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CONTENTS

Agenda item 99:

Admission of new Members to the United Nations 1

Agenda item 23:

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*) 9

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 99

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The first item on our agenda concerns the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations. The Security Council, in document A/6976, has unanimously recommended [1384th meeting] that the General Assembly admit the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations. In that connexion, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by thirty-six countries [A/L.539].

2. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts by acclamation the draft resolution providing for the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation [resolution 2320 (XXII)].

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare the People's Republic of Southern Yemen admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen was escorted to the seat set aside for it in the General Assembly Hall.

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I take great pleasure in welcoming the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations, and in extending on this occasion the sincere congratulations of the Assembly and its best wishes for prosperity to its Government and its people. This event has now crowned the selfless struggle waged by the people of Southern Yemen to attain national independence.

5. I would ask the delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to be good enough to communicate to its Government and to the people of its country my warmest wishes for happiness and success in the building of a new, free life in accordance with their national aspirations.

6. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): This is a historic moment which will long be remembered by all those who have had the privilege of being associated with the efforts of the United Nations to accelerate the attainment of freedom and independence by Southern Yemen. The birth of a new nation and its admission to this Organization are joyous events. I have been fortunate to witness and participate in many such occasions, but that which we are celebrating today holds for us a special meaning and evokes in us the deepest emotions. A brother Arab people is at long last free from colonial bondage and ready to take its place in this great family of nations.

7. The road to independence has not been easy. The struggle was long, bitter and hard. The people who fought heroically and valiantly for freedom spared no sacrifice, and thousands of freedom fighters gave their lives that their nation might live. They were the architects of this new nation and our action today is a fitting tribute to the memory of those heroes.

8. The United Nations can be justly proud of the role it has played in bringing about this happy result. The General Assembly and the Committee of Twenty-Four had from the start one main objective in view—to accelerate the process of national liberation so that Southern Yemen could attain independence in harmony and in peace, in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of its people and on the basis of the preservation of its unity and territorial integrity. To all those States which over the last five years have steadfastly supported the people of Southern Yemen in their struggle for freedom and which made it possible for the United Nations to take such a forthright stand on the side of the people we extend our gratitude and appreciation.

9. I am honoured, on behalf of my Arab colleagues, to welcome on behalf of the Arab group the new State which has joined our ranks and which, we are certain, will make a valuable contribution to the work of this Organization, endowed as it is with youth and enthusiasm and the experience of its epic fight for freedom.

10. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): Today is a very happy day for freedom-loving people everywhere. After more than a quarter of a century of colonial rule the people of South Arabia have achieved their cherished objective of full freedom and independence. They had to struggle long and hard and to make many sacrifices, including the supreme sacrifice of the

lives of many valiant freedom fighters. Their struggle has at long last been crowned with success. My delegation congratulates them and pays a sincere tribute to the dynamic leaders and the people of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. The United Nations must derive immense satisfaction from the fact that yet another colonial Territory, to whose intricate problems it has devoted considerable time and effort, has at last joined the comity of nations as a free and sovereign nation.

11. My delegation took an active part in the deliberations on the question of Aden and strongly supported the efforts of the world Organization to help the people of Aden in achieving their inalienable right to freedom and independence. We did that because of our firm commitment to the principle of the rights of the colonial peoples everywhere to independence and because of our long-standing friendship with the people of South Arabia. My delegation, therefore, is particularly happy to welcome the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to our midst in the family of the United Nations.

12. My Government, which had been following the developments in regard to the South Arabian question with the greatest care and interest, was among the first to extend its recognition to the new Republic on the day of its independence. In announcing the recognition of the new State in the Indian Parliament, my Prime Minister extended to the Government and people of the new nation the warm greetings and good wishes of the people of India. She also expressed our willingness to extend such economic assistance as we could and which the new Republic might need.

13. We warmly congratulate the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and his colleagues on the admission of their country to the United Nations, and we look forward to working with them closely.

14. My delegation feels assured that the People's Republic of Southern Yemen will be a dedicated and loyal Member of our Organization and that it will make an effective contribution to all our activities here.

15. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I have already had the opportunity in this Assembly and in the Security Council [1384th meeting] to welcome, on behalf of my Government, the birth of a new nation in the Southern Yemen. When the People's Republic of Southern Yemen was formed, we immediately recognized the new Government and wished it well, and we sponsored the resolution of the Security Council [243 (1967)] recommending the admission of the new State to the United Nations.

16. We have undertaken to give what practical assistance we can to the new Government, and we are in consultation with that Government in providing financial aid to meet immediate requirements. We are confident that other States, and particularly the Governments of Arab countries, will also be eager to give their support to the new nation, and that support has been generously confirmed by the Ambassador of Iraq this morning.

17. The people of this newly independent country face formidable difficulties. All of us must join in hoping

that they will be overcome and that independence will bring peace and happiness and progress to the million and a quarter Arabs of the new nation. We trust that past divisions will now give way to peaceful co-operation and constructive endeavour.

18. In friendship and goodwill we extend to the Foreign Minister who is here with us today our best wishes for the success of his Government in overcoming obstacles and success in future advance in amity and unity.

19. Mr. EL KONY (United Arab Republic): This moment is a source of great satisfaction and of joy to the people and the Government of the United Arab Republic who have closely followed with admiration and pride the struggle for independence of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, which has emerged as an independent sovereign State, the fourteenth Arab State Member of our Organization.

20. The people of the Republic of Southern Yemen won their independence through sacrifice and through a heroic struggle which has won the admiration of all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

21. The people of the Republic of Southern Yemen came to the United Nations several times before, and they return today but in different circumstances. They come to the United Nations today to join the family of nations as a full and sovereign nation equal with all other Member States. They come to the United Nations today seeking membership of this Organization, willing to contribute to the struggle which we are all waging against foreign domination and to contribute to the efforts of this Organization to maintain peace and security.

22. It is a historic occasion as we welcome today the People's Republic of Southern Yemen among us. This newest Member of the Organization, having gained its independence through the application of the principles of the United Nations, no doubt will work to further the principles and purposes of the Charter. On this occasion, the delegation of the United Arab Republic wishes the people of Southern Yemen success, peace and prosperity.

23. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Government and people of Pakistan have been following with admiration and sympathy the heroic struggle of the people of Southern Yemen against colonial domination. We rejoice with the people of Southern Yemen that their long and arduous struggle has now come to its fruition.

24. On this occasion, we wish to pay our homage to the memory of the brave sons and daughters of Southern Yemen who sacrificed their lives for the cause of the freedom and independence of their country.

