

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1268th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 2 December 1963,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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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)

1. Mr. HSUEH (China): The Special Committee has spent another significant and successful year. Before us now is the report of its work of the year [A/5446/Rev.1] consisting of fourteen chapters, almost each of which is a sizable book. Indeed, even in the United Nations where efficiency is a watchword, seldom is so much accomplished by a single Committee in so short a time. As shown by the voluminous report, the Special Committee was able to examine in 101 meetings, held from February through October of this year, the conditions of twenty-six territories, comprising an area of almost 2 1/2 million square miles with a population of 37 million. This fruitful work of the Committee deserves gratitude and admiration from us all. I hasten to associate my delegation with all the warm tributes paid to the Committee in the Assembly and in the Fourth Committee.

2. The process of decolonization, which had been in progress under the responsibility of the Trusteeship Council and other competent organs of the United Nations, received a new impetus when the Special Committee was established on 27 November 1961. It is noted that, since that date, seven countries that were formerly colonial territories have become independent and have been admitted to the United Nations. There is no doubt that other territories which have not yet attained independence will follow.

3. Through this Committee, together with the Trusteeship Council and the other organs concerned, the United Nations is fulfilling one of its sacred missions, that of promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Our Organization is exerting its great influence to expedite the process of emancipation, aiming at bringing equal-

ity and dignity to each and every man. It is now the centre, the powerhouse, of the irresistible force that is to do away with all medieval concepts of overlording, oppression and slavery and to lead to the bright path of modern civilization.

4. We who work in the United Nations at this exciting stage of history have every reason to congratulate ourselves on our good fortune not only in witnessing, but also in participating, in this historic movement. Of course, the United Nations could not have been so successful in this noble task, just as in its other tasks, without the joint effort of all its Members and without the co-operation of those directly concerned. In this respect, former Western European colonial Powers, notably the United Kingdom and France, have played an important part. It is significant that practically all the new Members admitted to the United Nations in recent years were colonies of the Western European Powers. These Powers, inspired by the lofty aims of the Charter of the United Nations and guided by the unmistakable trend of modern times, have recognized the principle of self-determination and applied it to their colonies. This process is continuing. A case in point is found in annex II to the report of the Special Committee. I think we all feel encouraged in reading that annex, in which is reproduced a letter from the United Kingdom representative together with a calendar of constitutional advance in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under British administration. While it cannot be said that developments in all the territories listed in that calendar are satisfactory, it is nevertheless clear that good progress has been made in many of them. It is noteworthy that some of these territories have achieved self-government and that others are ready for independence in the near future.

5. Chapter XIII of the report also shows that Spain, whose former colonies in Latin America attained independence long before the existence of the United Nations, has reaffirmed its undertaking to respect the principle of self-determination with regard to the territories in Africa under Spanish administration. We must give credit where it is due and pay a tribute to the United Kingdom and the Spanish Governments and to other Governments that have taken the same attitude on this question.

6. Having said this, I must voice the concern felt by my Government that there are still other territories under Western European colonial rule, particularly those in Africa, to which the principle of self-determination has not yet been applied. All those territories are discussed in the report of the Special Committee.

7. As you reminded us at the 1266th meeting, Mr. President, the chapters on the report on specific territories were referred by the General Assembly, at its 1210th meeting, to the Fourth Committee for consideration. I therefore do not propose to discuss

them here. But I wish to say that it continues to be the duty of this Assembly, with the assistance of the Special Committee, to see this unfinished business brought to a successful conclusion. We also hope that the Governments of the administering Powers concerned will come forward to join the efforts of the United Nations in this historic movement.

8. The General Assembly has so far devoted itself to the termination of the Western European type of colonialism, and in doing so it has given priority to the colonial territories in Africa. My delegation is in full agreement with this procedure. We believe that it is the only correct and logical procedure, for we all agree that it is in Africa that the largest area, proportionally, has been subjected to colonialism for the longest period of time.

9. We must put first things first. Let us concentrate our efforts; let us finish colonialism in Africa first with full vigour and undivided attention. This does not mean, however, that we may close our eyes to another type of colonialism. While we are busy dealing with the Western European type of colonialism, we must bear in mind that peoples in Europe, Asia, and even Latin America are subjected to another type of colonialism: that is, the Russian or Soviet type of colonialism.

10. Last year when this same item was under consideration, many representatives reminded the Assembly of the fate of the peoples in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, the Eastern part of Germany, the Northern part of Korea, and other lands under Soviet occupation, where the principle of self-determination had never been applied. We may not be able to give immediate help to these equally unfortunate peoples, but we must let them know that we have not forgotten them. Let us not be confused by the false allegation that this is a cold war issue.

11. I am fully aware that we shall not please the Soviet Union by discussing Soviet colonialism, but we cannot brush aside as a cold war issue anything that the Soviet Union does not like. We must use one single uniform standard in the application of the Charter. Colonialism is colonialism no matter whether it is practised by the Western European Powers or by the Soviet Union. Colonialism cannot be changed into a cold war issue, to be put into cold storage, only because it is practised by the Soviet Union.

12. Take those European nations under Soviet rule, for example. What are their conditions? The representative of Spain briefly referred to their conditions in his statement on 29 November 1963 [1267th meeting]. Let me say this: they are not self-governing; they are not independent. They are under the oppressive rule of régimes imposed on them by a foreign Power and their peoples are denied the exercise of the right to self-determination. By every yardstick they are not different from if not in worse conditions than, the colonial territories in Africa. To complete the parallel, the patriots-in-exile of those European nations have organized themselves just as African patriots have done in their fight for freedom and self-determination. One of such organizations is the Assembly of European Captive Nations which reminds us in the United Nations every day of the Soviet colonial rule in their countries by the poster put up just across the street from this building. Can we in clear conscience exclude these unfortunate peoples, and others in Europe, Asia and in Latin America, from

our concern in our sacred mission of emancipation? Their demand for self-determination and fundamental freedoms is also a part of our unfinished business.

13. Therefore, the General Assembly has a great deal of work to do in this great historic movement. We need the continued assistance of the Special Committee. I am sure that the Assembly will accede to the request made by the Special Committee in its report that its mandate be extended. My delegation will gladly vote in favour of a draft resolution to that effect.

14. One of the tasks which the Special Committee will continue to do next year, as suggested in chapter I, paragraph 47 of its report, is to complete the list of territories which have not yet attained independence. It is certainly an important task because the list will show the scope of work which the Special Committee is prepared and competent to do. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the list, when completed, will include all territories still under colonial rule. I am confident that the Special Committee, having already done so well, will go all out to end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

15. Before concluding I have only one more point to make. The report of the Special Committee contains a preliminary list of territories which have not yet attained independence. No doubt this list will come under review when the Special Committee resumes its work next year. Let me draw its attention to the question of the inclusion of Hong Kong and Macao in this list. I attach no importance and no value whatsoever to what the self-appointed Bulgarian expert on Chinese affairs had to say in this respect, as recorded in paragraph 27 of chapter I of the report. But I wish to make it clear that Hong Kong and Macao and their dependencies had always been an integral part of Chinese territory until they came under the present territorial arrangements as a result of treaties concluded by China, respectively, with Great Britain in 1842, 1860 and 1898, and with Portugal in 1887. Any question that may arise with regard to the status of these territories should be discussed between the States concerned in accordance with the principles of international law. Even in their present status these territories do not seem to belong to the same category as the other non-self-governing territories included in the preliminary list.

