effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling the aims of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were mistaken. The proof of its effectiveness was so evident as to need no comment. It could, in all certainty, be said that if the United Nations had not written the epilogue to the history of the liberation of peoples, it had at least written the prologue. Those who, for political, economic or strategic reasons, played the colonialists' game and supported the hateful policy of racial discrimination, were also mistaken. So too were those who attempted to establish a social structure

which contradicted the most elementary principles of ethics and civilization. Likewise mistaken were those who set little store by the right to freedom and made no distinction between the fight for that supreme ideal and the defence of their own squalid interests. Those who strove to continue insolently to disregard the world's conscience were also mistaken. Right and justice would triumph over colonialism and racism.

598. His delegation had already had occasion to set forth its attitude to the problems concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration during the general debate at Kinshasha and Kitwe. Venezuela categorically refused to accept the juridical fiction, which the Portuguese Government was attempting to impose, that the African Territories under Portuguese administration were Portuguese overseas provinces and an integral part of Portugal's national territory. Venezuela had condemned the Portuguese Government's obstinate refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. It also condemned the colonial war being waged by Portugal to perpetuate its colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. His country would do everything in its power to ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) as it affected those Territories.

599. His delegation was convinced that the work of the Special Committee at Dar es Salaam would be crowned with success. It renewed its thanks to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for allowing the Special Committee to meet a second time in a country which was in the forefront of those fighting to uphold the aspiration of peoples to self-determination and independence.

600. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania thanked the previous speakers for their kind words which he would convey to his President and to the Second Vice-President. Their words would be of great encouragement to the Tanzanian Government in its uncompromising stand against all the evils of colonialism and imperialism. Tanzania had only recently become independent and it was too soon for it to have forgotten those evils; that was why Tanzania was determined to render all possible assistance to its fellowmen who were still being dominated by foreign oppressors.

601. He wished the Special Committee every success in its complex deliberations and its efforts to promote the noble cause of the freedom of mankind.

602. The representative of Afghanistan associated his delegation with the thanks that had been expressed by other members of the Special Committee for the cordial welcome and generous hospitality offered by the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

603. He paid a tribute to the Second Vice-President for his important address, which would be of great assistance in the Special Committee's deliberations. The Committee's meetings among the peace-loving people of Tanzania under the chairmanship of one of its sons would be a source of inspiration to those who desired the complete elimination of colonialism and racism. The heroic efforts of the Tanzanian people to overcome foreign domination would serve as an example to those still fighting for their freedom and independence.

604. Afghanistan and Tanzania were bound by common ideals and spiritual ties. Afghanistan supported all those who were fighting for their freedom and had condemned all forms of colonialism. It considered the shameful policy of apartheid and racism in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration to be crimes against humanity.

605. Colonialism had reached a crucial phase, particularly in the African Territories, and the United Nations must take immediate action for its elimination.

606. He thanked the Chairman and committee members for their words of welcome to his delegation and expressed his heartfelt wishes for the happiness, prosperity and progress of the people of Tanzania.

Statement by the representative of the Co-ordinating Committee for the
Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)

607. The representative of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, speaking at the Chairman's invitation, said that he was extremely honoured to have the privilege of addressing the Special Committee and wished to convey the greetings and sincere good wishes of the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Executive Secretariat of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa (CCLA).

608. CCLA sincerely hoped that the Special Committee's efforts during its work at Dar es Salaam would be crowned with success which would ensure the realization of the hopes of millions of Africans still enslaved under the cruel and inhuman system of colonialism. On behalf of CCLA, he assured the Chairman that his wise guidance of the Committee was a matter of great pride and a shining example to every true son of Africa. The Executive Secretariat of CCLA was at the Committee's disposal for any assistance it might require during its stay at Dar es Salaam.

609. The problem of colonialism had already been extensively studied. Many books and papers had been written on the subject. Some cheap authors and journalists from the colonialist countries were making a good living by producing superficial copies on that most serious problem.

610. CCLA was an organ of action and not a debating society. It was therefore not his intention to repeat what had already been said. He wished, however, to draw the Special Committee's attention to some important points.

611. OAU viewed colonialism with the grave concern, and for that reason it had set up a special committee to co-ordinate the work of African liberation.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were words which were spoken and written hundreds of times each day. To certain people - some of them Members of the United Nations - those words had become meaningless, but in Africa they were a constant reminder of the inhuman treatment, tortures and degradation of the vast population of Africa. OAU would keep drumming those words into the ears of the world until the last square inch of Africa was free from foreign domination. There would be no peace in the world so long as the shameful system of colonialism prevailed. The world could know no tranquillity so long as certain fanatics were allowed to continue the brutal policy of segregation and racial arrogance. To Africans the word "colonialism" was not an abstraction and when Africans spoke of the decolonization of Africa they were not merely expounding a theory: they meant the total eradication of colonialism in all its forms.

612. OAU, being a peaceful organization, would be happy if the United Nations were to find an immediate and practical peaceful solution to the burning problem of colonialism. OAU would be only too happy if the Special Committee were to

use its influence to persuade Portugal, South Africa and other colonialist countries to stop their mad policy of oppression and subjugation. But, in the absence of any guarantee of an immediate peaceful solution, OAU would feel free to use all means at its disposal to restore elementary human rights to the oppressed peoples of Africa. It had no intention of compromising on the question of decolonization.

613. Of late, the oppressors of the African people had been jubilant about certain setbacks and difficulties in Africa. Africa's enemies were rejoicing at its troubles. They were convinced that Africa's energy was spent and that decolonization had become a dream. He assured the Special Committee that the total decolonization of Africa remained a top priority on OAU's agenda and that, failing an immediate and practical solution to the problem of colonialism on the part of the United Nations, the fight for liberation raging throughout the occupied Territories of Africa would be waged to the bitter end. OAU believed that peace, freedom and human rights were not the monopoly of any particular nation and that it was therefore its responsibility to restore elementary and fundamental human rights to the African Territories still under foreign domination.

614. Colonialism took many forms: political, economic and cultural. Cultural colonialism was no less serious than political or economic colonialism. On the contrary, it could be its most pernicious form. It was a process whereby the colonial Powers dominated the very thoughts and minds of the oppressed and destroyed their soul so that they were made to feel inferior. It drove a wedge between the so-called "elite" and the masses of the colonized. In Africa, sad to say, it tended to drive a wedge between the English-speaking and French-speaking peoples. That state of affairs was incompatible with progress. He appealed to the United Nations to take immediate steps through its education programme to eradicate cultural colonialism from Africa.

615. In recent years another urgent problem had arisen in Africa: that of refugees and displaced persons. Portugal, South Africa and their colonial friends had uprooted thousands of innocent people from their countries and rendered them homeless. Hundreds of thousands of peace-loving Africans had been forced to flee their countries as a result of the manoeuvres of the colonialists and their

friends. While OAU appreciated the good work of the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees, it appealed to the Special Committee to use its good offices to inform the United Nations that the best solution to the problem of refugees and displaced persons was the abolition of colonialism. It also appealed to the United Nations to make provision for the education, medical treatment and social welfare of refugees and displaced persons.

616. If the United Nations found a solution to the colonial problem, Africa's freedom fighters would lay down their arms forthwith. If the systems of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism came to an end, OAU would be very happy to divert the resources it spent on decolonization to development purposes.

617. One of the functions of the United Nations was to work for world peace. The ending of the evil of colonialism would enable OAU to concentrate all its efforts on the pursuit of world peace. He was quite confident that a free and united Africa would make a great contribution to that cause.

B. CLOSING OF MEETINGS

Statement by the Minister for Home Affairs of the
United Republic of Tanzania

618. The Minister for Home Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania congratulated the Special Committee and everyone who had made its meetings at Dar es Salaam possible on behalf of the people and Government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

619. The people of Tanzania were deeply committed to the cause of freedom for their brothers in Africa and elsewhere who were still living under colonialism. They knew the evils of that system both because they themselves had suffered under it and because they could compare it with the freedom and independence they enjoyed at present. In particular, the Tanzanian people knew that institutional racial discrimination, i.e. the humiliation of a man for being the colour he was born, was linked with colonialism. That such discriminatory policies were sometimes camouflaged by high-sounding names did not alter their character. Discrimination existed in the Portuguese-administered Territories despite attempts to confuse the issue by talk of an "assimilation policy"; just as colonialism existed despite the pretence that **Tanzania's** southern neighbour was Portugal. Attempts were made to present a more attractive appearance and the manner of oppression might be different, but the fact of oppression remained the same.

620. It was for that reason that Tanzania had always supported visits by the Special Committee to countries that were close to those colonies whose constitutional development they had been asked by the United Nations to keep under constant review. Such visits enabled Committee members to examine much more deeply and at close range the effects of colonialism and apartheid and therefore to pierce any disguise which might be worn. At the same time, because the petitioners had an opportunity to put their case and to answer questions, the rest of the world became better informed of the nature of the colonial problem.