25. Pakistan has always supported the efforts of the United Nations to bring about the speedy decolonization of all the dependent peoples of the world. In consonance with this policy, my Government fully endorsed the efforts of the United Nations to enable the people of Southern Yemen to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination and independence.

26. The people of Pakistan are bound by imperishable ties of faith and culture to the people of Southern Yemen. We share with them a common spiritual

heritage. We therefore celebrate their victory as much as any neighbouring people would.

27. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, I take this opportunity to offer our warmest congratulations to the people of Southern Yemen on their accession to independence and convey to them and to the Arab nation of which they are a part our best wishes for their unity, progress and prosperity.

28. The Pakistan delegation welcomes the adoption by acclamation of draft resolution A/L.539, endorsing the recommendation of the Security Council for the admission of Southern Yemen to the United Nations. We are happy to see in our midst the delegation from that new nation. Its entry into this Organization will add strength to the Asian African nations in advancing the causes which we all uphold. Its participation in our deliberations will also consolidate the efforts of the United Nations for the safeguarding of peace and security and the promotion of freedom and justice.

29. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to associate itself with the expression of joy we have heard here on the occasion of the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations. I wish to refer especially to the statement by the representative of Iraq, Mr. Pachachi, who more than anyone else at the United Nations or at least as much as anyone else, has done his utmost to facilitate the accession to full independence of what is now the people of Southern Yemen.

30. My colleagues on the United Nations Special Mission on Aden, Mr. Shalizi and Mr. Keita, and I have looked forward eagerly to the happy event we have just witnessed.

31. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to offer the valiant people of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen our sincere wishes; may they enjoy the fruits of their independence in peace, harmony and prosperity. I should also like to congratulate its representatives, and also the United Nations on having a new Member whose contribution to the cause of peace will undoubtedly be most valuable.

32. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): I deem it a special privilege to welcome on behalf of the Republic of the Sudan and of my own delegation, the newest Member of this Organization—the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. This is a day of special significance for the United Nations, because the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership marks the final solution of a colonial issue of which the United Nations had been seized for a long time, and which had faced it with a difficult challenge. The fact that the People's Republic of South Yemen has at last emerged as a strong and confident State, with a progressive outlook and dynamic political orientation, is mainly due to the tenacity and perseverance of its people in its struggle against the combined forces of colonialism and the reactionary and feudal hierarchy.

33. An emerging country which had its baptism in armed struggle for liberation involving a great number

of its people will not fail to uphold the social and economic values which will eventually ensure the progress and prosperity of those people. We are confident that the People's Republic of Southern Yemen will endeavour to do so. We are confident that the new Republic will also shoulder its international obligations and responsibilities with maturity and confidence. To us in the Arab world, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen is a valuable addition to our family of sister countries. The vigour and youth of its leaders will be a source of strength in our common struggle in defending the Arab homeland against the encroaching forces of evil. Southern Yemen should indeed be an example and an inspiration to those Arab Territories still under foreign domination; and beyond the Arab world we are certain that Southern Yemen will be an energetic partner in the emerging pattern of inter-regional co-operation.

34. The Afro-Asian community of newly emergent countries will also welcome a new member in the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, with the experience of a revolution which emerged victorious from a prolonged struggle. This victory enables the new Republic to proceed swiftly with its development efforts, and consequently become a useful and active member of the Afro-Asian group of countries. The Afro-Asian countries have been instrumental, together with all peace-loving countries, in supporting the case of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen in the discussions that took place in the United Nations during the years of struggle and the times of trial. We are confident that these same countries will not withhold their support and assistance from the young Republic in the initial years of its independence. May we also urge the United Nations and the specialized agencies to move with all speed to render the technical assistance for which the Republic stands in great need so that it may overcome the problems arising from the legacy of colonialism.

35. May I once again welcome our sister Republic of Southern Yemen and wish it every advancement and prosperity.

36. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania takes great pleasure at the opportunity provided it today to greet from this rostrum the birth of a new, independent Arab State, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, and to welcome its delegation into our Organization.

37. That historic event, the attaining of independence by the people of Southern Yemen, is the well-earned outcome of that people's long struggle for national liberation. It demonstrates yet again that armed struggle is the sole means for freeing oneself from the bonds of imperialism and colonialism, and it is an important contribution to the cause of freedom-loving and peace-loving countries, as well as an added incentive to the struggle of peoples still suffering under colonialist and imperialist domination.

38. The victory won by the people of Southern Yemen is a victory for the entire Arab world. It assumes a special importance, following as it does the Israel imperialist aggression against Arab countries—the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria—and at a

1/ Mr. Fakhreddine spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

time when new plots are being hatched against them by the American imperialists and their chief collaborators. The independence of Southern Yemen represents the first step in the liberation of the entire southern part of the Arab peninsula and gives a powerful impetus to the struggle for liberation of the Arab peoples who, relying first and foremost on their own strength, will inevitably liberate the Arab territories occupied by the Israel forces following the aggression of 5 June, as well as the sacred homeland of the martyred people of Palestine.

39. The people of Albania and its Government have steadfastly supported the people of Southern Yemen in its resolute and unrelenting struggle to free itself from colonial domination. The Albanian Government, faithful to its revolutionary policy based on the principle of unstinting support of the cause of colonial and dependent peoples, has always supported, even here in the United Nations, the just struggle of the people of Southern Yemen for their sacred right to freedom and independence.

40. Welcoming once more the delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, the Albanian delegation addresses to the people and the Government of that country its most sincere wishes for success in their struggle to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism, to strengthen independence and national sovereignty, and to build a prosperous and happy life.

41. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): The French delegation already had the opportunity two days ago to make known in the Security Council [1384th meeting] its feelings on and its complete agreement to the admission to membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. It would like once again today, in this Hall, to hail the accession to independence of the people of Southern Yemen.

42. Aden, which enjoys a privileged position between East and West and is situated on one of the great trade routes of our era, has always been one of the centres of the Arab world. Along with its surrounding region, it has made a signal contribution to the civilization and prosperity of that part of the globe. We have no doubt that this young republic will honourably perform the role that has fallen to it, within the Arab world as well as within the wider international community, and particularly within our Organization.

43. It is for that reason that in renewing our wishes for happiness and prosperity to its leaders and its people, the French delegation takes pleasure in welcoming to our midst the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and in greeting once again the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the other representatives of this new State who are present in this Hall.