16. It may be pointed out that there are other Chinese territories taken by foreign Powers, such as those taken by Russia under the Treaty of Aigun of 1858, the Treaty of Peking of 1860 and the Treaty of St. Petersburg of 1881 concluded between China and Russia. They are not included in the preliminary list. It is hoped that the Special Committee will take these historical facts into account and adopt a consistent position on all these groups of territories on the frontiers of China.

17. Finally, it remains my pleasant duty, on behalf of my delegation, to wish the Special Committee another successful and fruitful year in its work.

18. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): As this is the first occasion on which my delegation has taken the floor since the death of President Kennedy, I should like, with the President's permission, to begin this statement by paying a tribute to his glorious memory.

19. Someone has said that we only really experience death, really know what dying means, when the person

who dies is someone near and dear to us, one of our own, someone close to our hearts. The feeling that we all had, when President Kennedy died, that a part of us had died too, proved once again this truism about experiencing the phenomenon of death; it is a truism which, fundamentally, is only an expression of the essential and deeply rooted solidarity and brotherhood of all men, who have one and the same human nature and are all children of one and the same Father. If the pain and sorrow we feel today are as deep as they are, if they reach down to the very roots of our being—as they do—it is because President Kennedy was one of those splendid men who we can all recognize as truly one of us, for he could have been one of my own people, one of my own land, just as he could have belonged to other peoples and other lands—and I do believe, to all peoples and to all lands.

20. I do not know whether this truth can be so clearly understood in his own country at the present moment as we can understand it. To gain perspective one must stand back, and perhaps we, who as men of the United Nations represent other continents, speak other languages, we, who bear the stamp of other cultures, have at this moment, better than others, the sense of perspective needed to understand the universal dimensions of this figure and the equally universal impact of this tragedy.

21. The explanation is self-evident. If a man like President Kennedy could reach such a pinnacle in life and even in death, it is because he somehow managed to embody, as only the great men of history do, not only the wishes of his own people, not only the needs of his own time and environment, but also the deepest aspirations of the human soul and of the universal conscience of mankind. A man cannot comprehend this universality unless he is genuinely representative of our common human condition, which is the same, whether we are Americans, Africans, Europeans or Asians, whatever the colour of our skin and wherever we may stand in the struggle. Thus, because President Kennedy was, as an old Spanish poem says, "essentially human" he was the perfect interpreter of those great ideas which are the ideas of humanity par excellence and give meaning to our struggle on this earth: the ideas of peace, justice and liberty.

22. Perhaps it is too soon for us to be able to measure exactly the contribution he made to these universal causes, to these unchanging ideals of every human being. But no one will deny that his courage, his imagination, and his sincere devotion to them, his passion for justice and, above all, for equality, his fight against selfishness and, above all, against prejudice have been factors, perhaps decisive factors, in making the world of today at least no worse than the world of yesterday, so that we can begin to see the dawn of an age in which, as he said in biblical language "The strong are just and the weak secure, and the peace preserved".

23. The Government and people of Uruguay reverently bow their heads in memory of this great figure. We say to his wife, his little children, his people, his representatives in the United Nations, that we lament his death as if he had been one of our own; and that in the face of death the ability spontaneously to feel another's grief as if it were one's own is the supreme expression of human solidarity. But I can also assure them that his example shall be a lasting source of inspiration not only to us whom he has left behind, but also to future generations, and especially to our

children, with whom his thoughts and actions were so often concerned.

24. In a very brief space of time, two men, both called John have left us, one almost immediately after the other. Both of them succeeded in making themselves dear to the world as very few men have done. The memory which they have left, conquering death because it is stronger than death, will live on in us and in our children for ever.

25. As Uruguay is a member of the Special Committee—of which I have the honour to be one of the Vice-Chairmen—and as Uruguay has participated in its discussions and in the adoption of its recommendations, it might have been more appropriate, perhaps, for me to have excused myself from making any statement here, when the General Assembly is about to judge the merit or the quality of our work. If I participate in this debate, I do so not with the intention of pleading a cause, but with the much more modest intention of making a few general comments which may be useful for an over-all evaluation of the report [A/5446/Rev.1].

26. But, first, I should like to express my admiration and appreciation of the way in which Mr. Coulibaly succeeded in carrying out a task which was not always either easy or pleasant. As I have had occasion to say in the Special Committee—and I am glad to repeat it now before the Assembly—the success, if we may call it that, of our work is in large measure due to his tact, his sense of moderation and understanding, and his mature conception of the responsibility he had assumed. An equally important share of that success was due to Mr. Sonn of Cambodia, the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Rifai of Syria, who was our very able Rapporteur last year and for a good part of the Committee's second session, and Mr. Natwar Singh of India, who, during the remainder of the time, has done excellent work, thus demonstrating his fine qualities, which, be it said, were no secret to anyone.

27. If, in addition to what may be found in the recommendations and the measures adopted, something positive has emerged from our work, it is undoubtedly the sense of co-operation and seriousness which always prevailed in our deliberations, even when there seemed to be the least hope of it. If in the course of its work the Special Committee won a real victory, it was a victory over what might be called "the cold-war spirit". This alone, in my opinion, is a remarkable success because it proves that international co-operation is possible when there is a genuine desire for coexistence and that the United Nations can, in the words of Article 1 of the Charter, really be a centre for harmonizing the actions of all in the attainment of common ends.

28. The report we are now considering contains a first chapter which is mainly informative and procedural, and thirteen chapters outlining what we may call the substantive work of the Committee in carrying out its terms of reference.

29. As to the first, the procedural, aspect, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to three matters which I consider of importance.

30. The first relates to the methods and procedures which the Special Committee has adopted for the discharge of its functions. As will be recalled, operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1810 (XVII) took note with approval of the methods and

procedures, that is to say, those which the Committee applied during its first session, some of which are described in paragraph 112 of its first report.^{1/} I say "some" because while some delegations made express reference to that paragraph during the debate at the seventeenth session, it seems to my delegation that the expression "methods and procedures" is meant to cover also aspects which were not mentioned in paragraph 112, and, in particular, the procedure of adopting resolutions on the Committee's own account—resolutions with what may be called "external" effect, i.e., applicable or believed to be applicable by third States or interested parties. If we examine the eleven decisions adopted by the Special Committee in the form of resolutions—I am not counting the decisions arrived at by consensus—it will be seen that only one of them, that which refers to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, contains a recommendation addressed to the General Assembly asking it to adopt certain measures in connexion with those territories.

31. The other ten are resolutions which the Special Committee adopted on its own account, addressed directly to the administering Power and either expressing a view or urging some action which the Committee thought necessary for the attainment of its goals. As far as my delegation remembers, there was never any objection to this procedure; therefore, the approval which the Assembly expressed in resolution 1810 (XVII) and the approval it may express in the decision to be taken at the end of this debate must make it absolutely clear that these procedures are to the liking of the Assembly and that it reaffirms its approval of them.