621. The importance of that was obvious. Those in America, Europe and elsewhere who had never suffered colonial oppression needed to be constantly reminded of those evils if colonialism was to be quickly defeated. The imperialist Powers needed to be reminded too that they could not escape their responsibility for the continued oppression of people in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South West Africa, Aden and elsewhere.

622. In that respect the absence of a United Kingdom delegation from the deliberations of the Special Committee during its present African tour was a matter of regret. The responsibility of the United Kingdom Government for what was taking place in the southern half of the African continent was unquestionable. That country had created South Africa in 1910: it had laid the ground in 1923 for what was taking place in Southern Rhodesia; and, together with others, it was supporting Portugal through NATO and in the United Nations. When the United Nations had voted to end South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa in October 1966, it was significant that the United Kingdom had been among the abstaining delegations. As if that were not enough, the United Kingdom Government was making arrangements to buy islands in the Indian Ocean for the purpose of establishing military bases. The threat of such bases in that particular area had been discussed by the Committee and was covered in the resolution adopted by the Committee on Mauritius and its neighbouring islands. When so much of the Committee's work was of the United Kingdom's creation, surely the Committee was entitled to ask for that Power's co-operation in its endeavour to fulfil its mandate. It was to be hoped that the Committee's resolutions would be carefully studied and rapidly implemented by the United Kingdom Government and its allies. For, even if the United Kingdom refused to participate in the work of a Committee of which it was a member, it could not by default escape its responsibilities.

623. The people of Tanzania would continue to give the Special Committee all the co-operation and assistance within their power. It was a pity that the Committee could not visit the areas in the Middle East which it had arranged to visit, but Tanzania understood very sympathetically the events that had made Iraq and Syria unable to receive the Committee during its present tour. It would be agreed that

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a great part had been played by those countries in the cause of freedom for oppressed peoples, and it was his Government's hope that it would be possible for the Committee to visit Syria and Iraq in the future.

624. The Government and people of Tanzania had been happy to receive the Special Committee in their country. They hoped that the visit to Tanzania and the other African countries had been helpful to the Committee in discharging its responsibilities.

General statements

625. The Chairman said that during the Special Committee's stay at Dar es Salaam, members had had yet another opportunity appreciate the dynamism and revolutionary ardour of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania, their unstinting support, second to none, of the fight for the total liquidation of colonialism and their active solidarity with the efforts as well as with the objectives of the Committee. All those attributes had been amply reflected in the address with which the Committee had just been honoured.

626. The Special Committee had come to the close of its meetings at Dar es Salaam and to the end of a fruitful session away from Headquarters. The vigour with which the Committee had tackled its work at Dar es Salaam, the success of its meetings, and the importance of the conclusions and recommendations adopted had all been made possible by the invitation extended to the Committee by the Tanzanian Government, the environment it had been privileged to work in and the facilities which had been so generously placed at its disposal by the Government. As Chairman, he expressed the Committee's warm gratitude, through Mr. Saidi Maswanya, to the President, the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania, to whom the Committee was also deeply thankful for their kind hospitality. In addition, the Committee was happy to have had the opportunity to visit the interior and further to develop long-established friendships and fraternal links with the valiant people of Tanzania.

627. In the course of its meetings at Dar es Salaam, the Special Committee had also been honoured by the participation in its deliberations of the representative of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of OAU. As Chairman, he acknowledged that contribution with gratitude and stressed the importance of developing further the ties of co-operation that linked the

Special Committee to OAU, as also the League of Arab States. For only in close collaboration could those bodies ensure the speedy attainment of their common objectives, namely, the elimination of colonial domination, respect for the rights of all peoples to self-determination and to the free choice of their national institutions.

628. At Dar es Salaam the Special Committee had heard six groups of petitioners concerning Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Mauritius and French Somaliland. On behalf of the Committee, he thanked all the petitioners for the contribution they had made to the Committee's consideration of the various colonial questions. They could be assured of the Committee's continued whole-hearted support in the struggle of their peoples for freedom and independence in keeping with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On its return to New York, the Committee, in addition to the recommendations it had already adopted in Africa, would intensify its efforts to mobilize world opinion in support of their legitimate struggle, in order to achieve without further delay the exercise by their peoples of the right to self-determination.

629. The petitioners had reminded the Special Committee that the people of Mozambique totally rejected the thesis that their Territory was an overseas province of Portugal. The petitioners had also recalled that Portuguese colonialism, based on exploitation, oppression and repression, and accompanied by ruthless racial discrimination, continued to deny to the people their most elementary human right. The Committee had received further testimony of the savage brutality with which Portugal was intensifying its war against the people of Mozambique, a war which could not be prosecuted without the assistance extended to Portugal by a number of its friends and allies within NATO. The petitioners had again confirmed that, if the people of Mozambique had resorted to armed struggle, it was because Portugal had refused outright to accept all peaceful means for bringing them to freedom and independence.

630. The Special Committee had been gratified to receive additional information regarding the progress of that honourable and just struggle to free Mozambique from the yoke of the oppressor. It had been very much impressed to hear of the efforts being made by the national liberation movement to rehabilitate the

liberated areas, amounting to one third of the country; to rebuild the economy; and to promote the material and social welfare of the people. It had also been heartened to learn of the measures taken by the national liberation movements to assist the thousands of refugees from the areas still under Portuguese occupation, particularly as far as education and health were concerned. Nevertheless, having gained greater understanding of the magnitude of the task and of the difficulties involved, members had become more conscious than ever of the urgent need for vastly increased assistance in that regard from the specialized agencies concerned and other international assistance organizations, as well as from Governments.

631. So far as South West Africa was concerned, the petitioners had informed the Special Committee that the fight for national liberation continued unabated and that the fascist Vorster régime, responding with characteristic brutality and harshness, had imposed even more extensive repressive measures, involving mass arrests and inhuman torture. They had drawn attention to the merciless pillage of the human and material resources that was being carried out by the régime of Pretoria with the co-operation of foreign companies, and to the large-scale assistance that the régime was receiving from certain States Members of the United Nations in violation of General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII). They had denounced with legitimate indignation the proposal to establish a Bantustan in Ovamboland, which they regarded as an attempt to dilute the essence of the struggle of the people for dignity. In conclusion, the petitioners had urged that in view of the unco-operative attitude that might be expected of certain big Powers with gigantic economic and financial interests in the Territory, Member States should have recourse to the Security Council in order to obtain the compulsory enforcement of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) under Chapter VII of the Charter.

632. Regarding the question of Southern Rhodesia, the petitioners had exposed the failure of the so-called selective mandatory sanctions to bring about the downfall of the illegal racist minority régime, let alone the establishment of conditions of equality and democratic freedom in implementation of the Declaration. They had condemned a number of Western and other Powers for circumventing those sanctions, and had called for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions backed by force, both against the régime and against any countries refusing to co-operate

in that regard. The petitioners had also registered the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to intensify their fight for liberation by armed force. Finally, they had insisted on the immediate establishment of African majority rule, followed by independence within the shortest possible time.

633. Once again most of the petitioners heard by the Special Committee - from Mozambique, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia - had referred to the role played by entrenched foreign economic and other interests in impeding the implementation of the Declaration. It was evident that those interests had not only been giving active support to the colonial régimes in those Territories, but that, acting in concert, they had also been relentlessly exploiting the human and material resources of those Territories, denying to the African people the means for their economic, social and educational development, and had thus stood in the way of the realization of their aspirations to freedom and independence.

634. On Mauritius and Seychelles, the Special Committee had been told about the failure of the administering Power to take steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the recommendations of the Committee. In particular, dissatisfaction had been expressed about the inadequate rate of political progress and about the present electoral system. The detachment of a group of islands from those Territories in violation of their territorial integrity, to form the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory, and the establishment of military installations therein had come in for particular condemnation.

635. Regarding French Somaliland, the petitioners had referred with grave concern to recent developments in the Territory and had stressed that, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) independence should be granted in the shortest possible time after the holding of elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, under international supervision. They had also urged that all political prisoners should be released, that democratic freedoms should be restored and that all refugees should be enabled to return and to secure international assistance.

636. All the elements thus brought to the attention of the Special Committee by the petitioners had been taken into account in the highly important resolutions

adopted during its last few meetings concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, South West Africa, Territories under Portuguese administration, and on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to the colonial Territories considered by the Committee during its current session away from Headquarters.

637. The texts of those resolutions were, of course, available to members. Many of their provisions were not new but they were important in being stronger and more far-reaching formulations of considerations and demands to which the Special Committee and the General Assembly had previously given expression. There were a number of significant new elements and ideas contained in them to which attention should be drawn.

