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CONTENTS

Agenda item 23:

Page

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

General debate (*continued*) 1

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): The Guatemalan delegation wishes to congratulate the Special Committee and to express its appreciation of the excellent report that Committee has submitted to the Assembly [A/5446/Rev.1]. The colonial problems it was to study have been given painstaking and conscientious examination in this report, which also recommends measures for their solution.

2. In our discussion in the Fourth Committee the report of the Special Committee proved to be one of our most important tools, because of the valuable information it provides and the wise conclusions it sets forth.

3. Nevertheless, my delegation feels obliged to make a short statement, in accordance with the President's wise directions, to record its reservations with regard to annex I of the report: the preliminary list of territories to which the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples applies.

4. The list in question, undoubtedly drawn up on the basis of reports submitted by the colonialist States, includes the Territory of Belize, which the United Kingdom has rebaptized British Honduras and over which Guatemala has the exclusive right of sovereignty.

5. The Territory of Belize, of which the United Kingdom has wrongfully taken possession, is an integral part of Guatemalan soil, not only for geographical reasons but, fundamentally, for historical and legal reasons. To recover it is the supreme desire of the whole Guatemalan nation and to achieve that end we are prepared to face any sacrifice. The United Kingdom's point of view, however, is radically different. For the United Kingdom Government, Belize is no more than a distant and isolated territory, one

of the many pieces of its colonial empire, of which it took possession for purely economic and strategic reasons. Hence it seemed easy and convenient for the United Kingdom to classify it as a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

6. My delegation cannot accept such a unilateral qualification and protests vigorously against the inclusion of Belize in the list in annex I of the report.

7. Sovereignty over Belize belongs solely and exclusively to Guatemala. The United Kingdom occupation of its soil is a cancer that is corroding its territorial integrity. Guatemala will not cease in its efforts to obtain the removal of that cancer.

8. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) itself includes in paragraph 6 a categorical provision which, in the opinion of my delegation, is the only provision applicable to the Guatemalan region of Belize, improperly called British Honduras. The provision lays down the following:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

9. In maintaining its anachronistic colonial system in land belonging to Guatemala, the United Kingdom not only flagrantly violates the terms of the aforementioned provision but stands in defiant conflict with the fundamental principles of the American nations, which repudiate colonialism and its most recent guise, neo-colonialism.

10. I request the President to be so kind as to ensure that the record will note the categorical protest and reservations which my delegation has made about the inclusion of Belize, under the misleading and improper name of British Honduras, in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the report [A/5446/Rev.1].

11. The PRESIDENT: (translated from Spanish): With regard to the request which the Guatemalan representative has made to the President, I wish to assure him that his statement, like that of every representative who speaks at a plenary meeting, will appear in the record of the meeting.

12. Mr. PINOCHET (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The report of the Special Committee which we are considering today [A/5446/Rev.1] is one of the most important documents of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly. The problems with which it deals are of vital importance to millions of human beings who have placed their hopes in the United Nations and who know that to a large extent their future is in the hands of this international body.

13. It is enough to read the report of the Special Committee—commonly known as the Committee on "decolonization"—in order to gain an adequate idea

of the problems of colonialism which remain to be solved and which are nearing solution today.

14. The task given to the Special Committee by the General Assembly [resolution 1654 (XVI)] was that of examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The lengthy title accorded to this task is in keeping with the length of the 400-page report.

15. Self-determination and independence for the colonies is our objective. Nevertheless, the implementation of these fundamental principles gives rise to a variety of situations. The Special Committee has studied these situations in twelve groups of colonial territories, each group composed of smaller territories. For each situation the Special Committee has proposed the most appropriate solution. In the more serious cases which may threaten international peace and security it has apprised the Security Council, in accordance with operative paragraph 8 (d) of General Assembly resolution 1810 (XVII). In other cases it has invited the administering Power to draw up a new constitution which would provide for free expression of the popular will, the transfer of sovereign powers to the people and the declaration of independence.

16. In the case of some Non-Self-Governing Territories it has recommended that the earliest possible date should be set for independence. In others it has postponed its recommendation for lack of complete information.

17. The Chilean delegation has already set forth its views on certain matters in the report at various meetings of the Fourth Committee. I am referring to the territories under Portuguese administration, to Southern Rhodesia and to South West Africa. Instead of speaking about the other cases of colonialism at this time, I would rather refer to a problem which is of special concern to my delegation, a problem which I have already gone into briefly in dealing with the subject of the territories under Portuguese administration. This problem is the future awaiting the small colonial territories once they have attained independence, and the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to that future.

18. Chile feels that it is well equipped to express its views on this problem clearly and frankly. Its anti-colonial position is well known. What we really want to provide for the small colonial territories which will soon be exercising their right of self-determination is the assistance and advice of the United Nations, so that for them independence will really be the initiation of a stage of effective progress in every sphere.

19. When the Spanish colonies of America declared their independence 150 years ago, the advice and practical assistance of an international body such as we have today were lacking. What could have been done with relative ease at that time for the benefit of continental unity now requires tremendous efforts and is going ahead slowly and laboriously. I sometimes think that this Latin American experience is not being used sufficiently for the benefit of our African brothers.

20. To say these days that colonialism is dying out is almost a commonplace. The greatest and most extensive colonies have become independent countries

and, except for a few more whose independence is approaching, most of the remaining colonial territories are small and sparsely populated. The inhabitants of these territories will attain independence in exercise of a right which no one would deny them, in spite of the fact that in many cases this independence will run the risk of being neither politically nor economically viable.

21. In the preliminary list, appearing in the Special Committee's report, of territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applies, there are no less than twelve to fifteen of these cases. This preliminary list includes only Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Special Committee is now preparing, in accordance with paragraph 8 (a) of resolution 1810 (XVII), a supplementary list of "all territories which have not yet attained independence". I am very much afraid that when we get to what might be called "the bottom of the barrel" most of these colonies are small territories.

22. In the list in annex I of the report there are territories with 1,000 inhabitants or less who live in areas so small that in some cases they do not exceed five of six square kilometres—two square miles—but they are mentioned in this preliminary list as colonies having their own identity. Not that the United Nations General Assembly could not enlarge this Hall tomorrow in order to make room for 100 new members, nor is it a question of more flag poles with another hundred national flags waving along the East River, or of whether the Fifth Committee can find the financial means of coping with a sudden doubling of its present expenditure. My delegation's concern lies elsewhere; we are uneasy for a different reason.

23. In a world progressing towards great integrations of economies and peoples striving for unity, it seems to me reactionary, antiquated and illogical to place the emphasis on division, fragmentation and disintegration, political, economic, cultural or social. This will inevitably lead us to neo-colonialism and States which are not economically viable will be liable to fall anew under the selfish and pernicious influence of the great States.

24. Our goal should continue to be—and I emphasize this because it is important—independence for all peoples and an end to colonies and the abuses, poverty and shameless economic exploitation that go with them. Independence should come to those peoples who do not yet enjoy the benefits of freedom, progress and civilization, but independence must be a starting point towards an improvement of the living conditions of the subject peoples. This we should not forget.

25. The United Nations, which encourages the lawful right to independence, naturally has a responsibility towards the future of these peoples who need more help the weaker their economies and the less stable their political and institutional traditions are. This concern for the political and economic viability of the younger members of the international family is not confined to the Chilean delegation. We know that it is shared by the other delegations and it has been shown on more than one occasion in the meetings of the Special Committee.

26. In my opinion the views expressed on this problem by the representative of Mali at yesterday's plenary meeting [1266th meeting] are of great importance. Mr. Coulibaly, the Chairman of the Special

Committee, was quite right when he said that there was more to the problem than adopting resolutions on independence, especially in the case of the small colonies; his recommendation that direct contact should be maintained with representatives of the people in those territories so that their plans for the future might be known is a practical and appropriate idea which has the complete support of my delegation.

27. Nor is this a new problem. Among the principles which should guide Member States in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit information, certain measures such as association between States or integration of two independent States are mentioned [resolution 1541 (XV), annex]. Both association and integration should be adopted voluntarily; they are covered by principles VI, VII, VIII and IX of the annex.

28. General solutions such as these are certainly useful and have been successfully applied on more than one occasion. They might, however, be supplemented by other measures which have emerged from the decolonizing efforts of the past few years.

29. Each case should be considered separately. I assume that no one here believes in a panacea for all future small States or would venture to propose an absurd federation of all of them.

30. The Chilean delegation considers that it would be useful to instruct the Special Committee to study the application of resolution 1514 (XV) to small and sparsely populated colonial territories, so that the United Nations may be able to aid and advise these territories in order that their independence may be politically and economically viable. Practical recommendations on this study should be submitted to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session.

31. In the course of the Special Committee's discussions during 1963, two cases arose of new countries wishing to unite or to form a federation for their mutual benefit. One of these was the plan to form an East African Federation of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya once Kenya obtained independence, which is to be on 12 December 1963. This decision to federate was greeted with applause in the Special Committee, which welcomed it as further proof of the profound desire of Africans to work for the reunification and development of Africa. It is important to note that none of these three countries considers that the federation might prejudice the exercise of its sovereignty and independence. On the contrary, all three are trying to harmonize and weld together two important facets of contemporary life: independence and integration.

32. Upon learning of the plan, the Chilean representative in the Special Committee said that

"... the Federation of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya would reflect the freely expressed will of the peoples concerned; it was consistent with the geographical infrastructure and economy, and hence to improve the living standards of the inhabitants and enhance their dignity." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VIII, para. 159.]