32. The second aspect to which I wished to refer relates to one of the procedures approved by the Assembly, the sending of visiting missions or groups, which is dealt with in chapter I, paragraphs 53 to 56 of the report, and the need for which is clearly explained in paragraph 54.

33. My delegation cannot, for inherent reasons, accept the so-called "principled" argument that the presence of a visiting mission or group would constitute interference in the administration of a Territory. In general, the only object of a visiting mission is to provide knowledge of the aspirations or views of the people of a Territory in a more direct manner than could be done through the administering Power, or to ascertain or verify facts or actual situations concerning which it is desired to obtain clarification. In neither of these cases could the visiting group be regarded as carrying out the function of administration which is something that has a very precise and, certainly, a very different meaning in public law.

34. What is more, operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1654 (XVI) directed the Special Committee to employ "all means which it will have at its disposal within the framework of the procedures and modalities which it shall adopt for the proper discharge of its functions"; and those means can and should include—as was agreed in principle as a basic aspect of the Committee's work—visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, even without such documentation, this would still be possible under the so-called doctrine of implied powers, enunciated at the beginning of the last century by the famous

Justice Marshall of the United States and endorsed a few years ago by the International Court of Justice in a well known advisory opinion.

35. In any case, it is well known that, only two months ago, a mission which was essentially of this type was received in Territories still under United Kingdom administration with the consent of the United Kingdom. The only explanation of this is that there has been a change—and, we believe, for the better—in the constitutional position traditionally taken by that country. My delegation welcomes this and feels certain that such an attitude will facilitate the Special Committee's work and make the co-operation which the United Kingdom has been giving the Committee even more fruitful.

36. Finally, and still in connexion with procedural matters, it will be observed that in chapter I, paragraph 30, of the report, after explaining the reasons for why it could not complete the task of preparing a list of all territories to which paragraph 5 of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) applies, the Committee expresses the intention of working on this task at its meetings next year.

37. Actually, as one can see from the report itself, the Committee has been working on the basis of a preliminary list which was prepared by its Working Group and which comprises, in addition to South West Africa, Trust Territories, and Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter recognized as such by the administering Powers themselves, who have been transmitting information on them, or Non-Self-Governing Territories declared to be by the General Assembly, as in the case of the territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia.

38. Paragraph 5 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples mentions, as you will recall, in addition to the above Territories, those "which have not yet attained independence"; and the use of the conjunction "or" indicates that these are a third category of territories, although the text, unfortunately, does not provide any additional explanatory matter that might facilitate its interpretation. And, the records of the debate at the fifteenth session do not shed any light on the subject either, except for some isolated references which are not precise enough to serve as principles or guidelines.

39. Consequently, in the absence of specific background material, the only logical interpretation would be that which flows naturally from the actual wording of the text, with due regard for other resolutions of the General Assembly. It might not be difficult—in the light of what international law recognizes as the right of States to independence and in the light of certain indications provided by the General Assembly itself in its resolutions 567 (VI) and 742 (XVIII)—to decide that paragraph 5 of the Declaration applies to the case of some territories or States whose present legal status is open to doubt or confusion. Of these, perhaps the only exception should be those dependent territories which choose integration with their metropolitan country. If this process reflected the true will of the peoples concerned, the incorporated or integrated territory would seem in fact to be enjoying the same legal status as the State with which it has united and of which it is now a part, whatever the degree of self-government or decentralization granted it, and consequently it must be

^{1/}Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 25, document A/5238.

having the benefit of the right to independence of the country it has joined.

40. Apart from these cases, my delegation would in principle be in favour of the widest possible application of the Declaration. The aims of the Declaration are morally valid aims, which we all accept, and no injury or prejudice could derive from the effort to apply them as widely as possible.

41. It now remains for me to analyse, though briefly, some of the substantive aspects of the report.

42. Naturally, I do not intend to make an analysis of each of the Territories mentioned in the report or even to scrutinize the resolutions adopted. The report is explicit and clear, and—what in my view, is something else to the credit of the Rapporteur and the members of Secretariat who worked with him—it duly presents the positions of the various members on every one of the problems that arose in connexion with every one of the territories.

43. I think it may be worth-while, however, to try to look at these resolutions as a whole and extract from them some of the principles of a general nature which they apply and which constitute or will come to constitute, in the future, what might be termed "the jurisprudence of resolution 1514 (XV)".

44. It may be said at the outset that with two exceptions, which, however, do not claim to lay down a different doctrine, the resolutions adopted by the Committee seek to affirm the basic principles contained in the Declaration by referring explicitly—and generally in the same breath—to the "right to self-determination and independence".

45. This repeated affirmation has, in my delegation's view, an important significance. Although paragraph 2 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples reaffirms the right of all peoples to self-determination, there is no doubt that in the Declaration the emphasis is placed rather on the idea of independence, which is mentioned three times in the preamble to resolution 1514 (XV) and three times in its operative part. As will be remembered, this, at least verbal, predominance of the concept of independence over that of self-determination evoked reservations, at the time, on the part of certain delegations and may have had something to do with the abstentions of some of them during the vote.

46. In the opinion of my delegation, the line followed in this matter by the Special Committee and also by the General Assembly in several resolutions subsequent to the Declaration reflects the most correct interpretation of resolution 1514 (XV).

47. This is so, first, because it should be remembered that the Declaration was adopted at the same session which adopted resolution 1541 (XV) on "Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter", which contains, inter alia, the principles concerning the way in which a Non-Self-Governing Territory can reach a full measure of self-government. While it is true that these are two separate resolutions, both were approved by the same body within the space of a few hours, so that anyone interpreting them or an organ responsible for their implementation is compelled to favour criteria which

preclude the possibility of arriving at contradictory conclusions.

48. An interpretation of the Declaration which excluded the principle of self-determination would obviously bring resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) into direct conflict, since the latter explicitly recognizes that a full measure of self-government may be reached by the free association of the Non-Self-Governing Territory with an independent State or by its integration with the metropolitan State itself or with any other State, as well as by emergence as a sovereign independent State. These same criteria were already embodied in resolutions adopted long before the Declaration, such as resolution 742 (VIII) which, although it considered that the manner in which Territories referred to in Chapter XI could become fully self-governing was "primarily through the attainment of independence"—and I stress the word "primarily"—recognized that self-government could also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this was done freely and on the basis of absolute equality.

49. There have been some who, no doubt for good reason, have put forward the idea that at least the first, the indispensable stage should be accession to independence, and after that—and only after that—a given territory could move to other forms of political organization. The idea is certainly based on an assumption which we find not unreasonable, namely that exercise of self-determination must presuppose that those who are to exercise it possess, even if only for a single moment, the quality of full sovereignty. In other words, self-determination can apply only to those who are already free.

50. My delegation would have no difficulty in accepting this reasoning, if only because this was precisely the legal doctrine for which the revolution was fought in Spanish America, were it not for the fact that the process of decolonization, as it has unfolded and as it will certainly continue to unfold in the future, proves precisely the opposite: not only that self-determination has been exercised under colonial constitutions, in what might be called the "final stage", but also that the choice of a system other than that of independence or complete sovereignty has been made even while a territory had that same colonial status, as has been shown by events, including the most recent and latest developments.