638. For instance, in the resolution on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/AC.109/249), the Special Committee had described the establishment of military installations and the carrying out of any military activities in those Territories not only as a violation of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), but also as a source of tension in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. That was clearly a development of some importance in the Committee's consideration of those Territories. In another noteworthy move, the Committee in its resolution on South West Africa (A/AC.109/250) had condemned unanimously as illegal, contrary to the relevant General Assembly resolutions and a flagrant defiance of the authority of the United Nations the measures taken and proposed by South Africa regarding Ovamboland.

639. The resolution concerning Territories under Portuguese domination (A/AC.109/251) also contained significant new ideas. In that resolution, the Special Committee had further developed the concept, which it had first advanced during 1965, of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence. In the last preambular paragraph, the Committee had

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expressly noted with satisfaction "the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the liberation movements both by struggle and by a reconstruction programme". That implied at once an endorsement of the efforts of the national liberation movements to achieve freedom and independence for their countries, and a recognition of the valuable work they were carrying on in the liberated areas. By way of underlining their role, the Committee had requested, in operative paragraph 11, that the granting of assistance by the specialized agencies and other international assistance organizations to the victims of Portuguese military operations should be done in co-operation with the national liberation movements.

640. In operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of the same resolution, the Special Committee, availing itself of the provisions of operative paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), drew the attention of the Security Council to the continued deterioration of the situation and recommended that the Council should make mandatory the provisions of its own resolution 218 and of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI). In doing so, however, the Committee had also drawn attention to the consequences of the aggressive acts committed by Portugal against the independent African States that bordered upon its colonies. Those provisions accordingly represented a further and notable definition of the serious implications of Portuguese colonialism for international peace and security.

641. Also, in operative paragraph 11 of the resolution, the Special Committee correctly attached importance to the role to be played by OAU in any measures to be undertaken by international organizations to increase assistance to the refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration. Those provisions testified to the value of the co-operation with OAU, to which he had already referred, and also to the Committee's confidence that the effectiveness of international assistance to refugees could be enhanced by means of such co-operation.

642. Lastly, emphasis had been rightly placed on the need for continuous and widespread publicity for the work of the United Nations in order to educate world opinion concerning the situation in the Portuguese colonies and the fight for liberation. At the same time the resolution visualized that efforts to meet that

need would be made in consultation with the Special Committee. That was a logical development: it was obvious that efforts to publicize the decolonization work of the United Nations and to mobilize world public opinion for the eradication of colonialism would benefit from the participation of the Committee.

643. Those considerations were also reflected in the general resolution (A/AC.109/252) adopted by the Special Committee concerning the colonial Territories it had examined. With regard to publicity for the work of the United Nations on those Territories, particular reference had been made to the preparation of suitable publications in consultation with the Committee. Moreover it was noteworthy that, in operative paragraph 6, the Committee condemned in more categorical terms than previously the formation of an entente between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal Smith regime. Another significant development was that the Committee had not been content to request the dismantling of military bases and installations in colonial Territories. It had also, in operative paragraph 10 of the resolution, described such bases and installations as an obstacle to the liberation of the peoples of those Territories. Lastly, in seeking to ensure that the specialized agencies withheld assistance to the regimes of Salazar, Smith and Vorster, the Committee had emphasized, in operative paragraph 12, the responsibility of States to take appropriate action as members of those agencies.

644. He wished to record his conviction that the decision to undertake yet another series of meetings away from Headquarters had been more than justified by the results achieved. By reason of its closer proximity to the colonial Territories under discussion and of the easier availability of leaders of the national liberation movements, the Special Committee had been able to acquire additional and more direct knowledge of conditions in those Territories, as well as deeper understanding of the wishes of the people, and of the difficulties and obstacles hindering their fulfilment. He was confident that the capacity of the Committee to assist those peoples had thus been enhanced. Finally, the active solidarity of the United Nations with colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence had once again been underlined.

645. It was true that several petitioners had expressed disappointment, even disillusion, with the results of the efforts of the United Nations. The reason was not far to seek: it was the reluctance, and in many cases the deliberate refusal, of the administering Powers to co-operate in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. At the same time the Special Committee would be failing in its duty if it did not give continuous consideration to ways and means of improving the effectiveness of its work. In that connexion, he commended to members for examination the ideas he had expressed at the Committee's opening meeting at Dar es Salaam.

646. The colonial Powers by their adamant refusal to grant the African peoples independence had forced them to resort to arms. He urged the freedom fighters to redouble their efforts, for force was the only language that the colonial Powers understood. He also appealed to them to unite, for only through unity of action and purpose could the sufferings and humiliation of the peoples in the Territories under colonial domination come to an end.

647. He also appealed to the international community, both inside and outside the United Nations, to realize the plight of the African people. The world community should not leave the people of Africa to be butchered; they deserved freedom as much as their fellow men in Europe or North America.

648. On behalf of the Special Committee, he expressed his appreciation to the Under-Secretary, who in spite of his heavy schedule, had been able to find time to attend the Committee's meetings at Dar es Salaam. The Committee's thanks also went to the members of the Secretariat and particularly to the interpreters: to the Information Services and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania; to the Press, which had been particularly co-operative, and which could play a vital role in informing public opinion about the Committee's work on decolonization; to the management of the Msimbazi Community Centre and indeed to all who in one way or another had contributed to make the work of the Committee both possible and fruitful.

649. The Special Committee was also grateful to the President, Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for enabling it to hold such a constructive session at Dar es Salaam.

650. The representative of Venezuela, speaking on behalf of his own Government and that of Chile, warmly thanked the Tanzanian people and Government for inviting the Special Committee to Dar es Salaam. In that town, the Committee had found a favourable climate which had enabled it to carry out its work successfully.

Tanzania was a country which loved peace and freedom and which served as a refuge for the nationals of countries still under the colonial yoke. He also thanked the petitioners who had come to tell the Committee about the progress they had achieved in their struggle. He supported the appeal for unity which had been made to the liberation movements, for it was only in that way that the people suffering under colonialism could achieve their independence.

651. He emphasized the solidarity which existed between the Latin American countries and the African continent, particularly Tanzania. That was an indisputable fact which had been clearly shown on many occasions. The Latin American countries were ready to support the cause of all peoples fighting for their independence.

652. The representative of Syria, speaking on behalf of the Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia, expressed his deep gratitude to Mr. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as to the Tanzanian Government and people, for the generous hospitality and warm welcome they had extended to the Special Committee. Tanzania had thus once again revealed its awareness of its duty to help wipe out the last vestiges of colonialism which caused indescribable suffering. The wise and encouraging words which the Minister for Home Affairs had just spoken were eloquent proof of the importance of the task undertaken by the United Nations to bring about the complete emancipation of those peoples who were still suffering under the colonial yoke and who were fighting for their fundamental rights.

653. For a month the Special Committee had been following its itinerary in order to examine colonial questions more closely. At Kinshasa, it had heard the testimony of those who were fighting for the freedom and independence of the Territories under Portuguese domination, and particularly for the liberation of Angola. It had visited a camp for refugees and had seen at close range their sufferings and afflictions. It had understood the need to come to their aid and to increase the assistance provided by the specialized agencies and the Office of

the High Commissioner for Refugees. It had realized that the combatants were determined to continue their struggle against the oppressors.

654. At Kitwe, its second stop, the Special Committee had heard the testimony of victims of the racist régime of Pretoria which remained in power in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and despite the indignation of world public opinion. In its resolution on Southern Rhodesia (A/AC.109/248) the Committee had reaffirmed once again the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence. It had condemned as a crime against humanity the policies of racial discrimination and segregation practised in Southern Rhodesia. It had expressed the conviction that sanctions, in order to bring about the downfall of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, must be comprehensive and mandatory and backed by force on the part of the administering Power.

655. At Dar es Salaam, the Special Committee had heard the statements of petitioners from Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, and French Somaliland. It had thus obtained valuable information. The Committee had adopted a resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/251) in which it had strongly condemned the negative attitude of Portugal and its refusal to implement the provisions of resolutions adopted on that subject by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee. It had further condemned the activities of the financial interests operating in the Territories under Portuguese domination and had requested all States to desist from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which enabled it to continue its repression of the African people. It had recommended that the Security Council take measures to make mandatory the provisions of resolutions adopted on the subject by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

656. The Special Committee had adopted three other resolutions. In the first, concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/AC.109/249), the Committee had

deplored the dismemberment of the islands in question and had declared that the establishment of military installations and any other military activities in the Territories were a violation of General Assembly resolutions and constituted a source of tension.

657. In its resolution on South West Africa (A/AC.109/250), the Special Committee had reaffirmed the territorial integrity of South West Africa and the right of its people to freedom and independence and had condemned the measures taken by the Government of South Africa. Lastly, in its resolution A/AC.109/252, the Committee had called for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

658. Those resolutions were evidence of the fruitful results achieved by the Special Committee. During its stay in Tanzania, the Committee had been able to appreciate the aid given by that country to the refugees from Mozambique in their legitimate struggle against Portugal. It had also noted the remarkable progress achieved by the Government of Tanzania for its people in the economic, social and cultural fields. Lastly, it had been given an opportunity to admire the beauty and natural wealth of the country. He extended to the Government his most sincere good wishes for the prosperity of Tanzania.