The Chilean delegation wishes to congratulate Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya once again on their action.

33. Another significant case mentioned in the report is the future association of Gambia and Senegal, at present under study. The reasons given by both Governments are worthy of all consideration. In a joint

communiqué dated 26 October 1962, the Governments of Gambia and Senegal affirmed that through this association they hoped "to make an important contribution to the stability, development and prosperity of their two countries and to the cause of African unity" [*ibid.*, chap. XI, para. 33].

34. A communiqué issued by Gambia on the same day went even further in assessing the advantages of the projected association: "... independence must provide an effective means of leading the Gambian people towards greater prosperity and well-being, and ... for economic reasons, the Gambia might find it difficult to sustain this objective as an isolated sovereign independent State" [*ibid.*, para. 34]. I emphasize the word "isolated".

35. In order to put these sound ideas into effect, Gambia has requested and obtained from the Secretary-General of the United Nations a team of constitutional, economic and fiscal experts to advise the Government in determining the form its future relations with Senegal will take. These studies should not, of course, be a pretext for postponing the date of absolute independence for Gambia, as had been alleged. Talks on association can continue perfectly well after the date of independence.

36. It should be stressed that any decision designed to make independence more viable must be voluntary; that is to say, it must be taken by the new State in full exercise of its sovereignty and independence. The United Nations could begin the necessary studies and counselling even before those rights are fully exercised.

37. If, in the case of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, and of Senegal and Gambia, countries that between them cover thousands of square miles and have several million inhabitants, it has been thought advisable to consider and adopt union and close economic and political co-operation as solutions, there is all the more reason for recommending this idea in future cases where the territory is small and the population sparse.

38. To promote the independence of colonies and then ignore the future of their peoples is as easy as it is irresponsible. The enthusiasm with which the birth of new States is greeted should not make us forget the sacred United Nations mission of decolonization, which will not cease with the last celebrations of the first day of independence.

39. Of all the missions of this international body, none seems to me more worthy of esteem or more significant than that of liberating peoples. Let us make sure that the independence granted will be true independence and that it will fully satisfy one of the noblest desires of the human heart: freedom—not freedom in poverty and uncertainty in a world of super-States increasingly fraught with danger for small territories, but true freedom and true independence which are reflected in progress, in the raising of the level of living and in the dignity of the human person.

40. The Chilean delegation trusts that at this eighteenth session the General Assembly will adopt since practical measure for promoting the independence and ensuring the economic and social viability of the small colonial territories.

41. Mr. COOMARASWAMY (Ceylon): My delegation takes the floor today to make a statement on an

item which represents, perhaps, the most important achievement of the United Nations during the eighteen years of its history: the subject of the liberation of peoples from colonialism.

42. At the commencement of the twentieth century, the twin ideas of colonialism and racial superiority were at their highest peak. Notorious imperialists thought in terms of the civilizing mission of the white people vis-à-vis the black, yellow and brown people in Asia, Africa and other under-developed continents. They equated the right of the white people to govern the other races to a divine right, and assumed that the latter were privileged to be governed by such superior masters. The white people were "civilized", while all the others were uncivilized.

43. Even today there are certain nations which think that they have a civilizing mission in places like Africa, and pretend that it is in the interests of the people of these areas that they should continue to be ruled by their white masters. The most outstanding example is, of course, Portugal. But there are other Powers which entertain similar ideas in respect of certain territories, though in smaller measure.

44. Notwithstanding such freakish deviations from the trend of modern thinking on this subject, the inevitable trend of history since the turn of the present century has been in the opposite direction. Both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations have stressed the right of all peoples to self-determination, and have sought to sever the ugly yoke of colonialism and the human bondage and attendant miseries that this concept has always implied.

45. In this connexion, my delegation would like to point out that "civilization" is not a concept that is the special privilege of certain nations, even though article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice speaks of "civilized nations". The concept of "civilization" is a relative term and depends on the standards applied to it and the patterns of behaviour of each people. A country like mine, whose civilization dates back to about 2,500 years, and which can point with pride to ancient sculpture and irrigation works which compare favourably with modern achievements, has a right to question this invidious distinction.

46. Although certain Powers had colonies from the sixteenth century, it was only toward the last century that colonialism assumed a new economic and strategic importance by reason of the industrial revolution, which resulted in industrialism of the modern type and financial capitalism looking for pastures new in their quest for raw materials, markets for finished products and investment opportunities. The "scramble for Africa" and the extension of colonial tentacles over the vast and fruitful areas of Africa, Asia, the Pacific and Central America were logical, though not desirable, consequences of this vast interaction of industrial, capitalistic and imperialistic forces. Contemporary colonialism is a phenomenon of Western civilization in the age of private capitalism, bourgeois individualism, unplanned economy, parliamentary democracy and demagogic politics. It was due to a subtle interplay of motives.

47. But, as a mask to the true purposes underlying the desire for colonies, some colonial Powers proclaimed their "main objective" as the spreading of Western civilization. It is ironic that some of the countries which they set out to "civilize" in this manner were countries

which could boast of ancient cultures and proud civilizations several thousands of years older than these new civilizations, which were even in their barbaric stages of development at the time these ancient civilizations were in an advanced state of progress, although in later years some of them had suffered a decline.

48. In some of these countries, the colonizing Powers deliberately set the clock of progress back in order to continue to retain these fertile fields of international exploitation as long as possible. One justification that has been put forward for continuing the colonial yoke in some countries is that the peoples of these territories are incapable of governing themselves and, therefore, it is to their benefit to be subject to "advanced nations". But this only emphasizes the principle of a sacred trust, and, when the colonial Power fails to make such people capable of governing themselves and to place the interests of the inhabitants as the paramount consideration, justifies the forfeiture of all claims to the continuance of power. It also entitles the World Organization to take over the administration of such territories from such Powers. The General Assembly, in resolution 1514 (XV), has rejected such excuses for postponement of self-government.

49. The sacred trust principle was first formulated in broad terms in order to justify the rule of subject peoples, generally coloured races, by alien white nations. In an attempt to seek moral justifications for this unnatural phenomenon, whereby millions of people were deprived of their inalienable right to govern themselves, without any voluntary surrender on their part, it was stated that the ruling Powers were bound by this trust to govern backward peoples, who were incapable of governing themselves, for the benefit of these peoples. In other words, the ruling Powers were saving those people from themselves.

50. This explanation, however, made it absolutely necessary that the well-being of the inhabitants was the paramount consideration, and exploitation of the territories was a breach of the sacred trust. How few of the administering Powers can even pretend that they fulfilled this trust before the United Nations was founded? How many of them continue to exploit the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories wholly or mainly for their own benefit, and generally ignore the benefit of the peoples of those territories, even after the United Nations came into existence? Do not some of them exert economic pressure for their own benefit on some of the ex-colonies, which have achieved political, but not economic, independence, and thereby achieve their own political and economic purposes in those Territories? We witness such pressures even in the corridors of the United Nations.

51. Article 73 of the Charter now makes it clear that administration is of a temporary nature, with self-government as the ultimate aim. It also emphasizes that every administering Power is accountable to the international community. Today, the sacred trust principle implies the ultimate devolution of absolute power on the inhabitants of all—I emphasize the word "all"—Non-Self-Governing Territories. In the forties, the United States, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, strongly felt the need to put an end to colonialism. To President Roosevelt, self-determination was part of the Atlantic Charter. He saw "a palpable surge toward independence", and he advocated "some form of international trusteeship" until the territories were ready for independence within the foreseeable future.

52. Many of these territories also have the problem of non-indigenous minorities, which often have the power of government by reason of their close affinity with the metropolitan Power. They generally occupy a much higher economic, social and political level than the indigenous inhabitants. Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique are classic examples. Legislation and practice have given such persons a local habitation and a name.

53. In 1946, by resolution 66 (I), seventy-four territories were enumerated as Non-Self-Governing Territories by eight Administering Members. The United Kingdom listed forty-three territories, and France had sixteen. These seventy-four territories had a total population of 215 million. At that time, there were only four independent States in Africa, and twenty-five territories were listed. Now there are only about forty territories out of those seventy-four which are still not independent, with a population of about 50 million; and there are today thirty-two independent African States in the United Nations. This would show the magnitude of the success of the United Nations in this field.

54. The year 1960 was a year of achievement for our Organization. In that year, on a proposal made by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on 23 September 1960, this Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), containing the famous Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. In the words of our Secretary-General, this Declaration is regarded as "a landmark in the efforts of the United Nations towards the realization of the high principles and objectives of the Charter".

55. The implementation of this Declaration was entrusted to a special Committee of seventeen members by a resolution 1654 (XVI), and the composition of the Committee was enlarged to twenty-four members by resolution 1810 (XVII).

56. The Special Committee has, in annex I to its report, listed sixty-four territories to which the Declaration applies. This list will be supplemented next year. The Special Committee has considered already twenty-six of the territories, which cover an area of about 2.4 million square miles and have a population of about 37 million. The remaining territories cover only about 200,000 square miles and have a population of only about 8 million. Our grateful thanks are due to the Special Committee for the very efficient and effective manner in which it has carried out the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly. It is apposite to note here what the Special Committee has pointed out: that it is in Africa that the largest number of people are still living under colonial régimes, that the largest colonial territories still exist, and that some of the most difficult colonial problems are encountered. The reason behind this phenomenon is the continuing desire of certain powerful nations to continue their economic exploitation of that unfortunate continent.