51. My delegation therefore feels that the Special Committee has followed a correct policy, especially when one considers the nature of the Territories it will have to examine at its next session and the problems which would inevitably arise unless a criterion of prudent flexibility were applied.

52. Nevertheless, I must point out that, even if this interpretation is accepted, there is no doubt that resolution 1514 (XV), much more emphatically than previous resolutions on the problem, requires that these acts of self-determination be exercised in the most scrupulous and absolute freedom, without any coercion whatsoever, and, above all, without any prior reservations, conditions or demands, so as to be sure in all cases that every precaution has been taken to enable the people truly to express their will in favour of the solution they really wanted.

53. In this respect, it seems to us that resolution 1514 (XV) clears the way for more direct intervention

by the United Nations with a view to surveillance of consultation procedures.

54. I therefore venture to point out the importance which should be given to operative paragraph 9 of the Special Committee's resolution on Aden adopted on 19 July 1963—something similar had already been agreed on in the case of Malta—which "recommends to the General Assembly that the necessary arrangements be made in consultation with the Administering Power, for effective United Nations presence before and during the elections" at which the people of Aden would exercise their right to self-determination. As you know, the possibility of such intervention is envisaged in principle IX in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV) but only for the case of integration. In our view, the Committee has established a very valuable principle here which, as we have said, is fully consistent with the spirit of the Declaration and which might be worth pondering at greater length.

55. Another principle in what we have called the jurisprudence of the Special Committee is the principle of universal adult suffrage—"one man, one vote"—and the immediate creation of representative institutions, so as to provide the conditions for the eventual transfer of powers. These principles are referred to in many of the resolutions such as those concerning Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Aden, the Fiji Islands and, of course, Southern Rhodesia.

56. In these and other cases, the Committee has preferred to limit itself to rather general terms, so as never to jeopardize by the adoption of a rigid formula the very objective which it sought. This is fully consistent with the background of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), whose sponsors especially wished to avoid laying down such rigid principles. In particular, we think it was wise on the part of the Committee to refrain from taking sides when the parties concerned expressed their preference for one electoral system or another as happened, for example, this year in the case of British Guiana, and this makes me venture to say that it was the general view in the Committee, and my delegation shares it, that this matter—the choice of an electoral system—should be settled directly by those concerned without interference by the Organization, which, in the circumstances, would constitute a violation of the principle of non-intervention. In interpreting and applying resolution 1514 (XV), the Special Committee

has implicitly affirmed the principle—which, as I say, is consistent with the background of the resolution—that in such cases what is essential is the active participation of the adult population, whatever the prevailing electoral system, unless of course (and this is the reason for the words "representative institutions", "representative organs", "representative sectors", which are found in almost all the resolutions) the electoral system is one which, while based on universal suffrage, would obviously and flagrantly falsify the expression of the people's will.

57. I am afraid I have spoken too long, when I had intended to be brief. There remain, of course, many aspects to be analysed which will certainly be analysed—and no doubt more carefully—by later speakers. Some questions, which it was not possible to complete, have raised for discussion problems of fundamental importance which are certainly of interest to all the Members of the General Assembly. I refer, in particular, to the question of Gibraltar which was

the first—so far as my delegation knows—to give rise to a discussion on the application of paragraph 6 of the Declaration, which reaffirms respect for the territorial integrity and national unity of a country, and the possibility of its conflicting with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, also mentioned in the Declaration.

58. My delegation has now expressed its opinion, which it regards as not only the one which seems to be most in harmony with the text, spirit and background of the Declaration but also the only one capable of protecting those countries which, because of their smallness or weakness, have in the course of history been despoiled—either by force or by what we diplomats call pressure, which is an insidious form of force—of part of their national territory. We trust that the solution of this case may serve as a guide for the solution of other similar situations of which, unfortunately, there are instances in Latin America.

59. Although the ideal, like any ideal, still seems far off, we must admit that often with the co-operation of the administering Powers and often too through the persevering action of the Organization, we have come much nearer to the goal. Our aim should be to reach it as quickly as possible, by peaceful ways that do not add to the sufferings of those who have already suffered so much. There are many roads and many devices for reaching that goal. The Special Committee is one of them and the General Assembly would certainly do well to strengthen it and give it the tools to finish its job.

60. I reserve the right of my delegation to speak again if any draft resolutions are submitted on this item.

61. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): Today, three years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], there are several lessons to be learned from the manner in which it has been applied. Three years does not seem long, but the work of the United Nations is such that we cannot wait indefinitely. It is while the work is in progress that we should learn from experience and find solutions in keeping with the changing circumstances.

62. You may remember the controversy that preceded the adoption of the Declaration, which was the outcome of many compromises. Since 1960 the principles it proclaims have become a living force for the peoples living under colonial rule and fighting colonialism and for the other peoples in the world which support their cause. There is no doubt that the process of decolonization has been accelerated largely as a result of the fact that, by adopting the Declaration, the United Nations declared itself unequivocally in favour of the equality of peoples. The Charter itself establishes the principle of the equal rights of peoples. In 1960, when the international situation made it possible, the Declaration proclaimed the idea of the final liquidation of the colonial system.

63. In so doing, the Declaration sounded the death knell of a phenomenon which was the natural concomitant of that system, a social form determined by history, namely, capitalist society.

64. It cannot be denied that, although the building of empires and the oppression of peoples have been permanent symptoms throughout the history of mankind, the concept of the colonial empire, historically

and socially, is inseparable from that of capitalism. I should like to take the liberty of citing as my authority Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, who is one of the outstanding theoreticians of the peoples of free Africa—and at this point I shall draw attention to only this one aspect of his vast activity. In his book entitled Towards Colonial Freedom, he quotes this passage from a speech by Albert Sarraut, who was French Minister for the colonies from 1920 to 1930: "The origin of colonization is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egotistical imposition of the strong upon the weak". And President Nkrumah comments: "Such is the phenomenon of European capitalist aggressiveness, one which has been rightly termed 'colonial imperialism'".

65. The Declaration not only denounces colonialism, but says that it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, that it is a serious threat to world peace and an impediment to the promotion of international co-operation. In other words, it outlaws colonialism together with all its ideology. It might be thought that, three years after the adoption of the Declaration, that principle would no longer be a matter of debate. But the facts confute that idea. It was not only in 1960 that the apologists of colonialism fought to maintain their rule and their rights to exploit colonial peoples; they are still fighting, but since the situation has changed they are using much more subtle means. Here, to prove my point, are three quotations taken from the general debate of the current session of the General Assembly.

66. The representative of the Republic of South Africa quoted Prime Minister Verwoerd as follows:

"South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence." [1236th meeting, para. 35.]

67. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom said:

"We have always held in the United Kingdom that our dependent colonies should be made independent and that the territories should stand on their own feet in the world." [1222nd meeting, para. 77.] And he added: "The only check on the transfer of power from the United Kingdom to the government of the country concerned is that we want to be sure that when independence is granted the country will be able to make both ends meet economically and that it will accept a constitution which will work for the well-being of every section of society in the country." [Ibid., para. 81.]