44. Mr. PEDERSEN (United States of America): The United States was happy to give its support to the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership of the United Nations. Like other Members of the United Nations, the United States has watched with close interest the efforts of Southern Yemen to consolidate its Territory and achieve independence. That the representatives of that Government are with us today testifies to the courage and

determination of the people of that country in bringing their nation to independence. We also acknowledge the role of the United Kingdom, whose interest and statesmanship have contributed to the emergence of this new nation. And it is appropriate also to note that Southern Yemen's independence has been achieved in the course of the world-wide independence movement which the United Nations has fostered and supported.

45. In welcoming the Foreign Minister of Southern Yemen to this hall today, may I wish him and the people of his country every success in their efforts to build their new nation. Southern Yemen will face many problems in the years ahead. But it brings to these problems a substantial asset in its people, its experienced civil service, its educational system, its labour unions and its business community.

46. Having been represented in the area for over eighty years, the United States looks forward to friendly and mutually beneficial relations with the now independent State of Southern Yemen.

47. Mr. SZYMANOWSKI (Poland): It is my privilege to speak today on behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and, of course, my own delegation of Poland. From all of us, I beg to extend to the new State, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, our heartfelt congratulations and sincere good wishes upon the achievement of independence and upon its admission to the United Nations.

48. In the achievement of freedom and independence by the people of Southern Yemen we welcome a very significant manifestation of two facts. First, it shows that the firm determination of a people to obtain freedom, and the resolute persistent struggle for it, must eventually prevail over forces of colonialism. Secondly, it is a welcome and encouraging sign of the fact that in spite of difficulties and obstacles, of which all of us here are only too painfully aware, the process of decolonization does move forward—slowly and haltingly, it is true, but inevitably.

49. We are also fully aware that the new State is facing great and difficult tasks. We wish the people of Southern Yemen all possible success in meeting these tasks in the full preservation of their country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, in the constant raising of the standards of living, in the economic, social and cultural development of their country.

50. In welcoming the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to the United Nations family, we feel assured that the new Member State will make a most significant contribution in our work. It can count on the friendliest and fullest co-operation of all the delegations for which I have the honour to speak.

51. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): On 29 November, in the Fourth Committee [1730th meeting], the Somali delegation had the pleasure of extending its congratulations to the new State which is located almost across from the shores of our own country. That new State was then on the eve of its independence. Since then, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen has entered

the international community as a sovereign nation. May I be permitted to greet this historic event with a few additional words.

52. I am speaking not only on behalf of the Somali Government, but also as the present Chairman of the African Group. In this double capacity, then, I express our warmest felicitations to the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and our fervent wishes for its peace and prosperity. I also express my sincere personal sentiments.

53. Close ties have through the ages existed between the Somalis and the people of what has now become the youngest independent nation in our region. These ties are based on social, cultural and political realities. There has always been a lively movement of ideas and of people and a lively economic relationship between our two countries. I am confident that the ties of friendship and trust will become even stronger in the future.

54. On behalf of the African Group, I express my deep satisfaction that for our friends in the People's Republic of Southern Yemen the struggle against colonialism has ended. They have had to face trials and tribulations and they have overcome great difficulties, as other colonial peoples have overcome them and as, I am sure, the peoples still under colonial domination will also overcome them.

55. I join my fellow representatives in paying tribute to the organs of the United Nations, and especially to the Committee on Decolonization and the Special Mission to Aden, for the role they have played in the emergence of the People's Republic. I must also agree with other speakers who have pointed out on this occasion and on other occasions that, had the administering Power heeded the decisions and recommendations of the various organs of the United Nations at an earlier stage, heavy and unnecessary losses of life and much sorrow for the people of the new State would have been avoided.

56. The evolution of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to full statehood should be an occasion for those Member States which are still putting obstacles in the path of the freedom of colonial peoples to reflect and to realize that the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the actions based on them, are still the best and the only rules for a better and more harmonious world.

57. The people of Somalia are familiar with the qualities of the people of the new State. We are confident that as they are now taking their destiny into their own hands, they will act wisely and constructively, and that their State will be a valuable asset to the peace and prosperity of the entire region. We are confident that as a Member of the United Nations, the new State will play a worthy part in our Organization.

58. Mr. KJARTANSSON (Iceland): In taking this rostrum today, I have the doubly pleasant duty of speaking on behalf of the five Nordic countries and on behalf of the members of the group of Western European, and other States, with the exception of France and the United Kingdom.

59. On behalf of those delegations, I wish to extend a warm welcome to the People's Republic of Southern

Yemen as a Member of the United Nations. We congratulate the people of this new sovereign State upon their attainment of independence. It is the crowning event of the long and arduous struggle for freedom of the people of South Arabia, and it is gratifying that this has resulted in an agreement freely negotiated and concluded between this newly independent nation and the former administering Power. For the people of Southern Yemen this is a historic event. It is also a memorable occasion in the history of the United Nations, for this Organization has indeed played an important role in the process which led to this conclusion. Credit is also due to all parties concerned who have contributed towards a successful accomplishment in this matter.

60. My delegation and the delegations on whose behalf I speak have noted with pleasure that one of the early steps taken by the Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen following independence was to apply for membership in the United Nations, and to declare its acceptance of the solemn obligations contained in the United Nations Charter and to undertake to fulfil them. We feel confident that this new Member State will be guided by the noble purposes and principles of the Charter and will participate constructively in our common work, striving successfully to serve the great objectives of our Organization, and will thus fulfil its responsibilities and obligations as a Member of the United Nations.

61. We welcome the distinguished Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and his delegation in our midst. We look forward to co-operating with them and shall welcome their participation in our common efforts within this Organization to maintain international peace and security and to build a better world for all the peoples of this earth.

62. To the people and Government of their country we offer our best wishes for a peaceful and prosperous future.

63. Mr. GHAIUS (Afghanistan): I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of the Afghan delegation, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen on its admission to membership in this family of nations. My delegation conveys its warmest greetings to the delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and is happy to note that their presence among us brings this Organization one step nearer to its professed goal of universality in which we so ardently believe. Once again, we should like to extend our heartfelt and most sincere congratulations to them, to their people and their Government, on their very recent accession to independence. As a member of the United Nations Mission to Aden, Afghanistan is very keenly aware of the extremely difficult and arduous road that the people of Southern Yemen have travelled in pursuit of their right to self-determination and their cherished aim of independent statehood.

64. The burden has been heavy and the costs too dear. However, through courage and persistence these brave people have reached their goal. The Afghan delegation wishes them well as they continue along the road to prosperity and growth, and hopes

that their future development will take place in conditions more peaceful and less difficult than those they have known in recent years.

65. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): I have come to this rostrum to salute the gallant people of the Republic of Southern Yemen. They have concluded their struggle against oppressive British colonialism by expelling the British Government from their shores. They have been exploited. They have been divided. The colonialists have so manipulated them as to cause brother to fight brother, and father to kill son. But, in achieving independence, they have achieved their highest political goal. Now is their period for national reconstruction. We feel sure that in the absence of a foreign, exploiting and dominating Power, the people of Southern Yemen will find a formula for true unity and fraternal accommodation. We, in Tanzania, wish them godspeed in this endeavour.

66. The accession to independence of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen marks another significant milestone on the long march to the culmination of a hated British colonial domination of poor, peaceful and trusting people. It marks, too, another nail in the coffin of the criminal practice of the doctrine of colonialism itself. Colonialism is in itself a crime against humanity. It must be repulsed everywhere and denounced from every forum. The notorious claim by the British Government that they have led more than 800 million people to independence is really a claim that successive British Governments, over the centuries, have perpetrated a crime against all humanity by criminally colonizing 800 million people. By British colonialism, 800 million people all round the world have been cajoled, robbed, exploited, dehumanized and driven into circumstances leading to senseless fratricidal wars, and suffered the scourge of racial discrimination, the direct legacies of British colonial rule. We raise this point in order to highlight and reject this false claim of the British Government that they have led 800 million people to freedom. They robbed the people of their human freedom in the first place. Then the people had to fight for their freedom from the British at the heavy cost of rivers of human blood in many cases.

67. We therefore all the more hail the gallant and successful struggle of the people of Southern Yemen, and welcome them to this family of free nations. Finally the people of Southern Yemen have come here, but not without much difficulty. But I am sure they do not regret having taken the journey.

68. Once again, on behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania, we extend our sincere congratulations to the people of free Southern Yemen.

69. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): My delegation takes particular pleasure in welcoming into our midst the newly born People's Republic of Southern Yemen, with which we are bound by common religious ties. The path of the peoples of Southern Yemen has been long and painful, yet their sacrifice has not been in vain. Through their own efforts, their struggle for freedom and independence has been crowned with success. Nevertheless, we must also acknowledge the valuable and important part played by the United Nations in this regard. As a member of the Committee of Twenty-

Four, we have taken a keen interest in the emancipation of the people of the Republic of Southern Yemen and have spared no effort to help and support them in the realization of their aspirations for freedom and independence.

70. As they take their rightful place among the family of nations, the people of the Republic of Southern Yemen face a formidable task of reconstruction and development. We wish them success in this new endeavour, and we also look forward to their participation in the work of the United Nations and we will extend to them our full co-operation. We are confident that they will play a valuable part and make important contributions in the councils of the United Nations.

71. Mr. MOLINA URENA (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): In the absence of the Chairman of the Latin-American group, the distinguished representative of Ecuador, it is my privilege, on behalf of the group and on behalf of my own delegation, to express the great pleasure we feel at welcoming the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations.

72. The peoples of Latin America, forged in the heat of their own hard struggle for freedom, sovereignty and independence, spiritually embrace this new son of the United Nations, this near brother of us all. May the people of Southern Yemen continue to enjoy their sovereignty, independence and freedom, bringing happiness to themselves and joy to the world.

73. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): In 1839 the British occupied Aden by force—the first step in a long process of colonization and forceful occupation which dissected my country; a process which continued during the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries; a process during which all the major cities of Yemen and, more often than not, even small villages and farms were subjected to gunboat diplomacy, air attacks and intimidation. When, for one reason or another, the British decided to bring their expansion to a halt, they were in control of about half of Yemen. The process started to reverse itself. Our people, who had never recognized the authority of the invader or the right of his might; our people, who never weakened, slackened or relaxed their struggle against the occupation forces from the very first day of invasion; our people were gaining strength and confidence every day.

74. For 130 years they fought with every weapon at their command. They fought in the city, in the village, in the mountains, in the desert. They fought a colossal Power, but they never gave up. For they are, and will continue to be, firm believers in the dignity and equality of men. They are, and will continue to be, firm believers that man is born free and should live free. They are, and will continue to be, firm believers that countries and peoples must lead their own free life according to their own free will, without intervention from anyone, without subjugation to anyone, but in harmony, brotherhood and free co-operation with all.

75. Today we celebrate the triumph of those courageous people and their ideals. We remember with reverence their sufferings and sacrifices. We pay

homage to their martyrs and we rejoice at their victory. At last, after 130 years, they have regained their freedom.

76. The revolution of our people in the Yemeni south, which followed the heroic example of the great revolution of our Algerian brothers, will go down in history as a source of inspiration to all oppressed peoples and freedom fighters. The Algerian and Yemeni revolutions will continue to illuminate the way for all peoples under a colonial or tyrannical yoke and to assure them of the freedom awaiting them.

77. It is with great pride and gratification indeed that we speak today of the long and tireless struggle of our people in Southern Yemen—pride and gratification for us in Northern Yemen who look forward to the day of reunification; pride and gratification for those who work endless hours to see to it that the General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] is implemented and the United Nations principles respected; pride and gratification for the children, mothers and wives who lost their beloved ones on the battlefield.

78. But this hard-won victory and dearly paid for freedom are just the beginning of a long road which will tax every effort, all patience, all energy and all creative imagination. The tasks and responsibilities facing our people in both Northern and Southern Yemen are numerous. One of the first concerns their unity. In this connexion, the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic, Mr. Mohsin Alaini, has stated:

"We strongly believe in the unity of the South and the North, which imperialism and reactionary forces in the past tried to divide. Today, after the disappearance of reactionary forces from the North and imperialism from the South, we feel that the time has come for the reunification of the land and people of Yemen. The Yemen Arab Republic welcomes the independence of Southern Yemen from foreign rule and considers the withdrawal of British troops a first step towards the Yemen unity. We extend our hands to our brothers in the South, confident that with understanding, co-operation and common endeavour we will be able to achieve national unity, which is the common objective dear to the hearts of all Yemeni citizens."

79. It is our hope, indeed our only hope, for a better tomorrow that all Yemenis will join hands to build a new life based on liberty, unity and social justice. Here and nowhere else is the true meaning of the Yemeni revolution. Only with the attainment of that goal can we pay our debt to our martyrs and give substance to the ideals for which they gave their lives. True, the tremendous task of remoulding and rebuilding the new Yemeni society after generations of domestic oppression and foreign occupation will never be easy. It is like the rebirth from smoke and ashes of the Arabian bird. But with the high principles and ideals of the Yemeni revolution as our guide, with the optimism, energy and determination of our people and with the understanding, sympathy, co-operation and support of friendly and peace-loving peoples throughout the world no obstacle will be insurmountable. The Arabian bird always and for ever manages to be born again and again.

80. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite His Excellency Saif Ahmad Dhalee, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, to come to the rostrum and to address the Assembly.

81. Mr. DHALEE (Southern Yemen):^{2/} At this historic moment, while the struggle of our people for their liberty and independence is being crowned by your accepting the People's Republic of Southern Yemen as a Member of the United Nations, I find it necessary to hail our people, who have struggled for years to free their country from foreign domination.

82. During the long and tedious struggle our people have exerted every effort and have chosen to sacrifice the blood of their young men and women to achieve their noble goal. Here and now, we must ask God to have mercy on the souls of our martyrs, who have given their blood as an offering for the freedom of their people and the glory of their country.

83. Yesterday we wept for them, and today we hail their sacrifices and take pride in what they have offered as a price for their country's independence. Yesterday we offered them our sorrow, while today we honour them with pride, glorification and gratitude.

84. I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, on behalf of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, the President, Kahtan Mohammed El-Shaabi, and our Government, our thanks and appreciation for accepting the People's Republic of Southern Yemen as a Member of this international Organization.

85. The unanimous vote by which you have accepted us is welcomed by our people with gratitude. It cannot but strengthen their belief that our admission is an appreciation of their struggle and an acknowledgement of their effort to achieve freedom and independence. I have to thank also all those representatives of Member States who have this morning greeted and welcomed the admission of our Republic to the United Nations.

86. At this glorious and historic moment our people register their appreciation of the role the United Nations has played in the liberation of all colonized peoples—including our own people.

87. The United Nations has been true to its Charter and to the General Assembly's historic resolution 1514 (XV), which emphasized that independence must be granted to all peoples and countries which had not attained independence.

88. On behalf of our people, I should like to thank the United Nations General Assembly for that resolution, which was the basis for the liberation of our country within this international framework.

89. Our thanks must go also to the Fourth Committee and to those representatives who have played a great role in the achievement of our independence. Our special thanks also are directed to the Committee of Twenty-Four and the Special Mission on Aden for their continuous efforts to end colonialism in our country.

^{2/} Mr. Dhalee spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

90. The resolutions and recommendations which were adopted by those organs, and the debates which took place, had a great influence in fostering the struggle of our people and in strengthening their confidence that the peoples and countries of the world were supporting their struggle to free themselves from the shackles of colonialism and for complete unity. That was reflected in the decision of the General Assembly which recognized that the islands of Kuria Muria are an integral part of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen.

91. I must also mention, with great appreciation, the role played by the peoples of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries and other nations which, through their national and popular organizations, have supported the rights of our people and have stood by us during our struggle, and specifically during the period of our armed struggle in the past four years.

92. I should like to emphasize the role played by our Arab brethren who, through their popular organizations and Governments, have supported our people and helped us morally and materially in our struggle.

93. Our people, just like other peace-loving peoples, put nothing above their love for peace except their love for freedom and independence. As peace-loving people, we tried for years to persuade Britain, through peaceful means, to acknowledge our right to freedom and sovereignty over our own country. But Britain refused to listen to logic and reason, and our people had no alternative but to resort to arms in order to regain their rights and achieve their independence and, of course, to force Britain to acknowledge those rights.

94. British militancy forced our people to follow a long and difficult path filled with tears and blood from the time our people declared the glorious armed revolution in the Mountains of Radfan on 14 October 1963 under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen.

95. Our people have managed through their struggle for over four years to reach their objective and achieve their independence in spite of the difficulties, great losses and sacrifices they have sustained. We were able, through that struggle, to liquidate colonialism and eliminate military bases, unify our nation and put an end to the state of disintegration which was imposed on the area in the form of Sultanates, Emirates and Sheikdoms.

96. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen is a new-born nation which emerges into the free, independent world from the world of colonialism and tyranny. Our Republic, accordingly, feels that it has a special responsibility towards the peoples and nations which are still subject to colonial rule. We pledge ourselves and promise before this international Organization that we will work unceasingly to support the struggle of those nations so that they, too, can spring from the world of tyranny and foreign domination into a world of freedom and independence.

97. We believe that our freedom will be incomplete as long as there are peoples who do not enjoy their freedom and independence. Our freedom will become complete only through the freedom of those nations

and our independence will become secure only through their independence. Pursuant to this principle, which is also our conviction, we shall not spare any effort and we shall not hesitate to give whatever is needed of us; nor will we feel at ease as long as the Arab people of Palestine are deprived of their right to self-determination and sovereignty over their own country.

98. We should like to assure the people of Palestine of our fullest support and we pledge to give them whatever they need to enable them to regain their legitimate rights. And pursuant to that, we pledge to give every help that is needed to the Arab people in any territory which is still subject to foreign domination and to enable them to rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism and to attain their sovereignty and independence.

99. Our Republic is part of the Arab Nation and homeland. Therefore, we will work diligently to help realize the great Arab aspiration of achieving complete Arab unity. And working towards Arab unity, we shall strive to achieve the unity of Yemen by unifying the Yemeni Arab people in the south and in the north. It is also natural that the Islands of Kuria Muria should remain an integral part of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen.

100. Britain's attempt to take these islands away from our Republic is something which we categorically regret and oppose. And on this subject, we appreciate the United Nations support of our legitimate rights, a support which was reflected in the consensus of the General Assembly.

101. As an Asian country we believe in co-operation and solidarity with the peoples of the continents of Africa and Asia. We proclaim from this rostrum our willingness to co-operate with those peoples within the present patterns and framework of such co-operation.

102. As a developing country, we also believe in co-operating and working closely with all the developing countries in an effort to build a better future for our peoples and to strengthen our economies and develop our resources.

103. In our foreign policy we shall follow the principle of positive neutrality and non-alignment in our international relations. We shall strive to achieve peace in the world and to avert war and its horrors. We shall try to judge each question on the strength of its own merits without prejudice, and we shall try to bridge differences and to follow the principles of truth, justice and logic in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

104. In our internal policy we shall be guided by a basic principle, which is the transformation of the individual who has been colonized into a free and productive person. We shall achieve this through a progressive revolutionary programme which will tackle our economic and social problems and aim at producing a better standard of living for every citizen in our young Republic. We hope to eliminate all causes of backwardness—especially in the rural areas, which have been totally neglected during the era of colonialism and feudalism.

105. In our effort to improve our society we shall need foreign aid, whether it is international in character or from individual countries, provided that such aid is not coupled with any conditions or ties.