57. But the impact of organized African-Asian nationalism has been felt in the United Nations with considerable effect in regard to the implementation of the Declaration in Article 73 of the Charter and the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). Before the last war, Western culture and political influence played a very important role in African and Asian countries. But with the emergence shortly after the

war of new independent nations, such as India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, and new influences, as in Egypt, there was a new awakening of subject peoples and the clarion call for independence sounded forth in those two great continents.

58. This resurgence of nationalism was due to many factors, such as, first, the fact that some of the larger nations that attained independence; secondly, that the people of dependent territories had been called upon to assist in the war effort and they now claimed their just reward; thirdly, that the revolt of colonialism was inevitable in the context of national pride and national sentiment; and finally, the colonial people made a just demand for a fuller share of the amenities of life, especially when they were the fruits of natural resources that were to be found in the colonial Territories and were being exploited principally for the benefit of their colonial masters.

59. Fifty States signed the Charter of the United Nations. Twelve were Asian or African States. Since then, up to the beginning of the present session, sixty-one States have become Members of the Organization, of which forty-four are African-Asian States. The African-Asian States will stand by their brethren under colonial domination in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world in all questions relating to their economic, social and political advancement and the achievement of self-government. We are grateful to the socialist bloc and the Latin American group of States for their valuable and welcome support in this respect. The African-Asian countries look upon the West with suspicion, not only because of their recent experiences as colonial peoples, but also because of the heroic struggles that they have to put up in order to achieve their independence. Such futile resistance by colonial Powers to the just aspirations of these peoples can only result in bitterness and contempt for their erstwhile masters, and drive them, in spite of their desire to be non-aligned, away from all sympathy for the Western Powers.

60. The delegation of Ceylon will never hesitate to give its whole-hearted and spontaneous co-operation to the peoples of every non-self-governing territory in their fight for self-government. My delegation is convinced that there are many more peoples who still have to be liberated from the evils of colonialism. As the Parliamentary Secretary of my country, Mr. Felix Dias-Bandaranaïke, stated on 27 September 1961:

"Recently we have often heard expressed the theory that colonialism has ceased to be a real problem as more and more dependent territories have advanced to the stage of independence.

"... However, the theory that, because the percentage of people living under colonialism has continued to shrink, colonialism is no longer a real problem, is simply not true... Indeed, it has a knack of taking new shapes and forms in the face of evolving realities." [1017th meeting, paras. 175 and 176.]

61. A large majority of the territories dealt with in the report of the Special Committee are administered by the United Kingdom. Although my delegation cannot agree with the policies of the United Kingdom in some of these territories for the speedy termination of colonial administration and the achievement by those territories of self-government, my delegation would pay a tribute to the United Kingdom, which gave Ceylon its independence without a shot being fired,

for its enlightened attitude generally on colonialism. By yielding graciously to demands for independence in the last two decades, the United Kingdom has succeeded in retaining in the Commonwealth the former colonies. We note from the letter of the United Kingdom dated 10 September 1963, in annex II of the report [A/5446/Rev.1], that dates for independence have been set for certain territories, such as Kenya, Zanzibar, Singapore and Malta, within the next few months.

62. It is, therefore, a matter of regret to my delegation that according to the report of the Special Committee there are certain very unsatisfactory features about the policies of the United Kingdom in respect of some of the territories dealt with in the report.

63. In the view of my delegation, the most unsatisfactory aspect of the report is the attitude of the United Kingdom to the proposal by the Special Committee to send visiting missions to British Guiana and Aden. In both cases, the United Kingdom Government refused to co-operate with the Committee and objected to such visits, and the Sub-Committee had to be content with visiting territories in the neighbourhood of Aden and hearing the two major political leaders from British Guiana in New York.

64. According to the report [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter X], on the question of the visit to British Guiana, the United Kingdom representative stated that the United Kingdom Government could not share its responsibilities with the United Nations and it could not, therefore, authorize the visit and that the Prime Minister of British Guiana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, had no competence to authorize such a visit. He added that such visits would amount to interference in the Administration.

65. In the view of my delegation, such an attitude is not only a step backward, but also displays a contempt for the authority of the General Assembly which is not in keeping with present developments, even though it may have been countenanced ten years ago. As early as in 1950, the Government of Denmark permitted a mission to visit Greenland. In 1954, by resolution 850 (IX), the General Assembly considered that, in order to evaluate as fully as possible the opinion of the population of a non-self-governing territory as to the status or change in status which they desire, a mission, if the Assembly deems it desirable, should, in agreement with the Administering Member, visit the territory before or during the time when the population is called upon to decide on its future status or change in status. In resolution 1654 (XVI), the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters, whenever and wherever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions, in consultation with the appropriate authorities, and invited the authorities concerned to afford the Committee their fullest co-operation in carrying out its tasks. This invitation was repeated in resolution 1810 (XVII).

66. My delegation submits that at a time when colonial Powers are singing their swansong everywhere such arguments and attitudes are completely misguided and incorrect. My delegation fails to see how such a visit to ascertain the views of peoples as to their future can be interference in internal affairs or can amount to a sharing of responsibility. The responsibility of the United Nations under Article 73 of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV) is quite distinct

from the responsibility of the Administering Member. A visit of this nature is one of the most effective means of carrying out the tasks of the Committee, as pointed out in its report. Dr. Jagan pointed out that a visit would have helped the Committee and the Sub-Committee to understand the situation more clearly.

67. If the attitude of the United Kingdom Government to the proposed visit to British Guiana by the Sub-Committee was bad, its attitude to a similar request in respect of Aden was even worse. In this matter, the Special Committee had on 3 May 1963, adopted a resolution in which, *inter alia*, it decided to send to the territories a Sub-Committee to be nominated by the Chairman, and expressed the hope that the administering Power would fully co-operate with the Sub-Committee. This was the first decision of its kind by the Special Committee. The United Kingdom Government declined to reconsider its position.

68. But it went further and committed an act, which in the view of my delegation is unworthy of a Power, which is itself a member of the Special Committee, and which was an act of gross disrespect towards the Special Committee directly and to the entire United Nations Organization, indirectly. I refer to the letter dated 23 May 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter V, annex II], in which the Controller of Immigration at Aden informed all airlines and shipping that should any of the five members of the Sub-Committee named in the letter arrive in Aden State, they would not be permitted to land. My delegation shares the regret of the Sub-Committee that such action was taken by a permanent member, which is also a member of the Special Committee, against the members of an officially constituted body of the United Nations and representatives of Member States, especially when such action amounts to suspicion of the good faith of those Members.

69. Acts of this nature can shake the confidence of other delegations in the good faith of the United Kingdom Government and alienate their sympathy towards it. Such reluctance on its part to permit visits to these territories can also justify the thought that the United Kingdom Government desires to conceal from the rest of the world the true state of affairs in the territories of British Guiana and Aden, because the truth will not be palatable or suitable to its own purposes. My delegation hopes that the United Kingdom Government will at least in the future not persist in this unreasonable attitude and will permit, and co-operate with, visiting missions by the Special Committee.

70. My delegation will at this stage deal shortly with the findings of the Special Committee on certain specific territories. British Guiana is a territory in respect of which the Special Committee approved the report of its Sub-Committee [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter X]. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee are found in paragraphs 62 to 65 of its report. It recognizes that independence should be achieved as soon as possible and that a team of constitutional experts should be sent to British Guiana to formulate recommendations for a constitution acceptable to all parties concerned.

71. My delegation feels that the United Kingdom Government is not justified in taking the view that the grant of independence can be delayed until the two major political parties have settled their differences as to the basis for the new constitution. That is not an essential prerequisite. It appears to be a convenient expedient that was used in my country also for about five years before we achieved our independence not-

withstanding our differences. Nor can my delegation approve of the imposition of a settlement by the United Kingdom Government on the people of British Guiana, as proposed by Mr. Sandys on 6 November 1962. The obstacle is not insurmountable and can be overcome if there is genuine co-operation by the United Kingdom with the Special Committee and the United Nations in this matter.

72. There is one other unsatisfactory feature in respect of this territory. In 1953, the People's Progressive Party, led by Mr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham was successful at the general elections. The 1953 Constitution was thereafter suspended under armed supervision and the Robertson Commission^{1/} in 1954 reported that the suspension was justified and that the People's Progressive Party was under communist domination. The bogey of communism appears to be another convenient excuse. Mr. Jagan is not Prime Minister and Mr. Burnham is the opposition leader. Mr. Jagan addressed the African-Asian Group a few weeks ago and told us that the charge of communism against him is being made once more. He told us that he is no communist. It appears to my delegation that progressive socialists are labelled as communists in order to delay independence for their territories. In any event, it is for the people of the territories and not for the administering Power or for any foreign Power to decide whether a country should have a communist, a socialist or a conservative government.

73. Mr. Jagan has pointed out that the administering Power has used every technique and device to destroy the independence movement in British Guiana and had used the divisions, which it had created, as an excuse for delaying independence. My delegation regrets to find that "the divide and rule" policy is not yet a thing of the dim past and hopes that it will be such a feature very soon. My delegation shares the view of the Sub-Committee that the United Nations should do all in its power to assist the leaders of British Guiana to foster a climate of harmony and unity in which the territory could speedily accede to independence.