68. Lastly, the representative of Spain, speaking on behalf of Portugal, which did not take part in the debate, said:

"Rather we should remember the sincere centuries-old attempt of the Portuguese to build within their overseas and metropolitan borders a multi-racial and egalitarian society which acknowledges the human diversity of its people in a Christian manner." [1213th meeting, para. 36.]

69. Really, does not this colonial "best of all possible worlds" remind us of Dr. Pangloss, that character in Voltaire's novel whom I shall now quote. This is what he said:

"It is obvious that things cannot be otherwise, for since everything was made for a purpose every-

thing is necessarily for the best purpose... Stone was made to be quarried and to build castles; thus my Lord has a very beautiful chateau. The greatest baron of the province should be the best housed, and since pigs were made to be eaten, we eat pork all the year. Therefore, those who have maintained that all is well have been talking nonsense: they should say that all is as good as it can possibly be."

I should like to say that we, the delegations representing the anti-colonialist majority in the General Assembly, not only do not agree with the Dr. Panglosses but disagree also with Candide, who thinks that Pangloss is "the greatest philosopher in the province, and therefore in the whole world". We are engaged in a ceaseless struggle to unmask them by every appropriate means.

70. In the three years since the adoption of the 1960 Declaration, the political map of the world has undergone great changes—and I might add, changes for the better. Every year new countries have attained independence and been admitted to the United Nations. The progress achieved cannot be denied, but compared with the objective we set ourselves the results are only partial. There are still colonies in Asia, America and Oceania, but the greatest impediment to the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism is the situation which prevails in the south of the continent of Africa. The conditions in which people there are living and the struggles in which they are engaged have been described in detail in the last few years and this year too by many delegations, including my own. This is not the first time we have discussed the question of the international "unholy alliance" which rules the geographical area formed by the territories of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

71. This is not the first time in the history of mankind that the oppressor, not content with the wrong he does to an oppressed people, has not scrupled to endeavour to explain why it is necessary for him to do so. Colonialism, the evil of our times, has more than one way of disguising its ugly face. The "explanation" given by the white settlers living in southern Africa—whether in South Africa, Rhodesia or the Portuguese colonies—is racial discrimination or, to be more exact, the so-called theory of white supremacy.

72. In view of the vast amount of material that has already been provided on the subject, I should like first of all to draw a few conclusions from it.

(1) Racial discrimination is one of the aspects of colonialism which, in turn, is a historical phenomenon that shows the exploitation inherent in the capitalist system.

(2) The methods of racial discrimination practised in southern Africa are based on a theory identical with that of genocide, which was adopted by Hitler's Germany and has been historically, politically and scientifically repudiated. Yet this is what the Sunday Tribune of Durban states in an editorial:

"As South Africans, we are firmly opposed to racial integration. We see no biological or even moral justification for such a course and, in any event, the fact is that we do not want it."

(3) It would long ago have become impossible to continue the practice of racial discrimination in southern Africa given the local forces opposed to it,

were it not for the fact that the advocates of racial discrimination enjoy the political, economic and military support of a group of countries which, all being members of the NATO military bloc and living in the context of a capitalist system of production, consider that support of racial discrimination is not incompatible with their own principles of foreign policy.

(4) One of the main reasons for this is that there are economic groups in most countries—as has been pointed out in the committee debates—which exert strong political influence and are actually interested in acquiring raw materials and exploiting the labour of the territories administered under a régime of racial discrimination. Here is another example. Chester Bowles, in his book Africa's Challenge to America, writes:

"We have seen how American industry, in war or peace, is increasingly dependent on certain key African minerals. If the simmering South African volcano should erupt or the tricky balance of forces in the Congo break down, our position in the nuclear-jet age could be mortally threatened."^{2/}

(5) In order to eliminate racial discrimination it is not enough to change the untenable situation prevailing in southern Africa; the foreign policy of the countries which support it must be changed.

(6) The vicious doctrine of racial discrimination is worse than the most dangerous epidemic. It poisons the atmosphere within nations, as can be seen from what happened in Germany before the Second World War and what is happening today in certain non-African countries. It poisons the atmosphere among nations as well. It arouses distrust between countries. It is one of the factors which led to the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe and it may unleash another conflict in Africa. It must be understood once and for all that neither the colour of the skin nor any other external features can give an individual, group or nation superiority over others. The whole human race constitutes one racial group.

73. Lastly, I should like to stress that NATO bears collective responsibility for the crimes attributable to the ideology of racial discrimination in southern Africa and that all the countries of NATO, large and small, are responsible for allowing the facilities of their organization to be used as modern instruments for oppression, for colonial oppression. Furthermore, if the United Nations fails to take the necessary steps to put an end to the situation, it will have to bear that collective responsibility.

74. The third question I should like to deal with in this discussion is also of a more general nature. Nowadays there is a growing recognition, even in the United Nations, that the present international situation is characterized by the concept of peaceful coexistence of different social systems.

75. The question that arises, therefore, is that of the interdependence between peaceful coexistence and decolonization, or in other words the implementation of the Declaration, the struggle for national liberation, and the work and tasks of the Committee of Twenty-Four. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, in his statement on

1 October 1963, gave the following reply to this question:

"Yet perhaps I may be forgiven if I give one word of caution, for surely in contemplating wars of liberation, either to alter the direction of Portuguese colonial policy or to compel the South African Government to abandon its policy of apartheid, some are in danger of falling into the error which they have so vigorously denounced in others. For the lesson of the twentieth century and of the nuclear age is this—and it is the same for African, Asian and European—that force can never solve anything and that the political emotions which inspire the desire to employ it must be resisted, however strong they may be." [A/PV.1222, para. 60.]

76. It is true that in this nuclear age it is the duty of everyone to strive to avoid a nuclear world war and to prevent collective suicide. That is one of the pillars on which the idea of peaceful coexistence rests. But peaceful coexistence is not a means of perpetuating the colonial system and can never be regarded as such.

77. The reasoning behind the statement quoted above is more or less as follows. For many centuries Portugal has been looting and oppressing the peoples of its colonies. Until now the oppressed peoples have not waged organized wars of liberation. This is right and just, this peaceful status quo. Portugal massacred the sons of foreign peoples "in peaceful conditions". That is not aggression; that is the status quo. But that the peoples of the Portuguese colonies have now risen up to drive out the Portuguese occupation by open force, that is not right, for it changes the allegedly peaceful status quo and consequently constitutes a war. The war of liberation must therefore be abandoned. But if the racist settlers massacre the indigenous inhabitants and their leaders and confine them to ghettos in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, if NATO supplies those same white settlers with all the arms necessary to carry out their policy of bloody oppression, and if NATO places all kinds of weapons of extermination, from napalm bombs to aircraft, at the disposal of Portugal to help in the war against the Angolans who are fighting for freedom, all that does not contradict "the lesson of the twentieth century"; it is only a defence of the status quo. And it seems, too, that the violation of agreements entered into in the case of British Guiana is not inconsistent with "the lesson of the twentieth century", because the United Kingdom broke its word in order to maintain the status quo, i.e., to maintain the colonial subjugation of British Guiana.