106. This has been a quick glimpse into the history of our struggle and the jubilation of our people in their moment of happiness. It has been also a brief review of the position of our people with regard to their responsibilities and the main features of our internal and external policies. Now the past has gone and the present is being made. As for the future, our people are determined to build the nation with the same zeal and determination that symbolized the period of their struggle against colonialism.

107. With the help of our friends who care about the welfare and progress of our country, our people will work diligently to establish a stable nation in the People's Republic of Southern Yemen.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

108. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): It has been stressed on more than one occasion that the process of the national liberation of peoples, the disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence and strengthening of a large number of independent States in Africa, Asia and Latin America represent one of the characteristic features of mankind's development today. Now, despite the results achieved—and I should like to hail one of those results, the entry into the United Nations family of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen—it must be stated once again that the process of eliminating colonialism and of liberating the peoples under colonial domination has not yet been completed. The task that oppressed peoples have set themselves in their struggle for national independence is far from being completed.

109. Immense territories on the African continent and in other parts of the world are still under colonial domination. The national liberation struggle is continuing in the jungles of Angola and Mozambique, on the South West African veldt and in Southern Rhodesia, and on the islands of the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, wherever colonialist and racist forces are attempting to keep peoples in a state of colonial dependence and oppression.

110. Not only is colonialism still a reality, but, in some regions colonialist forces are trying to join and to strengthen their positions, and even to take action against national liberation movements. As the peoples' struggle for national liberation is intensified, and following on the successes achieved in that struggle, the colonialist and imperialist forces are organizing a stubborn opposition and even attempting to go over to the offensive.

111. The southern part of the African continent, its riches and its vast natural and human resources, continue to be ruthlessly exploited by monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, South Africa, and other Western countries. It would seem that Western culture has become synonymous with colonialism in that part of the world. In particular, it is from that last colonial stronghold—South Africa—that colonialists and imperialists are planning to go into action against independent Africa as well.

Mr. Khatri (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. Recent events, as well as the report of the United Nations Committee on Decolonization [A/6700/Rev.1], reveal that the problems of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa cannot be dissociated from the other colonial problems that exist on the African continent, particularly in southern Africa.

113. Events in Southern Rhodesia have revealed the danger to Africa of the alliance between the Smith régime, South Africa and Portugal, and the way in which that alliance, backed by foreign monopolies, operates.

114. The recent Security Council debates on the complaint brought by the Democratic Republic of the Congo against Portugal^{3/} provided a further illustration of that danger and furnished one of the most recent examples of the evil activities carried on by the colonialists and their supporters in order to regain their lost positions on the other side of the Zambesi. A further proof of the nefarious role played by the political, economic and military co-operation of certain Western Powers—and principally of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany—with the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa, was provided in the course of the discussion on Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies that took place in the Fourth Committee, and that on South Africa's policy of apartheid in the Special Political Committee.

115. It has become perfectly clear that without the assistance of NATO, Portugal would not have been able to combat the uprising of the national liberation movement in Africa. The report of the Special Committee is a virtual indictment of the unlawful activities of the foreign monopolies in Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa and other colonial territories.

116. In that connexion, my delegation would like to direct the General Assembly's attention to document A/6941, which contains a statement by the Government of the German Democratic Republic that sets forth extremely pertinent facts concerning the role played by West German interests and monopolies in southern Africa. The collaboration of the Western Powers and their monopolies, led by those of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as their military alliance and the political, economic and other support they are providing to Portugal, to South Africa and

*Continuation of discussion at the [1628th meeting].

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document [S/8218].

to the Smith régime, form the backbone of colonialist and racist régimes.

117. The struggle for freedom and for the eradication of the colonial régime is also going on in smaller territories, and it should be noted that there is a tendency on the part of the colonial Powers to make more complete use of those territories by setting up military bases in them aimed against the peace-loving peoples and countries and by using those bases for aggressive purposes. The island of Guam, for example, has become one of the bases for the aggression carried on against the Vietnamese people by the United States.

118. It has become perfectly obvious that so far as the United Nations is concerned, the attitude of the Western Powers is at the present time the main obstacle standing in the way of decolonization. In Southern Rhodesia, the obstacle is the refusal of the British to use force against the Smith régime; in the Portuguese colonies, it is the assistance being lent by certain Western countries; in South Africa and South West Africa, it is the British, American and West German economic interests; in every territory under colonial domination it is the refusal of the Western Powers to implement United Nations resolutions on colonial problems.

119. Yet it is the duty of everyone to participate in the final eradication of colonialism and the completion of the process of the peoples' national liberation struggle. Consequently, the efforts being made by reactionary and oppressive forces to halt that progress must meet with firm opposition from all anti-colonialist forces.

120. The Conference of the Organization of African Unity which was held recently at Kinshasa⁴ and the decisions taken there mark an important step towards the future strengthening of the African States, as well as towards the liberation of those African territories and peoples that are still being oppressed. So long as colonialism is not completely eliminated and so long as the struggle of peoples for national liberation has not been successfully concluded, it is the duty of the United Nations to take an important and active part in the fulfilment of those goals.

121. The United Nations has taken practical and useful decisions designed to assist peoples struggling under the colonial yoke. By the resolute way in which it has come out in favour of the independence and national liberation of all colonial peoples, by recognizing that the national liberation struggle is a just and lawful struggle, and further by asking that moral and material assistance be given to peoples struggling for their independence, the United Nations has done no more than take action on behalf of the aspirations of peoples and in compliance with the will of the vast majority of Member States.

122. The decisions and steps that have been taken have strengthened the legal basis and the international political basis of every anti-colonialist action being undertaken in the present-day world. During sessions of the General Assembly, in the Special Committee

on decolonization, and in other bodies as well, the systematic examination of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, both as a whole and with respect to each individual colonial territory, has considerably broadened the opportunity for undertaking practical political efforts on behalf of oppressed peoples.

123. The work being accomplished by the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, which has again this year carried out its mandate with unflagging devotion, is a signal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of peoples oppressed by the colonial yoke.

124. The Special Committee meetings held in Africa have greatly contributed to enabling the United Nations to establish more direct contacts with national liberation movements and better to understand and assist colonial peoples.

125. During the period covered by the report of the Committee on Decolonization, the solidarity with and support for colonial peoples and national liberation fighters evidenced by the anti-colonialist forces has continued to increase. Those forces, in the main the Afro-Asian countries and socialist countries faithful to their consistent and determined anti-colonialist stand, have stepped up their aid to national liberation movements. It is no exaggeration to say that the United Nations itself has also made a definite contribution to the process of decolonization. Yet if it is to be equal to its tasks and responsibilities, it must do a great deal more than it has up to now to assist the peoples' anti-colonialist struggle.