74. My delegation will deal next with the Territory of Aden. The Special Committee adopted a resolution on 3 May 1963. This resolution has not been implemented owing to the non-co-operation of the Government of the United Kingdom. The Sub-Committee on Aden has found that action by the United Nations is urgently necessary and that the population should be consulted before the grant of independence on a very much broader basis than in the past, and with all necessary safeguards. Its recommendations in paragraph 176 of its report are precise, unambiguous and capable of implementation. The resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 19 July 1963 in paragraph 478 of the report [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter V] ought to be adopted by the General Assembly as its own resolution, with necessary modifications, and the United Kingdom Government ought to be called upon to implement the resolution, which is an eminently fair and reasonable one, and calls for consultation with the people of Aden on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

75. My delegation has carefully considered the position of the United Kingdom representative in the Committee, as stated in paragraphs 162 to 179 of chapter V of the report. It is clear from this statement that

the United Kingdom Government has conceded the right of the peoples of Aden to independence, but has pleaded the disunity prevailing there and other difficulties as excuses for the postponement of self-determination of those peoples. My delegation, therefore, suggests that the best way in which these difficulties can be overcome by the Administering Member, which in this instance appears to be an interested party, is to solicit the support and seek the co-operation, of the United Nations, instead of obstructing the work of the Special Committees of the Organization by non-co-operation and even positive acts of contempt and disregard of its authority, such as the letter written to the airlines and shipping companies, to which I have referred earlier.

76. The Special Committee has also adopted resolutions relating to Malta, Fiji, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and Gambia. My delegation will give its full support to any draft resolution placed before the General Assembly regarding these territories and hopes that the administering Powers will implement the resolutions of the Special Committee and of the General Assembly. My delegation would draw special attention to operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of the Special Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland [A/5446/Rev.1, Chapter IX, para.113], where the administering Power has been again requested to take immediate steps to return to the indigenous inhabitants all the land taken from them, whatever the form or pretext for such alienation. This is a repetition of operative paragraph 5 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee last year. In this connexion, my delegation is reminded of how, in the last century, the lands of the poor peasants in the hill country and other parts of my country were taken over under the iniquitous provisions of a Statute called the Waste Lands Ordinance without any compensation and vested in British companies and individuals for tea and rubber estates. It is only now that we have to compensate foreign vested interests for these very lands and other assets, according to the law of "the civilized nations". It was the same law which deprived them of their lands about one hundred years ago.

77. There is one other matter of some importance that my delegation would refer to at this stage. A study of annex I of the report of the Special Committee, [A/5446/Rev.1] would show that there are a number of territories in the preliminary list of territories to which the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) applies which, either by reason of their size or their population or both, may not be able to stand alone if they become independent or attain self-government by the logical operation of Article 73 and resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation would therefore suggest that in any draft resolution that may be proposed on this item there should be an invitation to the Special Committee to study particularly the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the resolutions that followed from it, with regard to small colonial territories which are sparsely populated, and the assistance that the United Nations could provide them so that their independence might be politically and economically viable, and to present to the General Assembly, at the next session, concrete recommendations on that study. My delegation feels that if this is not done, such territories might find themselves in great difficulties politically and economically after attaining independence or self-government. In this

^{1/} British Guiana Constitutional Commission.

respect, my delegation supports the suggestion by the delegation of Chile made today.

78. My delegation has finished its comments on the report of the Special Committee. My delegation also suggests that in order to prevent duplication of functions, all work previously done by other bodies, such as the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, should be entrusted to the Special Committee, which can become the only Committee for all the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV). This is the suggestion of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report to the seventeenth session.^{2/}

79. The speedy and total abolition of colonialism in all its forms, in spite of obsolete and technical arguments of competence raised by certain colonial Powers, would not only remove a major obstacle to the maintenance of peace, but would also contribute to the realization of the principles of equality and self-determination enshrined in the Chapter. There is no doubt that the United Nations Organization, in its eighteen years, has given confidence and hope to dependent peoples in their struggle for self-determination. But much remains to be done, for all people should be free, and there should be only free people politically and economically, before our tasks are done. In the words of Clarence Day in This Simian World.^{3/} "Our telescopes may some day disclose to us the hills of Arcturus, but how will that help us if we cannot find the soul of the World?" How can we find the soul of the world, when administering Powers, notwithstanding operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1810 (XVII), continue to take armed action and repressive measures against peoples who have not yet attained independence, particularly against the political activities of their rightful leaders?

80. I would conclude by quoting a statement of the late President Kennedy, when he addressed this Assembly on 20 September 1963:

"The United Nations cannot survive as a static Organization. Its obligations are increasing as well as its size. Its Charter must be changed as well as its customs. The authors of that Charter did not intend that it be frozen in perpetuity. The science of weapons and war has made us all, far more than eighteen years ago in San Francisco, one world and one human race with one common destiny." [1209th meeting, para. 74.]

81. It was thoughts such as these that made the late President Kennedy a statesman of very high quality and wide vision and that now make us feel that his tragic death is a loss to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of race, colour or creed, and to international peace. The bodies of men may perish and decay, but their memory will continue to live and to inspire. Let us hope that his successors will continue to follow his noble and high ideals in the interests of the world in general and colonial territories in particular, since, in the view of my delegation, the United States has the power and the duty to influence the remaining colonial Powers that continue to take an intransigent attitude. This is the least that we can expect from a country which produced such great men as Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy.

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, document A/5201/Add.1, section VII.

^{3/} Clarence Day, Jr., This Simian World, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1920, p. 93.

82. Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Three years have passed since the adoption in this hall of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. We are proud of the fact that this historical document was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Government and its leader N. S. Khrushchev.^{4/}

83. The ideas behind the great October Revolution were ideas of peace, happiness, brotherhood and equality on earth. The Soviet people, who through their heroic struggle and selfless toil, have striven to build a humanitarian socialist society, are actively participating in the efforts to eliminate for ever from the face of the earth evil, subjugation and the exploitation of man by man. The objectives of the country of the October Revolution, the policies and ideology of the Soviet State, are basically incompatible with colonialism, tyranny and the subjugation of peoples.

84. The Soviet Union, faithful to this policy of peace and of support for the struggle of subjugated peoples for national independence, which was proclaimed by the great founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, has always defended and will continue to defend the just cause of the liberation of all colonial peoples from foreign domination, the complete elimination of the colonial system and full freedom and independence for all peoples.

85. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was welcomed and approved by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. Only a small group of colonial Powers abstained in the vote on this Declaration. That was a great victory for freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and was particularly significant for those continents where the shameful colonial system still exists in a number of regions.

86. By adopting the Declaration, the United Nations recognized as lawful and just the struggle of the subjugated peoples for independence and as unlawful and criminal the activities aimed at suppressing this movement. The Declaration has been a genuine source of moral support by the United Nations for the struggle of colonial peoples, and it has already borne fruit. It has given the struggle for the liberation of peoples new vigour and created additional conditions favourable to their victory.

87. However, not all peoples have as yet freed themselves from colonial slavery. Territories with a total population of more than 50 million are still under the yoke of the colonialists. The people of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other Territories of the African continent are suffering under Portuguese oppression. The Spanish colonies continue to share the fate of their Angolan brothers. Certain countries of Asia are still controlled by the United Kingdom, Portugal and Australia, either by means of direct colonial domination or in the form of a Protectorate or trusteeship. The people of these Territories are waging a heroic struggle for freedom and independence. Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Malta are on the threshold of independence. The people of the Spanish colonies are fighting against arbitrary police action and fascist terror. The people of Southern Rhodesia are struggling for their

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, documents A/4501 and A/4502.

independence, and the people of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland are now taking up the fight. The people of British Guiana, Oman, Aden and other United Kingdom colonies are demanding their freedom and independence. For several years the people of Viet-Nam have been heroically defending their right to a peaceful life and independent development.

88. Colonialism is not laying down its arms. It is organizing counter-attacks, regrouping its forces and trying to consolidate its position in various regions, and where possible, it is launching counter-offensives in various sectors of the anti-colonial front. One of these sectors is southern Africa. It is in this light that the international political implications of the events in the Congo and in the region south of that country must be viewed. These events reflect the intention of the entire colonial bloc to erect a protective bulwark along the immediate approaches to the colonies in southern Africa, to set up a kind of "sanitary cordon" and to oppose the will of the peace-loving States of the world.

89. The ground is slipping away beneath the feet of the Portuguese colonialists. With fire and sword they are marching through the regions which have gone over to the patriotic movement. They do not hesitate to use the most barbaric methods of reprisal. Women, children and old men are shot and killed by the brutal oppressors; cattle and crops are destroyed, and villages are burned.

90. The peoples of the colonies are deprived of their political and social rights. In the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, forced labour and slavery still exist. The African population in South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia is subjected to brutal humiliation and shameless racial discrimination.

91. How can it be that in our century—the century of atomic energy and the conquest of outer space—such monstrous crimes are still being committed on this earth? The only possible answer is the selfish greed of a small but powerful group of monopolists who are seeking to obtain the maximum amount of profits.

92. In the Fourth Committee, the Soviet delegation has already presented data on the operations of the monopolists in Africa.

93. According to information published in the Financial Times of London, the annual profits derived from foreign investments by twenty-one British oil companies amounts to £438 million, which exceeds the total profits of 456 British companies operating in the engineering, ship-building and metallurgical fields in the United Kingdom.