659. In conclusion, he congratulated the Chairman on the skill with which he had conducted the Special Committee's deliberations and thanked the Secretariat for their contribution to the work of the Committee.

660. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics thanked the people and Government of Tanzania for the kind invitation they had extended to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings at Dar es Salaam. The invitation testified to the great importance that Tanzania attached to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. He hoped that his thanks would be conveyed to Mr. Kawawa, Minister of State, to Mr. Maswanya, and to other Tanzanian leaders who had personally participated in the Committee's work.

661. During its meetings away from Headquarters, the Special Committee had made a positive contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. The decision to hold those meetings had been fully justified by the practical and useful results that had been achieved. It had been able to study in greater detail the problems of many African Territories still under colonial domination and had become better acquainted with the efforts of the African peoples fighting for freedom and independence; it had heard petitioners who had provided new information which would be extremely useful for the Committee's subsequent work, and it had adopted constructive resolutions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other important questions and had also adopted a general resolution on decolonization. Those resolutions reflected the basic findings of the Committee's investigations and also certain desires expressed by the representatives of the liberation movements. They had also focused attention on the major obstacles which were retarding the progress of the African colonies towards the achievement of their legitimate rights to independence.

662. In his brilliant analysis of the situation in the colonial Territories, the Chairman had once again stressed the role of the capitalist monopolies and the use of military bases to crush the liberation movements of the African peoples. He had torn the mask from the bloc of white States in southern Africa and had exposed the role of the NATO bloc which gave open or clandestine support to the racists.

663. The Special Committee's visits to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to Zambia and to Tanzania had shown that the United Nations still had a great deal of work to do in order to find ways and means of implementing the Declaration on decolonization in those areas of the world where the shameful remnants of colonialism still existed. The specialized agencies of the United Nations must provide greater economic, financial, cultural, educational and health assistance to the colonial peoples.

664. The Security Council must warn the colonialists very seriously by stating clearly that it considered their activities to be contrary to the Charter, the Declaration on decolonization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Those activities included the waging of aggressive war against the liberation

movements, the use of neo-colonial manoeuvres, the establishment of puppet régimes, support to the activities of financial monopolies, the building of military bases and the dismemberment of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

665. But the United Nations must not content itself with adopting resolutions calling for the liquidation of military bases and denouncing the use of military bases by the Western Powers against the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa: it must take steps to ensure their immediate implementation. The destiny of the United Nations depended to a large extent on the energy and determination of its Member States in eliminating the shameful vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism and in securing strict adherence to the Charter. The socialist countries, in pursuance of their policy of over-all support for the peoples fighting for their national liberation, would not slacken their efforts until the last vestiges of colonialism had been wiped from the face of the earth.

666. The Bulgarian, Polish and Soviet delegations had been deeply moved by the welcome given to the Special Committee by the wonderful people of Tanzania and had been impressed by the way in which, under the inspiring leadership of President Nyerere, the Tanzanian people were advancing towards development and welfare and playing a leading role in the fight against colonialism and for international peace. The three delegations expressed their deep appreciation of the efforts of all those whose work had contributed to the success of the Committee's meetings in Africa.

667. The representative of Finland, speaking on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Italy, the United States of America and his own, thanked the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for the warm and friendly hospitality and assistance offered to the Special Committee. The city of Dar es Salaam was closely linked with the work of the Committee and it was most fitting that the concluding part of its meetings in Africa should be held in Tanzania, a country which had played such an important role in decolonization. Thanks largely to the energy and dynamic personality of the Chairman, the Committee had succeeded in accomplishing a substantial amount of work and had completed its programme on time. Thanks must also go to those who had worked so hard to arrange the mission and who had assisted the Committee in its work.

668. The mission had brought the members of the Special Committee together and had given them a better understanding not only of the serious problems on the agenda, but also of the views of the various Governments which, in his opinion, did not differ so widely as might have appeared to an outside observer.

669. The representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations welcomed the opportunity of saying a few words to the Special Committee on behalf of the Secretary-General who, despite his many grave preoccupations, was following with keen interest the progress of the Special Committee's work. By asking him to go to Dar es Salaam to represent him, the Secretary-General had sought once again to express his deep concern for the problems which the Committee was studying and to reaffirm his conviction that the continued existence of racism and injustice in those parts of southern Africa still under the domination of a racial minority was a festering sore in international politics. That sore must be healed if the United Nations was to achieve its objectives of justice based on the universal recognition of human rights.

670. He himself, as an African, could not help feeling deeply distressed over the sufferings of the people in the Territories under Portuguese control, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, which had been so movingly described by the petitioners. In an age when so many technical successes had been achieved and when man possessed the scientific knowledge which enabled him to conquer matter, it was appalling to realize that millions of human beings still had to live in conditions belonging to a bygone era and were deprived of the essential requirement for human dignity: the freedom to determine their own future. In the age of the atomic bomb, when man was at the same time under constant threat of massive destruction and on the threshold of important achievements, both material and spiritual, on earth as well as in space, the fact that people were still suffering under colonial domination and were deprived of the fundamental rights which were a corner-stone of the Charter of the United Nations could only be deplored as an inadmissible contradiction and a frightening anachronism. That was why the Secretary-General, referring to the problem of decolonization, had quoted the words of an eminent jurist, "Justice delayed is justice denied". Those, who like Portugal and South Africa sought in defiance of the United Nations, to perpetuate colonialism or domination by a racial minority should

perhaps be reminded that they were sowing the seeds of a whirlwind which would one day sweep them away. The least that the administering Powers could do for the colonial peoples was to recognize their right to self-determination and to give them the freedom to manage their own affairs in a democratic manner. Only then could those peoples take their place beside their fellow-men and play their part in the world community.

671. The Special Committee had held thirty-two meetings at Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam. It had heard a constant succession of petitioners who had described in detail the conditions prevailing in their countries in terms which could leave no doubt in anyone's mind. Some of the petitioners had criticized the United Nations for its failure to impose its will on Portugal, the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. But they forgot that the United Nations was not a world government and that it only drew its strength from the support and co-operation it received from all Member States. All that the Special Committee could do was to expose the facts, analyse the problems, propose measures to resolve those problems and mobilize world public opinion, as well as the appropriate organs of the United Nations, in favour of the speedy implementation of those measures. That the Committee had ably done in the resolutions which it had adopted during its meetings in Africa. It was now up to the individual Governments of States Members of the United Nations to exert the necessary pressures to ensure that those resolutions were implemented. All must co-operate for in the final outcome the interests of all were at stake.

672. Before concluding, he thanked all those delegations which had paid a tribute to the work of the Secretariat during the series of meetings. It was obvious that when a committee met away from Headquarters many problems had to be resolved and the strain on the Secretariat was greater than usual. Yet, if the Secretariat had been able to provide the Special Committee with the services it expected, that had been due largely to the forbearance, understanding and co-operation shown by all the members throughout the Committee's work. That harmony was due not only to the members of the Committee but also to the competent way in which the Chairman of the Committee had conducted its work.

673. On behalf of the Secretary-General, he thanked the three host Governments which had once again shown their devotion to the United Nations and to the cause of decolonization by inviting the Special Committee to hold meetings on their soil. He also wished to express to them his deep appreciation of the resources they had made available to the Committee and to assure them that the facilities which they had provided had made a great contribution to the harmonious conduct of the Committee's work. He also thanked them warmly for the generous hospitality they had extended to all the members of the Secretariat. He could not complete his statement at the closing meeting in Dar es Salaam without paying a well-deserved tribute to the Government and people of the Republic of Tanzania; the kindness and friendly interest they had constantly shown in the work of the Committee had been appreciated by all delegations. His thanks also went, of course, to the President of the Republic, Mr. Julius Nyerere, one of the main pillars of African solidarity, to whom he was happy to pay a shining tribute for all that he had done and would continue to do in furthering the interests of Africa and the cause of world brotherhood.

674. The Special Committee's work was, of course, not finished; some of the most serious and pressing problems of colonialism remained, and it was the Committee's duty to seek in unity a constructive and peaceful solution to those questions which affected all Members of the United Nations.

675. Thanks to the generosity of the Government of Tanzania, the Special Committee members had had the opportunity to see something of that marvellous country. He asked the Tanzanian delegation to convey to the President, Government and people of Tanzania the delegations' wishes for a bright future in peace and prosperity.