78. In other words, the United Kingdom delegation considers that wars of oppression for the purpose of maintaining the status quo by force of arms are justified; they are not wars and are not a threat to peaceful coexistence.

79. We cannot agree with this view, which is a pure and simple falsification of the very idea of peaceful coexistence. Revolution is not in fact an export. And what the Angolan patriots desire is not an exported independence; they want to recover the independence of their own people. That is their right, just as much as, for example, the English or the Portuguese people have a right to their own independence. Moreover, counter-revolution is not an export either. Nevertheless, the Portuguese armed forces in Africa are trying to export counter-revolution and colonialism

^{2/} Chester Bowles, Africa's Challenge to America, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956, p. 100.

to Africa, with the material and military assistance of NATO, and are using weapons supplied by NATO and NATO military bases.

80. If NATO, including Portugal, were to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and abandon the war it is waging against the people of Angola and of so-called Portuguese Guinea, it would thereby put into effect what the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom has called "the lesson of the twentieth century". We consider that in the second half of the twentieth century, the age of peaceful coexistence, it is a fundamental principle that all peoples should be equal, without distinction as to race or colour, and that no people can be prevented by force from freeing itself from the colonial yoke.

81. When the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom states, in the spirit of the Declaration: "We have accepted the principle of self-determination without qualification. We have accepted that the majority should rule" [*ibid.*, para. 82], and when he is at the same time supplying arms to Portugal, which is the aggressor in Angola, and to the racist minority of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, it is obvious that he is the first to violate the principle which he has himself formulated for the twentieth century in declaring that "force can never solve anything". Moreover, to call the Angolan people the aggressors when it is the Angolan people who are fighting against the Portuguese aggressor is, to say the least, a reversal of logic.

82. Lastly, before any diversionary manoeuvres start, I should like to make it clear that the Hungarian people, who stand for the principles of socialism and peaceful coexistence, are solidly behind the patriots of Angola and of other African countries who are struggling for freedom. But this support does not mean that we wish to carry on the cold war, let us say, against the United Kingdom. We recognize the right of the Angolan people and of the other colonial peoples, like that of the British people, to independence. This is not cold war, therefore, but the consistent observance of the principles of the United Nations. If the colonialists would do the same, it would be possible to avoid both hot war and cold war, and the principle of peaceful coexistence could gain another great victory.

83. In conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks on the activities of the Committee of Twenty-Four which we have followed with great attention. We think that the Committee is performing a very important task. In accordance with the spirit of the Declaration, it has done much more to put an end to colonialism than any other organ of the United Nations which has ever dealt with that and similar matters.

84. My delegation considers that the General Assembly should confirm the decision which the Committee has taken on the colonial territories. In our opinion, we should again, as in past years, adopt a resolution concerning the general tasks of the Committee. This resolution might state that the continuation of the shameful colonial system, which is still directly affecting some fifty million people, is incompatible with the United Nations Charter and with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; that colonialism in all its forms constitutes serious threat to international peace and security; that the General Assembly vigorously con-

demns the attitude of the colonial Powers which are sabotaging the implementation of the United Nations resolution on the abolition of colonialism; and that special attention should be paid to the activities of foreign mining companies and other international monopolies in colonial territories, since these companies play an important part in perpetuating the colonial system.

85. My delegation further suggests that the General Assembly should call upon the colonial Powers to cease forthwith all military operations against indigenous populations, to withdraw all their armed forces and military missions, to abolish military bases established in colonial territories, to guarantee to the local population the free exercise of their human and civil rights, to repeal immediately all laws and statutes inspired by racial discrimination, to release all political prisoners immediately and to transfer powers to the representatives of the people at once.

86. My delegation considers that the Committee of Twenty-Four should be instructed to follow the situation in the colonial territories closely in the future and, if necessary, to inform the General Assembly and the Security Council of developments. Lastly, the Committee should report to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session on the implementation of the Declaration.

87. After the long period of shameful colonial exploitation, now, in an age when science is making an unprecedented contribution to the welfare of mankind, it is high time to delete colonialism once and for all from the pages of history. In the programme drawn up at the Addis Ababa Conference,^{3/} the Heads of State of thirty-two independent African States expressed their determination that this should be done.

88. Up to the present the United Nations, too, has made an outstanding contribution to the abolition of colonialism. It is the duty of all Member States to make every effort to continue and complete this work, in the spirit of the Declaration. And we can hope to achieve success, especially since the forces of anti-colonialism are increasing from year to year in the United Nations.

89. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to state once again that in their fight against colonialism the newly independent countries can always count on the effective support of the Hungarian people.

Mr. Thors (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

90. Mr. Taieb SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): On 14 December 1960, at its fifteenth session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. This was a decisive turning-point in the history of international relations, confirming the evolution of our century towards the recognition of the supremacy of man and its adherence to the principles of freedom and dignity.

91. This Declaration was a new milestone in world history and crowned the untiring efforts of countries which love peace and freedom and believe in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of all peoples and nations, large and small.

^{3/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

92. The Declaration not only put an end to a long chapter in history, characterized by domination, subjugation and exploitation, but opened up new prospects for an era of co-operation, equality and relaxation of international tension. It gave the peoples who were still dependent a glimmer of hope that they would soon achieve freedom and the recognition of their rights as men.

93. By adopting resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly unanimously condemned colonialism in all its forms, as also any kind of foreign domination. At one stroke, the traditional and erroneous principles on which European expansionism had been based collapsed and the new relationships advocated became more human, since they were henceforth founded on the right of self-determination and on equality and international solidarity.

94. The unanimous adoption of the Declaration showed a universal determination to accept this new order and established the reign of human dignity and justice. The process of decolonization thus begun was therefore to be accelerated; the dependent peoples, anxious yet optimistic, are waiting for the application of the new principles which have been recognized unanimously and unequivocally as being henceforth the corner-stone of international relations.

95. Once those principles had been established, it remained for us to apply them and to rid ourselves of any other doctrine which might be inconsistent with them, thus creating the conditions necessary for the birth of the new order. A Special Committee, originally made up of seventeen members and increased in 1962 to twenty-four members, was set up to promote the implementation of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

96. During the past year, the Special Committee has met without interruption to seek ways and means to facilitate the achievement of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV). The Special Committee has tackled this exciting task with enthusiasm and with an unshakable faith in the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration.

97. It would be pointless for me to speak to you at length about the work of the Special Committee or to draw up a list of its achievements. The exhaustive report before you [A/5446/Rev.1] is explicit. With the Chairman's permission, however, the Tunisian delegation, which has been a member of the Committee since its formation, would like to express its opinion on the amount of work accomplished.

98. I must admit that the results are well below what we had hoped for when resolution 1514 (XV) was unanimously adopted and bear no proportion to the tremendous efforts exerted by the members of the Committee. I shall point out at once that the delay which the Assembly will note in the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence is in no way due to our Committee, for colonialism remains a real force, which our Committee has certainly weakened but which it has not yet been able to neutralize completely.

99. In only three of the territories under colonial administration which the Special Committee has studied has the date for accession to independence been set by the administering Power. Those three are Kenya and Zanzibar, which are to achieve inde-

pendence at the beginning of this month, and Malta, which is to achieve independence in spring 1964.