94. Unilever, the huge United Kingdom-Netherlands Company, has for decades been one of the monopolist organizations engaged in West African trade. The United Africa Company, a subsidiary of Unilever, pays wages of six to nineteen shillings a week at its factories and concessions, while deriving an average weekly profit per worker of £4. 6s. According to the French newspaper France Observateur of 23 February 1963, the annual profit rate of foreign companies operating in the Portuguese colonies varies between 20 and 45 per cent.

95. Even greater profits are obtained by foreign monopolies operating in the Near and Middle East. The oil monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands, which have

rounded up concessions in the countries of the Persian Gulf, derive profits of \$5 to \$6 a ton from the sale of crude oil alone in the ports of shipment and this represents a profit of 500 per cent, since the local cost of the oil is not more than \$1 a ton. In the past thirteen years—from 1950 to 1962—oil production alone in six of the major oil-exporting countries—Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrein and Qatar—has earned the Western oil companies a net profit of approximately \$12,000 million.

96. In this connexion we cannot help recalling the following words of Karl Marx the great founder of communism:

"Give 10 per cent and capital is agreeable to any investment; 20 per cent and it becomes quite enthusiastic; at 50 per cent it is quite ready to break its neck; at 100 per cent it tramples underfoot every human law; at 300 per cent there is no crime that it would not risk committing even if threatened with the gallows".

97. The profits that flow into the coffers of the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Belgium and other Western countries derive not only from investments.

98. Imperialism extensively exploits in its own interests the system of the unequal international division of labour that it has established in the capitalist world. Raw materials and food-stuffs account for approximately 80 per cent of the exports of the countries of Africa, the Near East and Latin America. In the world capitalist market the international monopolies create highly unfavourable trading conditions for the less developed countries. While the prices of the manufactured goods and products sold by the developed capitalist countries to the developing countries and colonies continue to rise, the prices for the export products of the latter group of countries steadily decline.

99. As a result of this policy, enormous profits are being bumped out of Africa and other parts of the world. According to the calculations of economists, the revenue derived from Africa by the United Kingdom and other industrially developed countries as a result of this price discrepancy is estimated at £170 million to £200 million. This amounts to one fourth of the national income of the African countries. For the single year of 1961 this unequal trade gave the West German monopolists, for example, an additional profit of 1,500 million marks.

100. In its issue of 10 January 1961, the influential Swiss newspaper Neue Zuercher Zeitung, published some very interesting facts. It reported, for example, that in 1958 the value of raw materials exported by the less developed countries amounted to approximately \$25,000 million. However, as prices for the same year dropped by 20 per cent, those countries suffered a loss of \$5,000 million. The paper pointed out further that as a result of a decline or wide fluctuation in the prices of raw material on the world market the less developed countries are suffering losses which cannot be offset even by economic assistance.

101. Western propaganda widely publicizes the so-called economic "assistance" provided to the less developed countries and colonies as though it were a great benefit to the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin

America and Oceania. However, the facts completely disprove these claims by the apologists for colonialism. Figures are sometimes more eloquent than words. To cite an example, up to 1960, the African countries had received \$936 million in "assistance" from the United States of America. At first glance, this seems to be a considerable amount of money. As a matter of fact, however, the United States monopolies have taken from Africa over \$1,500 million in profits from investments alone. The grants received by the Arab countries from 1945 to 1956 amounted to only about half the profit of \$300 million which the Aramco oil company obtained in a single year.

102. The President of Ghana, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, speaking at the Conference of Independent African States^{5/} at Addis Ababa, said that the African continent is perhaps the richest continent in the world but that all of this wealth is being sent to Western Europe and across the ocean. Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox—where the United States stores its gold reserves—has come from Africa. African gold, diamonds, uranium, copper, platinum, titanium and other mineral wealth flow from Africa in a broad system which irrigates the entire economic system of the West.

103. The Western countries are constantly seeking new ways to perpetuate the policy of obtaining maximum profits in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. Of particular danger to the newer States in this connexion is the policy of the major Western Powers, which are trying to maintain their positions in the economically less developed countries. Many examples can be given to show how they are trying to keep the less developed countries in a permanent state of economic dependence and to force them to accept the role of agrarian appendages providing raw materials to the highly developed capitalist countries. The monopolistic circles understand full well that industrialization is the basis for the independent development of the less developed countries and the strengthening of their independence. Thus, the so-called "assistance" of the Western countries to the developing countries is aimed, not at developing and strengthening the basic sectors of their economies, but for the most part, at satisfying consumer needs. What is more, it is usually accompanied by various kinds of political conditions which infringe upon the sovereignty of those countries.

104. All this makes it possible to evaluate properly the policy of the colonial Powers and their stubborn resistance to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

105. The rapacious exploitation of wealth and natural resources, the cheap labour of the colonial slaves and the looting of the peoples' property yield the monopolies of the NATO countries fabulous profits. For the sake of such profits, monopolistic capital is prepared to commit any crime; it is prepared to shed blood in order to preserve its position in the colonies and elsewhere as well. That is why the need to eliminate the economic and social consequences of colonialism and to fight against neo-colonialism is becoming more and more imperative.

106. As has been apparent from the discussion of colonial questions in the United Nations ever since the adoption of the historic Declaration, this policy

of robbery and pillage has been resolutely condemned by the overwhelming majority of Member States. It has been condemned by all peace-loving countries and peoples. And yet, many resolutions of the United Nations aimed at the speedy implementation of the Declaration have not yet been carried out. Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and other colonial Powers are not only continuing to flout the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, but are even intensifying the repressive measures against the peoples under their domination.

107. The Government of Portugal is waging open war against the peoples of Angola and Portuguese Guinea. It keeps in readiness a huge army to drown in blood any attempts by the people of Mozambique to establish in their country a system of government of their own choice. The racist Government of South Africa openly declares its annexationist pretensions with regard to South West Africa. It also casts greedy eyes upon Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. The racists of Southern Rhodesia, with the blessing of the United Kingdom, have allied themselves with South Africa and Portugal in order to fight the African peoples. This policy of the colonialists is aggravating matters and creating a serious threat to peace and security not only in that region but also throughout the world.

108. It has only become possible for Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to pursue such a policy because they are receiving ever-increasing moral and political support from the leading NATO Powers.

109. When the questions concerning the situation in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies were being discussed in the Security Council, the representatives of the United Kingdom, France and several other countries not only made common cause with the Portuguese colonialists and the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists, but also acted in such a way as to prevent the Security Council from taking effective measures to promote the implementation of the Declaration.

110. As we know, however, it is not merely a matter of political support. The Member States of NATO continue to provide the Governments of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia with extensive economic, financial and military aid. The Governments of Salazar, Verwoerd and Field are receiving a flood of United States jet aircraft and napalm bombs, United Kingdom armoured vehicles, West German small arms, and other military equipment and supplies in defiance of the demands of the General Assembly, and are using them to crush the national liberation movements in the colonies. According to the United Kingdom newspaper, The Observer, the Portuguese soldiers operating in Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique are sent to serve in those countries only after receiving special military training in NATO units.

111. On the pretext of protecting their positions, the NATO countries have established military bases all over the world. NATO's strategists have worn themselves hoarse asserting that these bases are being set up in order to defend the so-called "free world". They are as silent as the grave, however, about the fact that these bases have been and are being used against the peoples who are fighting for freedom. The shameful role played by NATO in the struggle against the peoples of Africa and the Middle and Near East is well known. Everyone remembers how military bases on the African continent, on Malta and Cyprus,

^{5/} Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

at Bizerta, Aden, Singapore, and so on have been used in the struggle against the peoples of Egypt, Algeria, Lebanon, Yemen, Oman and other countries. The use of the military bases in Angola and Mozambique to repress the national liberation movements in those countries and to carry provocative actions against other African countries is vivid proof that such bases are strongholds of colonialism and sources of danger to peace in Africa.

112. The presence of a huge network of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America is contrary to the interests of the countries and peoples of these continents, represents a threat to their normal independent development, and is a serious obstacle on the road to independence for those peoples which have not yet won their freedom.

113. Faced with the threatened downfall of their colonial policies, the colonialists are joining forces, but the peoples who have resolved to eliminate the shameful systems of colonialism and neo-colonialism are also united. Today the colonialists are like alchemists who think that they can hold up the march of history with the "philosophers' stone" of neo-colonialism.

114. The decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference of African States and Governments are of tremendous importance in the struggle against the colonial régimes. At this Conference, the African countries and peoples found unity in their struggle for the most rapid possible elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The firm resolve of the independent African countries to speed the day when the African continent is finally rid of colonial régimes has received the support of all freedom-loving peoples.

115. The Soviet Government welcomed the setting up of the Organization of African Unity and the unanimous adoption of its Charter. In his message to the Heads of African States and Governments who took part in the Conference, the Head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, wrote:

"The peoples of Africa can be assured of the support of the Soviet Government and people in the implementation of any decisions of the Conference designed to bring about the speedy elimination of colonialism and to give practical help to fighters for national independence. The struggle for the complete and final elimination of the shameful colonial system and the granting to all peoples of the right to free and independent development is one of the pillars of our international policy. The Soviet Government was not only responsible for putting before the United Nations the draft of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which is the basis of the resolution adopted by the United Nations, on the elimination of colonialism, but has also given material support to many peoples in achieving their independence and defending it from the attacks of the imperialists. We associate ourselves with the unanimous demand of this Conference for the cessation of all assistance to colonialist Governments, which may use it to suppress African national liberation movements. As stated in the resolutions of the Conference, the time has come for the allies of the colonial Powers to make the choice between friendship with the African States and support of the countries that are oppressing the African peoples".