126. Everyone has the duty to contribute to making the work of the United Nations and its bodies ever more closely linked to the peoples' national liberation struggle and to the demands imposed by that struggle. The United Nations and United Nations bodies, especially the United Nations Committee on decolonization, must with increased energy oppose colonialist policy, as well as the policy of certain States who by their attitude and their support are responsible for the arbitrary machinations of racist minorities, as is the case in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa.

127. The General Assembly must take an even more vigorous stand than it has in the past, so that Member States lend more effective moral and material assistance to colonial peoples who are struggling for their national independence and in order that they abandon all co-operation with colonial and racist régimes. The specialized agencies and international bodies affiliated with the United Nations must lend more active assistance to national liberation movements in the efforts they are making to ensure the education of young people in the colonial territories, set up medical services, wipe out epidemics, and provide food for children.

128. For its part, the General Assembly must designate as a violation of the Charter, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not only colonial wars and repressive measures against freedom fighters, but

⁴ Fourth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Kinshasa from 11 to 14 September 1967.

also all neo-colonialist machinations aimed at setting up puppet régimes in colonial territories, at maintaining military bases in them, at using various manoeuvres and stratagems to conceal colonialism, deceive world public opinion and in that way hinder colonial peoples from gaining the right to self-determination and independence.

129. Once again, the Bulgarian delegation would like to emphasize the importance of popularizing the struggle for national liberation. In this sense, the constructive activities being carried out by revolutionary movements in liberated regions are making an effective contribution. As we have previously stated, that problem, given its importance, deserves closer study by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly itself. All Member States must give most particular attention to the implementation of the resolutions dealing with colonial problems that have been adopted by the United Nations and by United Nations bodies. In that connexion, it would be useful for the Special Committee to prepare an analytical report for the next session of the General Assembly.

130. It is our Organization's duty to come to the assistance of peoples struggling for their national liberation and to bend all its efforts towards the implementation of the principles set forth in the Charter and in the historic Declaration on decolonization.

131. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to contribute, to the limit of its modest means, to any United Nations effort designed to bring about the complete eradication of colonialism and, by so doing, the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere in the world.

132. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): After some three months of discussion in the Fourth Committee on the situation in colonial territories and on the causes contributing to the preservation of their populations' colonial status, we are now discussing in plenary meeting the most important obstacles standing in the way of implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

133. Deliberations in the Fourth Committee as well as the present discussion were based on the detailed and painstaking reports submitted each year by the Committee of Twenty-four, reports that are greatly appreciated by most delegations. The Special Committee is a General Assembly body with a reputation for its devotion to its work. Its annual reports provide an increasingly thorough analysis of the situation in the colonial territories and of the causes that are preventing their peoples from acceding to independence.

134. In order to show the value that Committee's work has for the General Assembly, I would single out two points from its over-all activity this year. One new matter of unquestionable importance, designed to promote the eradication of the colonial system, that was considered by the Fourth Committee at its current session, is the question concerning the role played by foreign interests. The discussion pointed to a certain number of facts, including the basis of the colonial system as a whole, that have a decisive bearing on the United Nations and its Members in the

struggle for the elimination of colonialism; here again, the discussion was based on the Special Committee's report [A/6700/Rev.1].

135. Another very important fact is that each year the Special Committee holds a session in Africa. Those meetings, held far from the depressing atmosphere of New York, enable Committee members to become more closely acquainted with the ideas of the African populations and to have discussions with national liberation movements. Thanks to all that, the Assembly is always aware of the immediate objectives of the forces struggling against colonialism and can thus lend them assistance. General Assembly resolutions on decolonization rightly bring out the problems of the assistance to be given national liberation movements. Small wonder, then, that the Committee's activities have revived the wrath of those who see their plots exposed and made them resort to fresh manoeuvres.

136. My delegation wishes to join with those previous speakers who have expressed their appreciation of the effective work accomplished by the Special Committee. At the same time, I hasten to add that I, much more sincerely than its critics, hope for the early dissolution of the Special Committee; however, along with the majority of the General Assembly, my hope is conditional on the total implementation of the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and, after the elimination of the shameful colonial system on there being nothing more for the Special Committee to do. What must be eliminated is the colonial system, and not the bodies attempting to fight against it.

137. I should like to add, in addition, that it is at the same time just and timely to reflect on the way in which the Special Committee's future tasks can be decided; before broaching that question, however, I believe we should mention certain important characteristics of the colonial system as it is at present. A glance at the map of the territories still under the colonial yoke is most instructive. Those territories can be divided into two main categories.

138. After acceding to independence, some territories that are small in size become so-called "mini-States". For the most part, they are made up of one or more islands or enclaves. Their importance is not solely political, in the sense that they are colonial territories demanding their independence; their problems are not solely economic and financial in the sense that they do not in themselves meet the conditions of viability and economic self-sufficiency. Of course, the Secretary-General, as is shown in his message this year, is aware of that problem, and so is the General Assembly. One of the duties before the Special Committee is undoubtedly that of studying that problem in depth and of making the appropriate recommendations.

139. In the economic sphere, the examination of the activities of foreign monopolies has revealed in a very instructive way that frequently even the larger territories lack viability, precisely because of the conditions brought about by the activities of exploiting foreign monopolies. At the same time, the independence of the smaller territories, of those small islands, is faced with an even more insurmountable

obstacle; the military interests of the principal colonial Powers. Among the islands under colonial régimes are many that are being used by the United States and the United Kingdom as military bases. Suffice it to mention here Guam, Mauritius and Puerto Rico. In the case of the United Kingdom, we could also mention examples in the Middle East.

140. Another group of colonial territories forms a single bloc in southern Africa, a bloc bound to the main NATO powers by such a maze of economic, political and military ties that it is almost impossible to consider those territories individually. That fact was convincingly brought out during the discussion on the activities of foreign monopolies in those territories. During the discussions on the South West African question—a question closely bound up with the one we are currently examining—my delegation furnished evidence in support of this, evidence that I do not think need be repeated. I should, however, like to reject decisively one discordant opinion. When the resolution dealing with the activities of foreign interests [2288 (XXII)] was being adopted, the United Kingdom representative informed the General Assembly, in his explanation of vote:

"I am not speaking today on the countries of southern Africa. There the problem is racial rather than colonial." [1622nd meeting, para. 34]

141. I should like to make two points in that connexion. First, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique are colonies, and no sophistry, no misleading statement, can alter that fact. Second, the very essence of the racial problem is inextricably bound up with a social system based on monopolies. It is common knowledge that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are not the only countries that are victims of the outrageous crimes of racism; yet it is true that the colonial powers are making a deliberate effort to foment racial conflicts and to take advantage of them in southern Africa as well as everywhere else.