IV. ACTION ARISING FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEES' MEETINGS
AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS

A. 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 AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS (1967)

676. At the 539th meeting of the Special Committee on 19 June 1967, the representative of Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1), sponsored by the delegations of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia which dealt with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to the colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its 1967 meetings in Africa. He recalled that each group of petitioners had spoken of the oppression in the Territories under colonial rule, of the countless injustices, the conditions of near-slavery and the restriction of the right of the indigenous peoples to free expression and citizenship in their own land. The Committee had heard of conditions in Ovamboland and Southern Rhodesia, and of the existence of military bases which represented a threat to independent African States, particularly in the Territories under Portuguese domination.

677. With that information in mind, the sponsors had prepared their text, to which they wished to add, after operative paragraph 10, a new paragraph 11 to read:

"Urges the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance". The sixth preambular paragraph had been included because the question of Southern Rhodesia had played an important part in the Special Committee's deliberations and it was highly regrettable that the United Kingdom had not been represented at the meetings in Africa.

678. The seventh preambular paragraph had been included because the co-sponsors felt that the attitude of Portugal and South Africa must change. Other colonial Powers had once adopted the same attitude, but had had to change it. Pressure should be exerted on those countries through their friends. At present expanding trade relations seemed to indicate that encouragement rather than disapproval was the latter's policy.

679. Operative paragraph 2 had been included because the petitioners had shown that the continuation of colonial oppression, apartheid and racial discrimination

constituted a threat both to the peoples of the colonial Territories and to those of neighbouring independent countries. Indeed, dogs were better treated than Africans in those Territories.

680. Operative paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 had been included as a corollary to paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), which read: "The General Assembly.... Requests the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by the Committee which may threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations". Friends of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal were finding constitutional methods of supporting those régimes on the pretext that their nationals who traded with and invested in those countries could not be controlled by their Governments. Foreign financial and economic interests were increasing their activities, exploiting cheap African labour and preventing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Moreover, countries that disapproved of the entente between the three racist Governments should demonstrate their feelings by action.

681. Operative paragraph 7, reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urging all States to assist national liberation movements, had been included because, although most of the countries represented on the Special Committee had had to fight for their independence, some delegations had never supported the efforts of the freedom fighters in the Territories under colonial administration. The paragraph was intended to recognize the freedom fighters' right to fight for their independence.

682. Operative paragraph 8 had been included because many delegations had expressed the desire that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the specialized agencies should increase assistance to refugees from the Territories under colonial administration.

683. Operative paragraph 9 had been included because populations had been transferred and land annexed for purposes incompatible with the principles of the Charter. The annexed land should be returned to its rightful occupant.

684. Operative paragraph 10 requested the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases in the Territories under their administration, for the sponsors believed that such bases were being used to oppress the indigenous peoples, particularly in the Portuguese administered Territories. New operative paragraph 12, requesting all States to withhold assistance of any kind to Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, followed upon a General Assembly resolution of 1966 which appealed to countries to discontinue giving help to those Governments. The paragraph included a reference to action through international institutions.

685. The draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414) dealt mainly with South Africa. That was because southern Africa had been the main topic discussed during the Committee's meetings in Africa: it was a chronic case and the sponsors considered that vigorous co-operative action was needed. They hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

686. The representative of Mali said that, since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, his country had never faltered in making its contribution towards hastening the liberation of the Territories still under colonial domination. The Special Committee had repeatedly made concrete proposals to the General Assembly and the Security Council, drawing the attention of international opinion to the fact that the persistence of colonialism was a permanent source of tension, and consequently, a threat to international peace and security.

687. The Committee had heard numerous testimonies from petitioners from Territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other Territories. It had been able to form an idea of the crimes committed by the colonialists and racists in southern Africa, Aden and the islands of the Indian Ocean. It might therefore be asked why the colonial system continued in existence despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, which reflected the views of the international community. The system was in fact perpetuated only through the collusion of the financial interests of certain great Powers which gave their support to reactionary régimes and favoured the exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonial Territories. There were many facts and documents to show that only the financial and economic

interests of the Western Powers, together with strategic considerations, prevented the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

688. Many petitioners had spoken of the military aid which Salazar received from certain of his NATO allies. The Committee had been able to ascertain the extent of such aid and it must therefore once again launch an appeal to the States concerned to cease violating the United Nations Charter, and to stop all deliveries of weapons to the Salazar régime and the racist settlers of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414), the Special Committee made certain suggestions and recommendations for asking the States Members of the United Nations to help in speeding the process of decolonization. The Committee deplored the fact that, six years after the adoption of the Declaration, it should still be discussing, in the absence of certain colonial Powers, the continuation of the colonial system despite the wishes of the peoples suffering under foreign domination. The Committee also deplored the attitude of certain States which had continually refused to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and had given their support to the Portuguese in the war which they were waging in Africa. The Committee reaffirmed the right of the peoples to freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and with the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. The General Assembly had already condemned colonialism as a crime against humanity. The Committee reaffirmed that view and urged the abolition of the hateful colonial system.

689. With regard to the economic and financial interests of certain Western Powers which were obstructing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the statistics compiled by the United Nations Secretariat had shown that the United Kingdom and the United States were deriving enormous profits from the Territories under foreign rule in southern Africa. Large concerns such as the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the Angola Diamond Company, the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company and the Pan American International Oil Company were exploiting the natural wealth of these Territories.

One must therefore be cautious in accepting the theoretical declarations in the representatives of the Western countries when they claimed to favour decolonization. The delegation of Mali would be happy if the representatives of those countries could put forward concrete proposals for abolishing colonialism throughout the world and particularly in Africa. The peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination, Zimbabwe and South West Africa had never been consulted regarding the exploitation of the riches of their countries. Of course, every country had the right to negotiate with private companies regarding the investment of capital in its national territory, but that had not happened in the case of the colonies. The Committee should therefore urge the suspension of such activities until the countries had become independent.

690. As to military bases, the problem was similar. Those bases had been imposed on the peoples of territories which were still dependent and they were a means of putting pressure on peoples demanding independence. There was another reason for dismantling them: they were a source of tension and insecurity for neighbouring countries. He would only recall in that regard the use which had been made of Ascension Island, and the raids of Salazar's armies on Senegal, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the United Republic of Tanzania. In other regions of the world military bases were used to stifle nationalist movements, particularly in the Persian Gulf and South-East Asia. In view of the existence of those bases, it was impossible for the peoples of the areas concerned to accede to self-determination and independence and to settle their own affairs alone. The draft resolution therefore contained an appeal to the administering Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

691. The representative of the Ivory Coast reaffirmed the attachment of his Government to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. His delegation wished once again to express reservations regarding operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414), which related to military bases and installations. It supported the rest of the text and would vote for the draft resolution.

692. The representative of Syria said he had already explained at earlier meetings the views of his delegation on the colonial questions considered by the Special Committee during its African tour. He would therefore confine his remarks to certain particularly important paragraphs in the operative part of the general draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) submitted by the representative of Sierra Leone and supported by the representative of Mali.

693. He would like first to comment on operative paragraph 5, concerning the activities of foreign financial and other economic interests in colonial Territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination.

694. The testimony of the petitioners had clearly shown that the foreign monopolies were supporting the remaining colonialist régimes and that they constituted a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those monopolies were managed principally by commercial firms of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. They were perpetuating the exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonial Territories, supporting the criminal repression of the liberation movements by the colonialists and retarding the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards freedom and independence. The fact that those foreign monopolies were an obstacle to the liberation of the peoples in question had been repeatedly stressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions. In that connexion he cited resolution 2074 (XX), operative paragraph 8, resolution 2107 (XX), operative paragraph 6, resolution 2151 (XXI), operative paragraph 5, and resolution 2184 (XXI), operative paragraph 4. In

operative paragraph 6 of the last-named resolution the General Assembly appealed to all States to prevent their nationals from taking part in the reprehensible activities of those monopolies. The States which sincerely wished to help the colonial peoples achieve their independence and freedom, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), should take adequate measures to give effect to the repeated appeals addressed to them by the General Assembly.

695. In operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution the Special Committee requested the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories. The existence of those bases and installations, established against the wishes of the local population, was a continual source of tension and posed a constant threat to international peace and security, whether they were in Angola, in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Mozambique, in the Seychelles and Mauritius, or in the southern and south-eastern part of the Arabian peninsula. It could not be claimed that the question of dismantling those bases and installations fell outside the competence of the Special Committee, for it was at the very essence of the colonial problem: the existence of those bases permitted the colonialists to maintain their oppressive régimes and retarded the process of decolonization, which, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), should be speedy and unconditional. If the Western Powers sincerely wanted to contribute to decolonization they should respond to the repeated appeals of the General Assembly requesting them to dismantle their existing bases and to refrain from establishing new ones.

696. All the liberation movements should unite so that they could more quickly overcome the obstacles which the colonialists and their accomplices were increasingly placing in the way of the emancipation of peoples. The Special Committee in its decisions would do its utmost to serve the legitimate cause of those who were fighting for their freedom.

697. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation fully supported the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) so ably presented by the representatives of Sierra Leone and Mali at the previous meeting. The meetings away from Headquarters had once again thrown light on the sad colonial problems which confronted the world, especially in the southern part of Africa. The

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adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) had given hope to many Africans that the United Nations had at last decided to come to the active aid of the millions of people suffering under colonial oppression, but to their great bewilderment, those hopes had not been fulfilled. The Tanzanian delegation therefore shared some of the disappointment expressed by the petitioners. The reason why, in spite of several resolutions, the solution of the terrible problems had eluded the Special Committee lay in the very evidence given by the petitioners. Colonialism and international imperialism had become one and the same thing; they were inherent in the theory of "kith-and-kin" in Southern Rhodesia and in the selfish economic exploitation in South West Africa and, above all, were being strengthened by military alliances in the case of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

698. Some of the Members of the United Nations which had voted for General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were undermining its implementation. The United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and some other Western countries preached one policy in one part of the world and practised another in Africa. It was hard to reconcile the United Kingdom's policy in Aden with its policy in Southern Rhodesia or United States policy in the Far East with its policy in Africa. In the Far East, the United States wished to make people believe it was defending so-called democracy, whereas in Africa the same Power was on the side of the fascist forces which were flouting democratic principles. Those Western countries appeared to have completely lost all sense of moral values and to be pursuing power for its own sake.

699. The Tanzanian delegation stressed once again that the march towards freedom and independence could not be halted. Whatever aid Portugal might receive from its allies, its colonial Territories would inevitably attain freedom. In spite of the United Kingdom's "kith-and-kin" policy in Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe would finally be free.

700. The Tanzanian delegation strongly appealed to the Western Powers not to allow the bloodshed to continue. They should know that power for its own sake was doomed to fail. It was in their interests to support the colonized people's fight for independence and to cease enriching themselves at their expense.

701. The Western Powers did not consider colonial oppression in Africa a crime against humanity simply because to them the oppressed people were merely chattels to be exploited, but the crimes committed by Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia certainly constituted the most heinous crime of all. Those crimes were the same in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, but any country pointing them out was accused of cold war semantics.

702. The Tanzanian delegation strongly condemned all the countries which were aiding Portugal. It was not concerned with the official objectives of NATO but only with the fact that arms provided by that giant instrument of European defence were being used to kill the peoples of Africa.

703. It was well known that the capital flowing into those Territories was not only exploiting the African people but also contributing to the forces intended to exterminate them. The Tanzanian delegation was not interested in the laws governing that capital in its country of origin but only in the destruction it produced. While not sharing in the so-called global strategy of the Powers using the military bases, his delegation condemned the existence of bases which were used to exterminate the African people and appealed to the Powers not to frustrate the efforts of decolonization and thus cause more bloodshed.

704. Tanzania hoped that the draft resolution would be supported by all members of the Special Committee. Apologies were not required; what was required was definite action against colonialism.

705. He appealed to the freedom fighters to fight with all their might, for therein lay their hope. If they did so, it would not be long before their countries were welcomed into the family of free nations.

706. Tanzania would always be on the side of those who fought to the bitter end for the cause of liberation and the final liquidation of colonialism.

707. The representative of Iraq said that he would speak mainly on the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) but would also make short references to the other draft resolutions before the Special Committee. Iraq had co-sponsored all the draft resolutions because it felt that they were relevant to the requirements of each particular situation and based on the work and inquiries of the Committee

as well as the United Nations as a whole, and on the petitioners' testimony. Iraq continued to believe in the right of all peoples to free themselves from foreign rule and subjugation. It maintained that peaceful changes could and should take place in and out of the United Nations in order to achieve the complete liquidation of colonialism and foreign economic control. It was undeniable that the trading and colonial Powers had no intention of willingly accepting those peaceful methods. It was for that reason that they continued to arm their racist allies in Africa and other areas of the world under different guises, ranging from partnerships and alliances to mutual agreements and even what they called "the dictates of national security", which were merely manifestations of neo-colonialism. It was in the mutual interest of the trading nations to support and reinforce the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the dictatorial Portuguese rule in the African Territories. Vast amounts of capital and shiploads of arms and ammunition were continuously being made available, to those condemned régimes by the leading countries of NATO and by Israel, to be used against the African peoples and their brave freedom fighters. Military bases, the subject of paragraph 10 of the draft resolution, had played a leading part in the aggressive operations of the colonialist régimes in the past and were continuing to do so.

708. It was especially disheartening to listen to the elaborate statements made by the United States delegation in defence of the so-called "agreement of December 1966" between its Government and that of the United Kingdom, the administering Power in Mauritius, concerning the establishment of refuelling arrangements on the island. It sounded very fair and legal, but the people had not been consulted as to whether they would accept the plan to refuel military and other aircraft on their islands. They had no assurance that the aircraft would not be used against their own people and against neighbouring nations in East Africa, Aden, Southern Arabia, Oman, the Indian sub-continent or even Viet-Nam. Such aggressive bases should be dismantled because they were a major handicap to the liberation of many oppressed peoples all over the world.

709. It was the Iraqi delegation's wish and hope that the trading Powers of the Western world would realize the dangers they were helping to foment in those parts of the world by their continued commercial and economic support to the

aggressive régimes and would finally honour their international obligations to the family of nations. The day might then dawn when all men, regardless of colour, creed or national origin would live and co-operate together in mutual agreement and genuine understanding. The trading and colonial Powers had amassed wealth and built empires from the blood and sweat of oppressed peoples all over the world. They could still obtain a good return on their investments if they put a halt to their greed and tried to work out arrangements with the liberated peoples under which they could still continue, peacefully and with the consent of the other parties, to keep the profits of their skills and capabilities.

710. There was no need for the trading countries to depend so completely on the continued existence of the unpopular régimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or the Territories under Portuguese domination: in fact, if they continued to do so, they would end by losing all their investments. The alternative was to implement various United Nations resolutions in the colonial and subjugated areas by all possible means in order to re-establish sounder relationships, a better understanding and a more solid foundation for economic and other co-operation. The many leading African statesmen and dignitaries who had spoken before the Special Committee during its tour had emphasized that Africa was large enough, rich enough and wise enough to accommodate everyone who was willing to live and work with others without resorting to exploitation, discrimination or the illegal influence from outsiders.

711. It was in that spirit that the delegation of Iraq appealed to the specialized agencies which could render help to the oppressed peoples of Africa and elsewhere to do so generously without dwelling on technicalities which might hinder them from relieving human misery, hunger and pain. Such help was necessary as the Special Committee had seen in many places it had visited. The newly independent countries of Africa were doing their utmost to help, but their capabilities were limited. The refugee problem in particular was a major one and his delegation felt that the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned should play a bigger role in helping the victims of colonization, whose survival depended on such assistance, to see the day when their future would be decided by the United Nations or the responsible Powers.

712. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he would like to make a few observations on the substance of the general draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) concerning all the questions considered by the Special Committee at that session.

713. On the whole the work of the Special Committee had been in keeping with the objective which it had set for itself. The overwhelming majority of the Committee, as well as all the petitioners, had expressed the desire to put an end to the odious manifestations of colonialism and racism, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the implementation of which constituted one of the most important tasks of the United Nations.

714. The general draft resolution as a whole reflected the opinion of the petitioners and the majority of delegations that the administering Powers were directly responsible for the intolerable situation prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the other colonial Territories and that the States members of NATO which were continuing to ignore the resolutions of the General Assembly were also in part responsible for the maintenance of racist and colonialist oppression. The Federal Republic of Germany, for example, had stepped up its technical, scientific and military assistance to the racist régimes. In recent years the political and cultural links between the Federal Republic of Germany and Southern Rhodesia had been strengthened and the resurgence of neo-Nazi activities in the latter country, where the anniversary of Hitler's birth was observed, could be noted. That demonstrated the connexion between racism and Nazi ideology. The support for the colonialist régimes in certain Western circles was explained by the stake which they had in the maintenance of those régimes. The statements of the Western countries to the effect that they were assisting the African countries and respecting the decisions of the United Nations should not be allowed to obscure that fact.

715. The Special Committee had done well to include in the general draft resolution a paragraph concerning foreign monopolies, which were supporting the colonialist and racist régimes and were enabling them to continue exploiting the material and human resources of the colonized Territories. In South Africa, for example, it was the foreign monopolies which reaped the biggest profits. Those profits were

increasing daily, as evidenced by increased investments. One had only to note the trend in the price of the shares issued by the companies in question to realize that such was the case. Those foreign monopolies exercised enormous political influence.

716. The racists and colonialists were arming feverishly. Political life was assuming an increasingly fascist character. The régimes were obviously seeking to establish a position of strength from which to negotiate with the liberated African countries. The Federal Republic of Germany was assisting South Africa even in the nuclear field. A uranium reactor had been built at Johannesburg and rocket tests had been made. All those symptoms were extremely disquieting and the Special Committee should examine closely the activities of the countries in question.