116. In adopting the historic Declaration, our Organization has not only given moral support to the colonial

peoples, but has also assumed a heavy responsibility for their liberation and for bringing to its conclusion the task of completely eliminating the colonial régimes. Responsibility for watching over the implementation of the Declaration was entrusted to the Committee of Seventeen, or, as it now is, the Committee of Twenty-Four, whose report [A/5446/Rev.1] we now have before us.

117. The Special Committee of Twenty-Four has done great work. We welcome the efforts of the majority of its members, headed by its Chairman, Ambassador Coulibaly, who have sincerely striven to bring about the most rapid possible implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

118. The duty of the United Nations is to overcome the resistance of the colonialist Powers, to point out concrete ways of bringing about the speedy elimination of the colonialist régimes which still exist in various areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, and to give every kind of assistance to peoples who are carrying on the struggle for freedom and independence.

119. We consider that 1965 must be the year of the complete and final elimination of the colonial system of government. In his statement during the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, said;

"The Assembly's duty is, basing itself on the Declaration, to draft and approve decisions directed towards the prompt elimination of colonial régimes in those territories where they still persist... In 1965 the United Nations will celebrate its twentieth anniversary. Its honour compels it to do everything to ensure that by then the shameful colonial system has completely vanished from the face of the earth and that every people, great or small, in Africa, Asia or Latin America, is free and independent." [1208th meeting, paras. 189 and 191.]

120. We know that the colonial Powers will put up stiff resistance to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

121. Nevertheless, by the time the nineteenth session opens, the Special Committee must complete the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly. It must examine how the Declaration is being implemented in all colonial territories, including small ones. The small territories must not be neglected because, as more and more new countries obtain their independence, the colonialists are trying to consolidate their position in islands and in isolated enclaves.

122. Another task of the Special Committee must be to study how the influence of foreign monopolies in southern Africa and in the colonial territories of the Middle East, South-East Asia, Latin America and Oceania affects the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The Special Committee should submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly.

123. We know that all attempts by the colonialists to hold up the process of eliminating the colonial system will meet with failure, but this does not reduce the magnitude of the tasks before the Special Committee.

124. The General Assembly should approve the Special Committee's activities for the past year, and should

adopt the recommendation regarding the continuation of the Committee's mandate made in the Committee's report. [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 60.]

125. Lately, we hear the words "collapse of the colonial system" wherever we go, but not everyone yet realizes the true scale, the scope and the tremendous consequences of this historic phenomenon. What is involved, of course, is actually a colossal revolution in the life of mankind. An anti-imperialist revolution on a world scale is taking place before the very eyes of our generation. Imperialism has proved to be no longer capable of dictating the fate of hundreds of millions of people and has lost its unlimited power over enormous material resources, which can now be made to serve the national interests of the peoples to whom they belong.

126. Without in any way belittling what the African-Asian peoples have accomplished, it must be said that the most important event of our age from the historical point of view—the creation of the world system of Socialism—paved the way for the successful development of the second most important process of our time: the disintegration of the colonial system.

127. The elimination of the political domination of imperialism means that a whole era in the life of the peoples of Asia and Africa has come to an end. Never before have such vast and heartening prospects opened up before the peoples of the former colonies and quasi-colonies as those which are before them today.

128. The duty of the United Nations and of every one of us is to contribute to the final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, to the abolition of war, and to the establishment of everlasting peace on earth.

129. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): In addition to having heard your request, Mr. President, the delegation of Liberia has already had an opportunity to address itself to questions relating to the territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. Thus, except by way of analogy, I shall confine myself to the situation regarding the additional territories covered by this 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 [A/5446/Rev.1].

130. I shall commence, therefore, with the territory of Malta, and, by way of narration, give a brief summary of the information furnished by the United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority as follows: that, by a Constitution which came into effect in March 1962, Malta has become the State of Malta with a representative Government through a Legislative Assembly of fifty members elected by universal adult suffrage; that the Government of Malta is now in the hands of an elected Maltese Cabinet consisting of a Prime Minister and seven other Ministers; further, the Governor of Malta is required to act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, except in certain specified circumstances; and the Government of Malta shares in decisions regarding foreign affairs and defence. In addition, the Government of the United Kingdom states its willingness to grant independence to the State of Malta.

131. This Assembly will admit that such information lends itself to commendation of the Administering

Authority. However, various members of the Special Committee have raised pertinent questions, as will be seen from the report, which my delegation considers to be vital to the stability of the State of Malta as a nation. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to refer to two of these questions.

132. With regard to the Constitution referred to by the United Kingdom Government, the representative of Yugoslavia, as indicated in the report of the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter VI, para. 64], observed that the recommendations of the Constitutional Commission which became embodied in the new Constitution had been rejected by the most important Maltese parties, the Labour and Nationalist parties, and that only the Progressive Constitutional Party, a party obtaining just one seat in the recent elections, had approved the recommendations. Further, the leader of the Nationalist Party had expressed the view that the present Constitution does not reflect the aspirations of the people of Malta.

133. The representative of Tunisia [*ibid.*, para. 90] stressed the problem of the final transfer of powers to the genuine representatives of the Maltese people, which he considered should take place in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) under the best possible conditions. These representatives expressed the opinion, which was shared by the majority of the members of the Committee, that the holding of a constitutional conference with adequate representation of the political parties was undoubtedly the most desirable way of achieving this goal. In view of the objections raised by the Nationalist Party, the serious accusations of the Labour Party regarding the electoral campaign methods, as well as the fact that a political party such as the Progressive Constitutional Party, after having approved the recommendation, could not obtain more than one seat, it stands to reason that the arguments in favour of a constitutional conference are valid.

134. Turning from the question of Malta to that of the Fiji Islands Territory, perhaps I should mention that suddenly the high spirits raised in me due to the consideration that in the not too distant future resolution 1514 (XV) would be implemented with regard to the Maltese people, has become suppressed. The story here is different—the story is sad indeed. Perhaps it should be recalled that the United Kingdom colonized the Fiji Islands and its peoples in 1874; nearly a century has elapsed since that time. But let me summarize what the United Kingdom Government had to say regarding this Territory: "One of the most urgent problems is to expand the economy and social fields". I quote again:

"Under Article 73 of the Charter, the primary task of the Administering Power must be to promote common cultural, social and economic purposes throughout the Islands. Those purposes in turn would stimulate political aspirations which would in fact be those of the majority in both major groups involved. Those aspirations in their turn would determine the timing and the outcome of the application of the principle of self-determination, which was one of the purposes of the United Nations and was confirmed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)." [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter VII, para. 29.]

135. These arguments have been carefully worded, so much so until the most essential element is left out: the question of independence. But what is equally

serious is the apparently complacent attitude as if the Administering Authority believes that it has, to its advantage, another century within which to implement its programme regarding the Fiji Islands Territory and its peoples. I observe from the report the age-old problem of the failure of the Administering Authority to undertake measures to remove the obstacles to integration of the Territory: administration in a division of racial groups or communities contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

136. The Administering Authority itself acknowledges the lack of development in the social, economic, cultural and educational fields; coupled with this is the failure of the United Kingdom to furnish adequate information regarding the Territory. These problems are not new to my delegation. Personally, for nine consecutive Assembly sessions, I have had the occasion to stress the same problems. I would ask the United Kingdom delegation, therefore, what would it require Members here to say which would be just and reasonable under the circumstances. I would ask permission of the United Kingdom delegation to give the answer which is as follows: there is no time left for complacency; the United Kingdom cannot suspend the political development of the Fiji Islands peoples on the hypothesis of the promotion of cultural, social and economic purposes throughout the Islands. I do not have to tell the United Kingdom delegation that these are so interwoven with the political considerations that they cannot be separated. But, more than this, I have to tell the United Kingdom Government that after nearly a century of administration it is precluded from asserting or doing anything which will delay the independence of the Fiji Islands Territory and its peoples. For this is made clear by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) when it states: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence."

137. My delegation is therefore obliged to state that the United Kingdom Government should take immediate steps to put the following provisions into effect:

- (a) To remove all obstacles to integration of the Territory, including that of racial discrimination;
- (b) To develop valid political institutions;
- (c) To speed up the social, economic and educational advancement of the Fiji Islands peoples;
- (d) To direct trends and undertake necessary measures for self-determination of these peoples, and
- (e) To grant independence to the peoples of the Fiji Islands.

138. Now, once again, my spirits are raised because I see from the reports and have come to know that the goal for which we labour in this Assembly regarding dependent peoples will be achieved by the peoples of Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar in the not-too-distant future. While reaffirming the inalienable rights of the peoples of Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Zanzibar to independence and wishing that no obstacles will arise to hinder this final goal, as did the members of the Special Committee, let me in advance and on behalf of my delegation extend to them sincere congratulations for their great struggles for freedom and towards the attainment of independence, and remembering the contributions made by the United Kingdom Government, as the Administering Authority, and its willingness to

conform to our day and time by conceding this right of independence, I extend to the United Kingdom Government sincere congratulations also. I have no doubts that, after the independence of these peoples, they and the United Kingdom will live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

139. I shall not indulge further in what seems to have developed into an aesthetic feeling, lest it should tend to obscure the bleakness of the situation regarding three other African dependent Territories—that of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. At the preceding session of the General Assembly, the Assembly adopted resolution 1817 (XVII), in which it invited the administering Power:

"... immediately to suspend the present constitutional provisions and to proceed without further delay to hold elections in the three Territories on the basis of direct universal adult suffrage";

and further:

"... to abrogate the present constitutional provisions and to convene immediately a constitutional conference with the participation of the democratically elected political leaders of the three Territories, with a view to setting, in accordance with their wishes, the date on which each of the Territories will attain its independence";

140. From the report of the Special Committee it is revealed as follows:

(a) As to Basutoland, while a constitutional commission has been established, its report is not due until the end of 1963, when the eighteenth session of the Assembly would have been adjourned;

(b) The Swaziland constitutional conference ended without agreement; and

(c) As to Bechuanaland, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in April 1963 that the time had come to review the Constitution of that Territory and to envisage greater political advancement.