100. Since the dissolution of the Federation of Central Africa, the hopes of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have yet to be fulfilled; after many delays, the administering Power has still not fixed a date for their accession to independence. The problem of Southern Rhodesia remains untouched, in spite of the force of world opinion. Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are still victims of the hesitation of the administering Power and are subject to the whims of a menacing and over-ambitious neighbour. South West Africa is still burdened by a diffuse and anachronistic mandate, which the Mandatory Power itself continues to contest, for expansionist reasons which are well known. The drama of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the other territories under Portuguese domination cannot be brought to a peaceful conclusion as long as the colonial Power adheres to false political concepts and juridical fictions. In British Guiana a solution is in sight. It is far from perfect but it will lead to the independence of that Territory in the very near future. The independence of Gambia, which has achieved self-government, has been delayed for reasons unrelated to the provisions of the resolution. Gibraltar is still subject to a statute which is more than two centuries old and which only the rule of force can justify. There is no foreseeable end to the exploitation and subjugation of Fernando Póo and Río Muni. Fiji is still under colonial domination, the pretext being disagreement among the different ethnic communities in the territory. Ifni, Melilla, Ceuta, veritable enclaves within Moroccan territory, continue to demand reunion with their mother country. We hope that Spain will finally respond to the call of reason. The same applies to so-called Spanish Sahara. Aden and the territories of South Arabia are still under British domination and it is important that they should accede to independence as soon as possible and should be in a position to decide their future freely.

101. I have spoken only of those colonial territories studied by the Special Committee. There are others that remain under the yoke of colonialism and foreign exploitation. There are many of them and I shall only quote, as examples, those mentioned in the preliminary list drawn up by the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1, annex I], a list which, moreover, is far from complete. The number of these territories amounts to sixty-four and they are shared among the United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, the United States, New Zealand, France and Australia. There are others, not mentioned in the list, that merit all our attention. I shall mention only certain territories in the Arabian Peninsula, such as Oman, Muscat and Hadhramant, as well as so-called French Somalia. The position of these territories is all the more desperate in that we tend to forget them. The inhuman and degrading conditions prevailing there are a negation of human rights.

102. The only object of this enumeration is to enable the Assembly to measure the extent of the work that remains to be done and to assess, in comparison, the results—unhappily, meagre ones—achieved so far. The pace of the decolonizing process is unfortunately slow and millions of men still subject to the shame of foreign domination find no relief from their suffering and despair.

103. The General Assembly, conscious of its responsibilities, adopted the historic resolution 1514 (XV) and entrusted a Special Committee with the implementation of that resolution. Tunisia would be failing in its duty if it did not tell the Assembly how this is proceeding and inform it of the obstacles that the colonial Powers are placing in the way of the implementation of the Declaration. The administering Powers not only refuse to co-operate with the Special Committee but do their utmost, by manoeuvres of all kinds, to discredit the Committee and compromise its work. Not only do they refuse to allow any body set up by the Committee to have access to these territories but they refuse to provide the Committee with complete information on the territories. The refusal of the administering Power to allow the fact-finding missions to enter Aden and British Guiana is one example.

104. This admittedly unimpressive record gives rise to a certain pessimism. Can the Member States which are implicated today consider that the adoption of the Declaration was only a symbolic act? Perhaps the administering Powers thought that by persistently refusing to co-operate with the Special Committee they could manage to make of it a symbolic body incapable of action. Did they think that their passive participation in the work of the Committee would salve their conscience with respect to the peoples under their administration and at the same time secure a reprieve for colonialism and spare them the censure of world opinion? Are they seeking the discredit and discomfiture of the Special Committee in order to convince the subject peoples that they are wrong to place any hope whatsoever in the actions of the United Nations?

105. Colonialism has nothing to gain from these manoeuvres because it is condemned to disappear. Anxious not to offend the administering Powers and desiring to secure their co-operation, the Special Committee has tried to associate them with the work of decolonization. It was entitled to expect loyal and sincere co-operation from them. Unfortunately, the Committee has met with constant, if sometimes veiled, refusals. This unrealistic attitude will not stem the tide of decolonization. Only the means of achieving it will be changed. Let us hope that the General Assembly will be able to recommend new ways of helping the Special Committee—or any other—to ensure the effective implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

106. It is the General Assembly's duty to take strong steps without delay to overcome the reluctance of the colonial Powers and to eliminate colonialism, which continues to cause a great deal of suffering, to sacrifice thousands of human lives, to provoke armed conflicts and to threaten peace and security, not only in isolated regions of the globe but throughout the entire world.

107. At the Addis Ababa Conference the African Heads of State or Government gave serious attention to the problems involved in the decolonization of Africa. Convinced as they were of the necessity of accelerating the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination, they proclaimed that the greatest task still to be accomplished was the final liberation of all Africans still living under the yoke of colonialism.

108. They were unanimous in recognizing that there would be no peace, happiness or rest while other Africans were still languishing in the chains of slavery and they solemnly declared that the occupation of African territory was an insult to their own liberty and a threat to their independence. They pledged themselves to do everything in their power to put an end to foreign occupation in Africa and to help the oppressed peoples to recover their independence and their dignity.

109. In the resolution on decolonization adopted by the Conference, they invited the colonial Powers "to take the necessary measures for the immediate application of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" and insisted "that their determination to maintain colonies or semi-colonies in Africa constitutes a menace to the peace of the continent".

110. If the colonial Powers remain deaf to their appeal, they will not hesitate to use any means to put an end to colonialism in Africa.

111. From this rostrum I appeal to the colonial Powers to realize that this situation, dangerous as it is, leaves room for co-operation. To that end they should base and develop their relations with Africa on the fundamental and sacred principle that all peoples, without exception, have an inalienable right to complete independence, to the exercise of their sovereignty and to the integrity of their national territory. They should understand once and for all that the general movement of peoples towards emancipation is an irreversible and irresistible phenomenon and that any direct or indirect attempt to resist that movement is not only immoral and contrary to the law of nations, but is doomed in advance to certain failure.

112. It is the duty of the Powers that still assume responsibility for the administration of colonial territories to play their part in ensuring the best chances of success for this historic movement, on which the future and the happiness of the whole of humanity depend to so great an extent.

113. It would be a great pity if the selfish desire to preserve certain immediate political or economic advantages and the maintenance of certain methods incompatible with freedom were to aggravate the situation and thus widen the existing gap even further. In addition, such a situation would drive the peoples groaning under the colonial yoke to have recourse to the use of brute force, with all the misery and unhappiness it brings in its train, in order to recover their right to freedom, dignity and independence.

114. I reserve the right to intervene in this debate on other points in the Special Committee's report.

115. Mr. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodia) (translated from French): Now that the General Assembly is about to examine the second 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], the Cambodian delegation, which is a member of that Committee, would like to state its views on the problems of decolonization in general and on the best way to ensure the success of the task undertaken by the United Nations.

116. Decolonization is one of the greatest concerns of our time, along with disarmament and economic

development. It is one of the objectives of the Charter, which affirmed the faith of all peoples in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and recognized the right of peoples to self-determination. Article 73 of the Charter defined the essential rules to be followed by all Member States which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

117. The historic Declaration appearing in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It declares that immediate steps should be taken, in all territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the people of those territories, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire.