717. His delegation approved the draft resolution as a whole, the adoption of which would be a step forward in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, but it thought that some of its provisions should be worded in a slightly different way.

718. For example, it felt that the text did not condemn with sufficient vigour the countries which were members of NATO and the Western countries which were continuing to assist the colonialist and racist régimes. The Special Committee should make sure that those member States did not give any assistance to the colonialist and racist countries, or else take measures to put a stop to that assistance.

719. The Soviet Union would always support oppressed peoples who were fighting for their freedom. His delegation would do everything in its power to hasten the accession of those peoples to independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

720. The representative of Madagascar said that his delegation approved the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) as a whole, and considered it to be in conformity with the principles which the Malagasy Republic had always upheld. However, it felt that the question of military bases and installations did not fall within the Special Committee's competence. That was a question which the colonized Territories where such bases and installations had been established should decide for themselves when they became independent.

721. The representative of Venezuela said that he had carefully studied the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) which set out the conclusions reached by the Special Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters. His Government had supported

and would continue to support the speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). It noted with great regret that many areas were still under the colonial yoke. The task facing the Committee and the General Assembly was gigantic, and he reiterated the unswerving devotion of his Government and people to the cause of freedom and self-determination for all.

722. In his delegation's view, paragraph 4 of the draft resolution did not appear to make the necessary distinction between the various United Nations organs. His delegation would therefore abstain in the vote on that paragraph and also on paragraph 10 concerning the dismantling of military bases. He had repeatedly expressed his delegation's categorical opposition to the establishment of military bases in the colonial Territories, because they tempted the administering Power to perpetuate its presence in the Territory concerned, but the dismantling of existing bases was a matter for the General Assembly or the Disarmament Conference at Geneva rather than for the Special Committee.

723. His delegation would also abstain on paragraph 12 for the same reasons which had led it to abstain in the vote on paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI).

724. Although his delegation intended to abstain on those three paragraphs, it would vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole. He therefore requested a separate vote on paragraphs 4, 10 and 12.

725. The representative of Iran said that it was unnecessary for him to dwell on his delegation's reasons for supporting the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1), the object of which was the speedy liquidation of colonialism everywhere. He wished, however, to make a reservation with regard to operative paragraph 10 for the reasons which his delegation had given at the time when a similar resolution was adopted by the Special Committee on 22 June 1966 in Algiers (A/6300 (Part II), para. 619). That reservation, based on a question of principle, in no way detracted from his country's unflinching support for the liberation of all peoples from colonial bondage.

726. During the consideration of the various agenda items, his delegation had emphasized that lasting peace could only be established in the world by eradicating all the social, economic and political ills created by colonialism and racialism. For those reasons his delegation had taken a firm and unequivocal stand against colonialism and fully supported the draft resolution despite its reservations on operative paragraph 10.

727. The representative of Italy pointed out that the operative part of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) consisted mainly of paragraphs taken from resolutions previously adopted and in particular from two adopted by the Special Committee in the past two days. He had already mentioned the question raised by operative paragraph 10 in his statement concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. Other points, such as those in operative paragraphs 2 and 4 were contained in General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) or in the Special Committee's resolution of 22 June 1966 (A/6300 (Part II), para. 619) on which the Italian delegation had abstained.

728. The provisions in some of the paragraphs reflected a sound approach to the remaining colonial problems and his delegation could support them. Unfortunately, the general wording of the draft resolution was such that it gave an over-all impression of unbalance and, as previously stressed in many of his delegation's statements on similar decisions, did not constitute a wholesome contribution to the search for the best ways and means of coping with the serious problems still confronting the Special Committee.

729. The Italian delegation noted with regret that such texts, though obviously inspired by the noble and lofty motives of implementing the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), did not take into consideration the suggestions offered on many occasions by the Italian and other delegations on the best means of pursuing the search for the most effective and constructive measures for putting such principles into practice. That would not prevent his delegation from making a sincere contribution to the Special Committee's work on future occasions, since it was convinced that differences on methods and approach would not forever impede the common endeavour to achieve the ideals which it upheld.

730. For those reasons his delegation would abstain in the vote on the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1).

731. The representative of Finland said that it was unfortunate that there had been so little time to study the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1). He would therefore confine his remarks to some very brief and general comments.

7. Part of the text, as formulated, did not meet with the Finnish delegation's approval. A number of operative paragraphs were not in conformity with its beliefs and, in some cases, it felt that the competence of the Special Committee had been exceeded. A different or more precise wording would have been preferable in many instances. Moreover, the resolution as a whole appeared somewhat unbalanced. For those reasons the Finnish delegation would abstain in the vote.

733. In a recent statement the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland had stressed that Finland had always been against racial discrimination but that, like the other Nordic countries, it took the view that, in order to be effective, enforcement measures required the approval of the Security Council, as prescribed in the Charter. Finland had therefore never supported any General Assembly resolutions recommending sanctions or applied such sanctions unilaterally.

734. The remaining problems of colonialism were perhaps the most difficult and frustrating of all. Their solution required a joint effort by the permanent members of the Security Council as well as by the United Nations as a whole. The progress made might be slow, but all nations should maintain their confidence in the United Nations as a universal organ for peaceful co-operation between independent Member States.

735. The representative of the United States of America said that the United States delegation had numerous reservations with regard to the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1). It naturally joined in reaffirming the right of all peoples to freedom and independence. The search for a practical, speedy and peaceful means of making that right a reality, especially in southern Africa, was the essence of the Special Committee's mandate. His delegation had, however, found it necessary in the past, and continued to find it necessary, to register objections to some of the steps set forth in the general implementing provisions of resolutions both in the Committee and in the General Assembly.

736. His delegation believed that the draft resolution under consideration, like the one on the Territories under Portuguese administration, encroached in several places upon the responsibilities of the Security Council. Those incursions were contained in some very sweeping and inexact phrases, for example, operative paragraph 4 which recommended that the Council should make obligatory against Portugal, South Africa and the Smith régime the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. It also believed that the findings set forth in

operative paragraphs 2 and 6 concerning threats to international peace and security were a matter not for the Special Committee but for the Security Council. Similarly, it considered the request concerning the dismantling of bases, contained in operative paragraph 10, an incursion into the Security Council's sphere of responsibility. Such a question, if it was to be considered at all, would most probably arise in the United Nations organ which had primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation did not share the view of some that the existence of a military installation in a dependent Territory automatically operated to the detriment of the people of that Territory, or prevented or delayed the exercise of their right to self-determination or their political, economic, social and cultural development.

737. Those objections left the United States delegation no choice but to vote against the draft resolution. It was as anxious as any other that the United Nations should act to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to help them advance as rapidly as possible towards self-government and freedom. It wanted to ensure for all the unfettered exercise of their right to self-determination and independence and had supported, and would continue to support, the responsible and practical actions which it considered designed to meet those objectives. It could not support the draft resolution, however, because it would not further progress towards those goals.

738. The Chairman drew the Special Committee's attention to paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), because some members appeared to think that there were certain contradictions in the provisions of the draft resolution under consideration (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1). He thought that that paragraph was the one which the sponsors of the draft resolution had in mind.

739. The representative of Australia said that his delegation felt that little purpose was to be served by such resolutions as the draft under discussion (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1). Its aim was clear enough, but it was an omnibus-type of resolution and, perhaps for that reason, was framed in general and therefore inevitably imprecise terms.

740. He had made it clear, in his statements on the resolutions on specific Territories, that Australia strongly supported the principle of self-determination

but that it could not support several paragraphs some of which were repeated in the draft before the Special Committee. With regard to operative paragraph 4, for example, he reminded the Committee of the views he had expressed on the proposal to use force in Southern Rhodesia. So far as a number of others were concerned, his delegation would either have the strongest reservations or would be strongly opposed. It intended, for instance, to vote against operative paragraphs 10 and 12.

741. For those reasons the Australian delegation intended to vote against the draft resolution as a whole (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1).

742. At its 541st meeting, the Special Committee voted on the revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) by roll-call vote as follows:

Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 votes to 4, 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, Finland, Italy, United States of America.

Abstaining: Venezuela.

Operative paragraph 10 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 13 to 3, with 5 abstentions as follows:

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

Against: Australia, Italy, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Iran, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Venezuela.

Operative paragraph 12 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 to 3, with 2 abstentions 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, Italy, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Venezuela.

743. The revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.414/Rev.1) as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 17 to 2, with 2 abstentions, 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, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Italy.

744. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/252) adopted by the Special Committee on 20 June 1967 reads as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"Having held meetings from 29 May to 21 June 1967 at Kinshasa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kitwe, Zambia and Dar es Salaam, the United Republic of Tanzania, and having heard the statements of the spokesmen for these Governments,

"Having heard the petitioners from Territories under colonial rule,

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

"Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in 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, 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, and 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966,

"Regretting the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to participate in the meetings 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 away from Headquarters,

"Noting with deep regret that six years after the adoption of the Declaration many Territories are still under colonial domination, and deploring the negative attitude taken by certain colonial Powers, and in particular the intransigent attitude of the Governments of Portugal and South Africa which refuse to recognize the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence,

"Deplores the attitude of certain States which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and with the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia which are continuing to repress the African populations,

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people in colonial Territories to freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"2. Further reaffirms the declaration of the General Assembly^{1/} that the continuation of colonial oppression seriously threatens international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid as also all forms of racial discrimination constitute a crime against humanity;

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

"4. Recommends once again that the Security Council make obligatory the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;

"5. Condemns the activities of those foreign financial and other economic interests in colonial Territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, which support colonial régimes and thus constitute a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and calls upon the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities;

"6. Condemns further the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia and calls upon all States to withhold any support or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities run counter to the interests of international peace and security;

"7. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and urges all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;

"8. 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 movements of all the

^{1/} Resolution 2189 (XXI), of 13 December 1966, operative paragraph 6.

Territories under colonial rule, their assistance to the refugees from these Territories;

"9. Reaffirms further that the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"10. Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories which are an obstacle to the liberation of the peoples of these Territories and the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence, and to refrain from establishing new ones;

"11. Urges the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories under their administration and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance;

"12. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination;

"33. Requests the Secretary-General to promote the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, including in particular the preparation, in consultation with the Special Committee, of publications covering the work of the Committee at its current session away from Headquarters, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently aware of the situation in colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle for liberation waged by colonial peoples."

745. The text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 20 June 1967 (S/8024).

B. ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION EXPRESSING APPRECIATION TO HOST GOVERNMENTS

746. At its 542nd meeting, the representative of India introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.415) co-sponsored by twenty-one members of the Special Committee. He said that it was a rare but happy event for the Special Committee to adopt a resolution unanimously. It was even more rare for all delegations present to join in sponsoring it. He was sure that the other three members of the Committee, had they been present, would have wished to support the resolution as well.

747. The resolution sought to express the feelings of gratitude which the Special Committee members felt towards the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania, for their generous invitations to the Committee to hold meetings in their respective countries, and for their warm reception, kind hospitality and enthusiasm for the Committee's work.

748. The second paragraph of the resolution referred to the statements made by the spokesmen of the host Governments, distinguished personalities who had provided valuable guidelines for the Special Committee in its work.

749. All members of the Special Committee felt that the mission to Africa had been very successful. The Committee had had the opportunity of hearing a number of petitioners, many of whom could never have travelled to New York. The Committee had visited refugee camps and the Mozambique Institute, which provided a glorious example of what determined freedom-fighters could do to lay down a firm foundation for their country's future independence.

750. The impact made by the Special Committee's visit in Africa had been substantial and notable. It was regrettable that the remainder of the Committee's programme of visits could not be carried out because of unfortunate circumstances. The draft resolution was a general expression of appreciation on the part of all delegations, to the three Governments concerned for their generous hospitality and for the provision of facilities to help the Committee hold its meetings near the operations of the liberation movements.

751. At the same meeting the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.415) unanimously. The full text of the resolution (A/AC.109/253) adopted by the Special Committee at its 542nd meeting on 21 June 1967 reads as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"Having held meetings from 29 May 1967 to 21 June 1967 successively at Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kitwe, Zambia and Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, and having heard the statements by the spokesmen for those Governments,

"Expresses its profound gratitude to the Governments and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania for inviting the Special Committee to hold meetings in Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam, for providing the Committee with the necessary facilities for its meetings, and for their generous and kind hospitality."

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON 12 APRIL 1967 BY THE CHAIRMAN OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. Availing itself of invitations extended to it by the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four has decided to hold a series of meetings this year in Kinshasa, Baghdad, Damascus, Dar es Salaam and Lusaka.
2. This decision, like the decisions taken by the Special Committee in previous years to hold meetings at various African capitals, was taken in the context 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 in its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 approved "the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1967 including... the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters".
3. In deciding to hold another series of meetings away from Headquarters this year the Special Committee was particularly mindful of the constructive results achieved by its previous sessions in Africa. While it remains the desire of the Special Committee to visit the colonial Territories themselves, and to gain first hand experience of the realities of the situation there, this desire has regrettably been frustrated by the negative attitude of the administering Powers concerned. Nevertheless, by reason of the proximity afforded by its previous sessions in Africa and of the availability of representatives of national liberation movements from the colonial Territories, the Special Committee was enabled to acquire more direct knowledge than before of conditions in these Territories and deeper understanding of the wishes and aspirations of their peoples. The knowledge and understanding thus obtained by the Special Committee were duly reflected in a number of concrete and important resolutions which were the basis of the relevant decisions taken by the General Assembly at succeeding sessions.
4. Also valuable to the work of the Special Committee during its previous sessions away from Headquarters was the co-operation it established with the Organization of

African Unity (OAU) through the participation of its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa as well as of its Administrative Secretary-General and with the League of Arab States through the participation of its acting Secretary-General.

5. The Special Committee is increasingly concerned that progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has fallen far short of the expectations aroused by its adoption over six years ago. In particular, owing to the deliberate opposition or non-co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, the serious colonial problems that remain in southern Africa and in the Arabian peninsula have shown no perceptible movement towards peaceful solution within the context of the Declaration.

6. The forthcoming session of the Special Committee in the above-mentioned African and Arab countries will therefore serve not only to underline once again the active solidarity of the United Nations with colonial peoples in their legitimate struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. In addition, the session will further enhance the capacity of the Special Committee to assist these peoples in realizing their aspirations, which are enshrined in the Charter, to freedom and independence. Finally, in the light of past experience the session will facilitate the appearance before the Special Committee of representatives of national liberation movements wishing to express their views regarding the future of their countries, who would otherwise find it impossible to travel to New York.

7. The programme of the Special Committee's meetings away from Headquarters will be as follows:

Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo	- between 26 May and 1 June 1967
Lusaka, Zambia	- between 2 and 10 June 1967
Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania	- between 11 and 20 June 1967
Baghdad, Iraq	- between 21 and 26 June 1967
Damascus, Syria	- between 27 June and 1 July 1967.

8. 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. The Special Committee will of course wish to hear all petitioners

desiring to appear before it concerning these or other Territories. It envisages that at the capitals indicated below priority will be given to the hearing of petitioners concerning the following Territories:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Kinshasa | - Territories under Portuguese administration
(Angola, Cabinda and so-called Portuguese Guinea). |
| Lusaka | - Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland and South West Africa. |
| Dar es Salaam | - Territories under Portuguese administration
(Mozambique) Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa,
Mauritius and Seychelles, French Somaliland. |
| Baghdad | - Aden and Oman. |
| Damascus | - Aden and Oman. |

ANNEX II

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO ATTENDED THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S
MEETINGS AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS

<u>Chairman:</u>	H.E. Mr. J.W.S. MALECELA	United Republic of Tanzania
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. M.S. ESFANDIARY	Iran
<u>Members:</u>	Mr. M.A. SAMMAH)	Afghanistan
	Mr. A.S. GHASUS)	
	H.E. Mr. H.D. WHITE)	Australia
	Mr. A.P. GODFREY-SMITH)	
	Mr. M. KARASIMEONOV	Bulgaria
	Mr. J. ILLANES	Chile
	H.E. Mr. A.G. MEKASHA)	Ethiopia
	Miss K. SINEGIORGIS)	
	Mr. F. TADESSE)	
	Mr. M. CAWEN)	Finland
	Mr. T. BROTHURUS)	
	Mr. C.R. GHAREKHAN	India
	Mr. S.A. SALEEM	Iraq
	Mr. C.M. ROSSI-ARNAUD	Italy
	Mr. K. KOUAME	Ivory Coast
	Mr. R.G. RALISON	Madagascar
	Mr. M.M. THIAM	Mali
	Mr. K. SMIGANOWSKI	Poland
	Mr. G.E.O. WILLIAMS	Sierra Leone
	Mr. A. NACHABE	Syria
	Mr. H. BEN AISSA	Tunisia
	Mr. B.P. PROKOFIEV)	Union of Soviet Socialist
	Mr. V.K. FEDORINOV)	Republics
	Mr. G.I. VEKILOV)	
	Mr. V.I. USTINOV)	
	Mr. A.S. POKROVSKI)	

/...

Members (continued):

H.E. Mr. C.Y. MGONJA)
Mr. R.S. WAMBURA)
Mr. R.D. SWAI)
Mr. M.A. FOUM)

United Republic of
Tanzania

H.E. Mr. O. DEMING)
Mr. R. JOHNSON)
Mr. E.C. GRIGG)

United States of America

Mr. G.I. CARRASQUERO

Venezuela

Mr. D. PEJIC

Yugoslavia