141. At this stage, however, consultations are being held regarding the convening of such a constitutional conference. My delegation concedes that the Administering Authority has undertaken steps towards the implementation of the Assembly's resolution in this respect, but there are certain circumstances which emphasize the urgency of the matter. First, the Assembly considered that the constitutional provisions contemplated for these territories and the electoral legislation in force were discriminatory and did not meet the wishes of the people, nor were they consistent with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Secondly, as to Swaziland, the new constitution has been one imposed, rather than one agreed upon, by the representatives of the people directly concerned. I shall not go into a detailed discussion of the defects of this constitution. Suffice it to say that my delegation cannot concede that a dual system of voting must be imposed upon any people. We note that in Basutoland, although the Congress Party had won thirty-two out of forty elected seats, the administering Power established what is termed a coalition government of nominated members comprised of colonial officials and tribal chiefs. Undoubtedly, this is unacceptable to my delegation.

142. As expressed by the representatives of Ethiopia in the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter IX, para. 38], there exists the serious situation of the High Commission Territories being entirely encircled by a hostile and infinitely more powerful neighbour which practices a policy of oppression against its own African inhabitants. That neighbour is the Republic of South Africa, with its policy of apartheid resulting in the flow of refugees to the High Commission Territories. As was further observed by the representative of Ethiopia, we cannot take lightly the warning of the South African Government to the United Kingdom Government of what it terms "retaliation". It is not without great concern that my delegation views the act of the United Kingdom Government in returning African nationalist refugees to South Africa when it knew, or should have known, that such refugees would be doomed to the fate of death under the laws of the South African Government. My delegation views with no less concern the fact that one who administers these territories must reside in South Africa. We know that the desire of the Government of South Africa is to annex the High Commission Territories. My delegation would therefore call upon the United Kingdom Government to become resolute in its decision that South Africa shall not annex these Territories.

143. I should like now, Mr. President, to draw your attention and the attention of this Assembly to some of the acts which have been considered crimes in Basutoland by the Administering Authority, acts for which indigenous people have been arrested and thrown into gaol.

144. Thirty youths were arrested and thrown into prison for, allegedly, singing national songs which were abhorred by the young European police. They were detained in prison for eight months, then prosecuted and sentenced to short-term sentences. I am reminded that I possess a recording with the national anthems of all the Latin American countries. I would like to ask my Latin American friends whether they could estimate how many arrests would be made of Africans if such a record ever reached Basutoland or were found in the possession of Africans there.

145. Ten youths were arrested for having organized a celebration in honour of the Queen's birthday and were charged with sedition. The police explained that they should have attended the official celebration and that, as they did not do so, they had committed sedition. This was the definition of sedition given in Basutoland by the authorities. We have been reminded by petitioners of the unholy alliance between the South African and the United Kingdom Governments in relation to the High Commission Territories. The South African police have the authority to cross over into Basutoland and forcibly to take away refugees who have sought asylum from oppression in South Africa.

146. It is evident that for the High Commission Territories there is an extremely urgent need for the peoples thereof to be given the right to immediate self-determination and independence. My delegation would therefore appeal to the United Kingdom Government to undertake immediately measures to enable the peoples of the High Commission Territories to achieve this goal, in order to obviate international tension and friction in this part of the world, lest they become a danger to international peace and security from which the entire world could not escape.

147. My delegation shares the concern of the Special Committee with respect to the situation in British Guiana, which it states had, particularly of late, been deteriorating rather disturbingly. My delegation recalls that the question which remained outstanding in the development of that territory was that of a constitutional conference to set the date for independence. The colonial policy of "Divide and rule" has had its effect on the population of British Guiana and brought about disunity amongst the people. We share the opinion that foreign influences of an economic nature likewise have their effect on the situation. My delegation would call on the peoples of British Guiana to come together and thrash out their differences, and in unity fight against the common enemy or the influences opposed to their independence. My delegation shares the opinion of the Special Committee that, as an interim measure and without prejudice to any decision which may be taken in the future, the Sub-Committee should have been able on the spot to seek, together with the interested parties, the most suitable ways and means of enabling the country to accede to independence without delay.

148. As has been generally done in the past, the representatives of Yemen and the United Kingdom reserved the rights of their Governments as to Aden and the Aden Protectorates, each claiming sovereignty over the territory. My delegation would prefer, in this intervention, not to go into the details of a legal nature on the question of sovereignty over colonial territories by the colonial Power. I shall therefore express my delegation's regrets that the United Kingdom refused to allow the Sub-Committee to enter the territory of Aden so that they might have heard the views of the population on the vital question of their political future, all of which would have served as a basis for recommendations by the Special Committee to the General Assembly for the acceleration of self-determination and independence for Aden and its Protectorates. My delegation would also appeal to the United Kingdom Government that it adopt measures enabling the people of Aden and its Protectorates to exercise their right of self-determination as soon as possible.

149. The representative of Chile gave the historical development of Aden and its Protectorates in its relation to the United Kingdom Government. My delegation will review this information, together with that furnished by the Administering Authority, and reserves its right to refer to it in future deliberations on the question of Aden and its Protectorates.

150. Since the Special Committee postponed consideration of the territories of Gibraltar, Fernando Póo, Ifni, Río Muni and the Spanish Sahara, and as my delegation will have the opportunity to consider information on these territories in one of the Main Committees of the General Assembly, I reserve the comments of my delegation thereon until a later date.

151. Finally, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Liberia, to extend my sincere appreciation and congratulations to the Special Committee for the report which it presented to the Assembly.

152. Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The Argentine delegation considers that the report of the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1] which is before us today is one of the most valuable and important documents presented at this session.

153. It has its origin in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which, in the words of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of this Declaration, is a declaration of faith, an inspiration to the people who are still under colonial rule and an expression of the universal desire to expedite their liberation.

154. The disintegration of colonialism is one of the most important historical phenomena of the present century. The United Nations, it is true, did not initiate this process, which has been and continues to be the result of the determined and glorious efforts of the subjected peoples. The Organization's mission has been to confirm, in the Charter and in numerous General Assembly resolutions, culminating in resolution 1514 (XV), the right of colonial territories to self-determination and independence, and to establish appropriate machinery for the speedy, peaceful and just evolution of this process.

155. Therein lies the importance of the work of the Special Committee, whose difficult and significant task it is to examine the manner in which the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries is actually being applied, to formulate suggestions and recommendations on the progress made and to propose specific measures for the full attainment of its objectives.

156. An incomplete list of the territories covered by the Declaration, and therefore falling within the competence of the Committee, represents a total area of 6,750,000 square kilometres, with a population of 45 million inhabitants.

157. The mere enumeration of these figures clearly reflects the magnitude and complexity of the task facing the Committee. We see from the report how carefully and diligently the Committee has carried out its task; in emphasizing this fact the Argentine delegation wishes to congratulate all the members of the Committee, and the members of the Secretariat who assist them on their unceasing and fruitful efforts to bring about a more satisfactory fulfilment of the aims of resolution 1514 (XV). We should like to be able to say the same of the administering Powers, but unfortunately it has not been so in every case. Although some Powers have co-operated with the Committee to a greater or lesser degree—and we are happy to recognize this—others have categorically rejected every effort at co-operation. They should not persist in this attitude.

158. My delegation will not make specific reference to the problems of the various territories covered by the Special Committee's report, since this would take more time than the Assembly can spare. Moreover, certain chapters of this report—I shall not say the most important chapters, since a people's struggle for liberation is always important, no matter what its size or situation, but those concerning the most difficult and urgent problems—have already been examined by the Fourth Committee. The Argentine delegation defined its position on that occasion and we shall not repeat that statement now.

159. The general picture presented by the Special Committee's report has certain negative aspects, while others give hope of a speedy and favourable solution. We fully support the ideas expressed in the report, which says:

"While taking note of the progress made ... in the field of decolonization, the Special Committee is aware that decolonization in parts of Africa and elsewhere is not proceeding at a satisfactory pace. It is especially concerned at the dangerous situations existing in the Territories under Portuguese administration, in South West Africa and in Southern Rhodesia." [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter I, para. 45.]

160. On the other hand, other territories are on the point of attaining independence, such as Kenya and Zanzibar, which we hope to welcome to this Assembly in the very near future. We trust that these auspicious events will be repeated next year in connexion with other countries whose level of political, economic and social advancement has already brought them to the threshold of the independence for which they have so long struggled.