142. The Government of the German Democratic Republic was completely justified in stressing the following in its statement before the current session of the General Assembly:

"These dangers and the threat posed to the independent States, especially in Africa, by the enclaves of the imperialist power system, are considerably heightened by the efforts backed by the principal imperialist Powers to form a bloc of racist régimes in the south of Africa which is to consist of the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique." [A/6941]

143. Thus there are in this area as well many tasks to be accomplished and many linkages to be uncovered by the Special Committee and towards the solution of which it can make recommendations. It can analyse the ways and means by which the United Nations and the specialized agencies can and should lend a more effective assistance to the Organization of African Unity, to the independent African States and to national liberation movements. It can also analyse the extent of the interdependence among South African and non-African members of the unholy alliance and the extent of the threat inherent in their aggressive activities.

I should like to stress the urgent and important nature of the problem by two factual statements.

144. One of them was made by the Second Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings at Dar-es-Salaam. I quote from the record:

"Mr. Kawawa does not intend to speak at length about South Africa. He would not even have mentioned it at all had he not been convinced that it was impossible to speak of colonialism in Africa without mentioning apartheid and racial discrimination, which are closely linked in an unholy alliance; the methods which they employ and their objectives closely resemble each other and have the same economic structure, and the same unhappy and destructive effects on their victims.

"There is no more typical example than that of South West Africa, where colonialism and apartheid are closely linked." ^{5/}

145. The second statement was made by President Kaunda at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings in Zambia:

"The problems of southern Africa present a very grave danger for international peace and security. Southern Africa is so to speak a dormant volcano: no one knows when it will erupt, but everyone knows that it will surely do so. When that happens, the results will be disastrous." ^{6/}

146. Noteworthy corroboration is provided in that connexion by information such as, for example, that furnished by the Government of the German Democratic Republic, from which I shall quote two very instructive passages:

"In May 1967, it became known that representatives of West German monopolies and the West German Government had reached agreement with the régimes in Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury concerning the joint exploitation of the uranium deposits in Mozambique. Prospecting for the abundant deposits is already being done in the uranium fields of Cahora Bassa by a group of specialists working for the Krupp concern." [A/6941]

Further on, it is stated:

"The West German Government sees in the maintenance and consolidation of colonial domination the strongest guarantee ensuring that the profit interests of the West German monopolies are preserved and that the raw material supplies are not interrupted, so that the implementation of the economic and strategic plans is assured. Therefore it protects by political, economic and not least by military measures the capital investments of the West German monopolies which draw huge profits from their capital reports to the still dependent Territories. It participates directly in Portugal's colonial war against the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and in so-called 'Portuguese Guinea'. It supplies Portugal with arms and aircraft, erects military bases in Mozambique, assists in raiding mercenary troops for the

^{5/} Statement at the [529th meeting] of the Special Committee.

^{6/} Statement at the [519th meeting] of the Special Committee.

protection of West German capital investments in Angola, and sends military experts to Portugal." [Ibid.]

147. Among the many questions raised at the current session of the General Assembly that have become the subject of resolutions aimed at implementing resolution 1514 (XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I have singled out only two problems that fall within the competence of the Special Committee. I should like now to raise three questions dealing with method. The first two are concerned with material submitted to us by the Special Committee: records of discussions, hearings of petitioners, resolutions, statistics and miscellaneous information, as well as pertinent material from the General Assembly and the Security Council. The third question is related to the situation with regard to the implementation of General Assembly resolutions concerning colonies.

(1) The documents prepared by the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, representing thousands of pages, contain very important and highly interesting material concerning one of the main objectives of the United Nations: elimination of the colonial system. In resolution 13 (1), annex I, the General Assembly rightly stated that the United Nations could not achieve its goal unless the peoples of the world were fully informed of United Nations objectives and activities. I do not wish to go too far back in time. I shall therefore mention only paragraph 14 of resolution 2105 (XX), paragraph 18 of resolution 2189 (XXI) and the relevant paragraphs of resolutions 2262 (XXII), 2270 (XXI) and 2288 (XXII). Each of those resolutions requests the Secretary-General to promote, by means of the various United Nations organs and information services, the dissemination of the results of the labours of the United Nations and its organs, and to inform world public opinion of the situation that prevails in colonized territories as well as of the successes achieved by the national liberation movements. My delegation is not alone in noting that the work of the United Nations information services leaves much to be desired in that respect. Nevertheless, without going into detail, I should like to propose that the Assembly should request the Secretary-General to draw up a concrete report with regard to the implementation, in 1968, of the aforementioned resolutions and the steps envisaged for 1969.

(2) We believe that the voluminous documentation so far prepared by the Special Committee calls to some extent for the introduction of new working methods. It might, for example, be useful for the Special Committee to prepare concise summaries of

the most important subjects, along with its conclusions and recommendations, which would enable smaller delegations to have an over-all view of the problems and which would make it easier to decide on the measures to be taken.

(3) Since about 1960, the General Assembly has every year adopted resolutions aimed at doing away with the colonial system. In point of fact, those resolutions contain two kinds of provisions: those concerned with the solution of new problems and those that the General Assembly finds it must repeat year after year because those concerned refuse to implement them. My delegation considers that the Special Committee should be instructed to examine the stage we have reached with regard to the implementation of resolutions dealing with the larger Territories and to submit an analytical report to the General Assembly explaining why the colonial Powers concerned have not given effect to those resolutions and indicating what urgent measures could be most effectively adopted to speed up the final eradication of colonialism.

148. I should like to add to what I have said in pre-facing the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four that the statements we have heard up to now also show that the Special Committee's activity is and will be necessary until such time as it is in a position to report on the total eradication of colonialism in all its guises. In that connexion, I should like to quote a passage from the Introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the Work of the Organization in 1966:

"The extent to which decolonization has progressed in the last few years serves only to underline the anomaly of the fact that several million people are still subject to colonial rule—and, worse still, that most of these live under régimes which offer them no hope of an early and peaceful emancipation. It must be admitted that, while the United Nations has been in the forefront of support for the principle of self-determination, and while it has done much to encourage and at times to assist the emergence of dependent peoples, it has so far failed to provide or facilitate effective solutions to the several difficult and serious colonial problems which remain."^{1/}

149. Thus there is a wide field of activity still open to members of the Committee of Twenty-Four. It is up to us to support them in the fulfilment of their great task.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, [Supplement No. 1A (A/6301/Add.1), section IX].