161. The Special Committee, which has already studied a number of territories—twenty-six, to be exact—with widely varying areas and populations will, as its work progresses, be concerned with territories which are in general smaller and on whose political situation, in certain cases, little information is available. Each of these territories has special features and special problems. In many of them it will not be possible to apply the solutions employed for larger territories which are economically viable. The Argentine delegation hopes that the Special Committee will continue to examine the territories covered by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with the same realistic approach it has employed so far and that it will study each territory without any preconceived formulae which, though successfully applied on previous occasions, may not be the most appropriate or the most equitable for the case under consideration. The representative of Chile made a most interesting and brilliant statement on this subject this morning.

162. Following the same line of thought, the Argentine delegation has noted with satisfaction from the Special Committee's report the frequent use of a procedure which is relatively new but offers wide possibilities: I refer to the so-called "consensus". We feel that there are occasions when the situation has not developed sufficiently to allow of the adoption of resolutions, which, moreover, often present drafting difficulties which diminish their chances of support. In these circumstances, the conclusion of a "consensus" seems to be the most appropriate measure and the one most likely to produce positive results.

163. We are greatly tempted to restate the position of the Republic of Argentina with regard to colonialism and its consequences, but we shall resist the temptation. Our political history and our action in the United Nations since its inception are the best testimony of our ideals and objectives. Moreover, the clock of history is ticking away the last minutes of this concept, which is obsolete in modern international political life, and there is no point in further discussion of questions that have already been settled. This is an irreversible process which is beyond the control of the administering Powers.

164. The goal that the United Nations has set for itself could not be nobler or more generous: the definitive emancipation of the colonial territories and their rapid, orderly and peaceful incorporation into the community of nations that today inhabit this planet. The Republic of Argentina has committed its efforts—and today reaffirms that commitment—to the attain-

ment of this aim, which is one of the principles on which the Chapter of the United Nations is based.

165. We are sure that colonialism will finally disappear in all its forms and manifestations, including these small territories. The Republic of Argentina is, even today, suffering the consequences of the colonial policy of a great Power. The occupation of the "Islas Malvinas", a brutal violation of our sovereignty carried out during the process of imperialist expansion, when our country was just beginning its independent existence, constitutes an act of force which has never been accepted by the Government and people of Argentina.

166. In annex I of the report of the Special Committee which we are examining, the "Islas Malvinas" appear in the preliminary list of Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applies. On repeated occasions in this Organization, especially in the Fourth Committee, when the reports of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories were being examined, the Argentine delegation has made the most express reservations concerning its sovereignty over this territory. In reasserting on this occasion our imprescriptible and inalienable rights to the "Islas Malvinas", which are not the colony or possession of any nation but form part of Argentina's national territory and are included in its domain and sovereignty, we wish to emphasize the importance we attach to paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV), which states that "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

167. In this era of freedom in which we live the anachronistic presence of the United Kingdom in these sparsely populated islands is quite senseless and constitutes a historical phenomenon which cannot go on if the mutual understanding and friendship linking two people bound by so many ties are to be preserved. I do not think I am being too optimistic when I express the hope that in this particular and special case the United Kingdom will show the understanding of present-day realities and the vision of the future which it has demonstrated in other parts of the world.

168. We should not like to conclude without expressing our hope that in the coming months the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) will make positive progress through the incorporation of new countries into the international community and the steady and rapid advance of others towards the same goal. Moreover, we hope that this process will be carried out peacefully, on a democratic basis and without racial, political or economic discrimination of any kind. To this end, the co-operation of all States Members of the United Nations—and especially that of the administering Powers—is a fundamental and indispensable prerequisite. Perhaps the most appropriate body to demonstrate this will to co-operate is the Special Committee, whose ability and efficiency are, we are confident, a guarantee that the paramount interests of the colonial territories and peoples will be constantly and vigilantly respected.

169. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): All the speakers on this morning's list having spoken, I now give the floor to the representative of Mexico to exercise the right of reply.

170. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): At this meeting the representative of

Guatemala has registered his protests and reservations regarding the fact that the territory of Belize, under the name of British Honduras, appears in the report of the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1, Annex I] which the Assembly is now considering, specifically in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories to which the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) apply. In so doing, the representative of Guatemala has stated that sovereignty over the territory of Belize belongs exclusively to his country, that is, to Guatemala.

171. First of all, on this occasion, as on several previous occasions, I should like to place on record the statement made by my Government—as it appears in the official documents of various international bodies, both world bodies and inter-American regional bodies, and other public information media—to the effect that if a change should be made in the international status of Belize, Mexico's historical and legal rights to this territory should be taken into consideration. My Government has also declared in this connexion that Mexico for its part does not disregard the right of self-determination, which would help the people of Belize, if they so desired, to achieve full independence through the free expression of their will.

172. Secondly, I wish to state that the fact that a given territory appears in the list of territories on which information is transmitted, as requested in Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter, cannot in itself affect sovereign rights which may or may not belong to the authorities which, because they are de facto solely responsible for the situation and development of these territories, are obliged to inform the United Nations of the conditions prevailing there.

173. When the question of the significance which should be attached to the inclusion of the names of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the list of those Territories on which information was to be transmitted to the General Assembly in accordance with article 73 (e) of the Charter was raised for the first time in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, on 8 December 1946,^{5/} the delegation of Guatemala stated that it has abstained from voting on the draft resolution in question because the territory of Belize had appeared on the list. The delegation of Mexico stressed that it should be made clear that the adoption of the draft resolution to which I am referring, enumerating the Territories on which information was to be transmitted, did not in any way imply recognition of the sovereignty of any State over any territory. My delegation added that it would have only the practical significance of indicating which were the de facto authorities responsible at a given moment for the administration of the territories in question.

174. The delegation of Guatemala expressed its agreement with this interpretation, and added that its intention was to avoid any possibility of doubt or uncertainty in the future.

175. At the meeting to which I refer at least one other delegation expressed its agreement with the Mexican delegation's interpretation and no delegation disagreed. 176. I have mentioned these facts because there is an analogy between them and the text to which I have been referring.

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, First part of first session, Fourth Committee, Part I, twenty-first meeting.

177. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom, to exercise the right of reply.

178. Mr. KING (United Kingdom): I refer to the statements made today by the representatives of Guatemala and Argentina, in which they disputed the sovereignty of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over British Honduras and the Falkland Islands, respectively. Her Majesty's Government has no doubts as to its sovereignty over British Honduras and the Falkland Islands, and I wish formally to reserve the rights of Her Majesty's Government on that question.

179. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Spain, to exercise the right of reply.

180. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, exercising the right of reply in connexion with the false statements made by the representative of the Soviet Union, wishes to point out to the Assembly that our position regarding the decolonization process has been fully explained, as has our desire to collaborate with the Assembly and all its organs. The accusation that terror reigns in the territories administered by Spain, that there is forced labour and a whole series of other completely unfounded accusations, are as absurd as they are false. The situation described by the representative of the Soviet Union is undoubtedly the one prevailing in the extensive colonial empire administered by the Soviet Union.

181. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Guatemala, to exercise the right of reply.

182. Mr. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In view of the late hour, I shall be very brief but I am compelled to intervene because of the statement made just now by the representative of Mexico, who said that his country reserved its position regarding discussion of rights over the Guatemalan territory of Belize if any change should be made in the legal status of that territory. My delegation wishes to state at this time that it recognizes no other right to the territory of Belize, sovereignty over which belongs exclusively to Guatemala. The statement by the representative of Mexico should not therefore be interpreted in any way as a joint action with my Government, whose claim is of an exclusive nature, as I said earlier.

183. Mexico has never possessed territory south of the river Hondo, which forms the northern frontier of the territory of Belize, erroneously called British Honduras. The maps used by the Spanish and English negotiators who signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, which granted certain rights, limited to simple usufruct, to English subjects in the region between

the river Hondo and the river Belize, as also numerous other documents and the Anglo-Mexican boundary Treaty of 8 July 1893,^{2/} demonstrate beyond all doubt that the province of Yucatan did not extend south of the river Hondo.

184. I do not think that this is the right time to enter into further consideration of the substance of this question. I shall confine myself to quoting a statement made by Don Ignacio Mariscal, the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, after the signing of the Anglo-Mexican treaty of July 1893:

"Assuming that Spain possessed sovereign rights over Belize at the time that Mexico attained independence, it cannot be maintained that this eminent domain was transferred to our Republic, since we did not acquire it by conquest during our fight for freedom, which never extended beyond the river Hondo nor were we granted possession of any territory to the south of this river. The territory was not ceded to us by Spain in the treaty of 1836, in which Spain ceded to us its rights over other territories; in the treaty of 1826 England did not recognize us as successors to Spain's rights over Belize; and there is no other instrument recognized by international law on which we could base a claim to what is now called British Honduras."

This is what the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs said at that time. It seems to my delegation that there is nothing to add to this opinion.

185. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor once more to the representative of Mexico, to exercise the right of reply.

186. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): As the representative of Guatemala has said, this is not the time to discuss sovereign rights over Guatemala. That being so, the Government of Mexico and its delegation to this Assembly formally reserve their position.

187. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before the meeting rises I wish to remind delegations that, as announced earlier, the list of speakers will be closed on Monday next, 2 December, at 6 p.m.

188. I appeal to delegations wishing to take part in the debate to do their best to use the scheduled time available during the meetings on Monday and Tuesday; otherwise we shall be obliged to hold night meetings on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, since our consideration of this item should be concluded by next Friday at the latest.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

^{2/} Treaty between Great Britain and Mexico respecting the boundary between Mexico and British Honduras, signed at Mexico on 8 July 1893.