118. My delegation has thought it necessary to recall those principles and those rules, which we all adopted, because it has always considered that, as the Secretary-General said the other day, we shall have to reach a solution by the force of arguments rather than by the argument of force. For us decolonization is a necessity and a duty. For us, therefore, it is an objective to be achieved at any cost. It must be the concern of all nations that love peace, justice and freedom. In the matter of international co-operation, we have talked of uniting all our efforts in the struggle against hatred, hunger, sickness, ignorance and poverty. But we must also unite our efforts in the struggle against the deprivation of freedom, against subjugation and against oppression.

119. The Government and the people of Cambodia have not spared and never will spare any effort to help subject peoples to achieve freedom. Both at the Bandung Conference^{4/} and the Belgrade Conference,^{5/} His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, spoke out unequivocally. Having personally led the crusade for independence in his own country, he is imbued with the idea of liberating subject peoples. In one of his recent articles, he wrote: "For the Afro-Asian or Latin American peoples, it is essential to obtain, first and foremost, the freedom of their country". He also spoke of "the magic which is attached to the word independence" and he affirmed that "for colonial peoples, independence comes before everything; everything means democracy, wealth, well-being, and even order and peace".

120. Nevertheless, in face of this determination, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has always advocated moderation, caution and the greatest objectivity. He said, and I quote again:

"Our new strength, a strength which will continue to grow, will be expressed all the better in that it will refuse to allow itself to be carried away by the rancours of a grievous past. That is why I am convinced that our voice will be more impressive and listened to with greater respect if it is raised without hatred and passion."

121. In accordance with this line of conduct, the Cambodian delegation has always refrained, in the course of the Special Committee's work, from harking

back to "a grievous past". In spite of the disappointments occasioned by the attitude of the administering Powers, my delegation has refrained from criticizing those Powers or levelling accusations against them. It has unflinchingly co-operated in the search for the most appropriate ways and means of furthering the speedy and complete implementation of the Declaration in all the territories that have not yet achieved independence.

122. After eight months of almost uninterrupted work, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four now submits to the Assembly the results of its work, concerning twenty-six territories, large and small, with a total population of 37 million and a total area of more than 6 million square kilometres.

123. Before giving an account of that work and presenting the views of my delegation on each of the territories considered, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the Committee's finding. Its report has this to say:

"While taking note of the progress made since then 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." [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter I, para. 45.]

124. It therefore behoves us to examine the reasons for this unwarrantedly slow pace. In my delegation's view the main cause is inadequate, if not complete lack of, co-operation on the part of the administering Powers. Last year the General Assembly noted in its resolution 1810 (XVII) the negative attitude and the deliberate refusal of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee and made a point of requesting those Powers to afford the Special Committee their fullest co-operation.

125. Let us now see what arguments they have advanced for refusing such full co-operation.

126. Some administering Powers have tried to question the competence of the Special Committee, and even of the United Nations, by asserting that the territories which they administer belong to them outright. In resolution 1541 (XV), however, the Assembly of the Member States defined the principles which should guide Members in determining the nature of such Territories; furthermore in specific cases, such as that of the territories under Portuguese administration and that of South West Africa, it has taken a decision each time by a very large majority.

127. Others, while conceding the principle of decolonization, consider that it should be carried out according to their own ideas. In so doing they completely disregard resolution 1514 (XV), which stated that the transfer of powers was to be carried out "without any conditions or reservations" and that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

128. To all of them the intervention of the United Nations in general and of the Special Committee in particular constitutes interference in their domestic affairs. By that reasoning, even the settlement of questions of international peace and security and of disarmament would constitute outside interference.

129. The Special Committee has continually sought the co-operation of the administering Powers. It has made it a rule to invite those Powers to participate in the

^{4/} Asian-African Conference, 18-24 April 1955.

^{5/} Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 1-6 September 1961.

debate on the territories which they administer. In most cases it has suggested the sending of sub-committees to hold detailed talks with the Governments concerned. But some of those Powers have demurred or bluntly refused to co-operate.

130. The second reason lies in the lack of consideration for the decisions which have been taken. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council—the highest organs of the United Nations—are not being implemented. I am aware that ultimately these resolutions are merely recommendations, but it is obvious that recommendations are formulated only to be followed, otherwise there would be no justification for them.

131. There is also the hesitant and somewhat ambiguous attitude of some great Powers. I said that all Member States must unite their efforts to put an end to all foreign domination. At the present stage of our work it is no longer possible to content ourselves with statements of intentions and professions of faith; we need action and clear-cut, resolute positions. Last year the General Assembly invited the Special Committee [resolution 1810 (XVII)] to propose specific measures for the complete application of the Declaration; if the Assembly adopts those measures during the present session, they must be put into effect scrupulously.

132. I should also like to point out that the Special Committee has been confronted with numerous difficulties. You all know that it adopted certain methods and procedures for the discharge of its functions. The General Assembly took note of them with approval [*ibid.*]. In addition to general discussions at the meetings of the Special Committee, these consist of the hearing of petitioners and the dispatch of visiting missions or sub-committees.

133. The Special Committee has received a large number of written communications and it has heard numerous petitioners. I think that it should continue to do so, and in this connexion my delegation is entirely in favour of the freedom and security which must be granted to any petitioner who wishes to come to New York to appear before a United Nations body. The question which was raised in the Fourth Committee some weeks ago should be settled with that object in mind.

134. With reference to visiting missions, the Special Committee's report mentions, *inter alia*, the following:

"The Special Committee wishes to point out that by refusing access to a visiting group of the Special Committee to a Territory coming within the scope of its work, the administering Power concerned is denying it one of the most effective means of carrying out the task assigned to it by the General Assembly, namely the examination of the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples." [A/5446, Rev.1, chap. I, para. 55.]

135. The United Kingdom has stated that a visiting mission in a territory "constitutes an interference in the affairs of that Territory and that it could not share its responsibilities with the United Nations" [*ibid.*, para. 54]. This is a misconception of the United Nations' role in determining the aspirations of peoples. As far as the Sub-Committee on Aden was concerned, it was even claimed that it consisted of persons whose impartiality was open to doubt and

that it constituted a subversive body. But I can assure the Assembly that this Sub-Committee discharged its duties with complete objectivity.

136. In my delegation's view, the administration of a territory by a Government alien to that territory constitutes, for the purposes of decolonization, a mission of trusteeship. Once provision is made for visiting missions in the case of Trust Territories, why cannot such missions be allowed in the case of Territories which come within the competence of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four?

137. The Special Committee also experienced some difficulty in drawing up a complete list of the Territories which it is to consider. Paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV) refers to Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other territories which have not yet attained independence. The Special Committee decided to consider that list at its meetings in 1964 "subject to any further directives which the General Assembly might wish to provide at its eighteenth session" [*ibid.*, para. 47]. My delegation hopes that such directives will indeed be given and that if necessary an *ad hoc* committee may be appointed for that purpose.

138. Lastly, there are the territories for which there have been multiple claims to sovereignty. As a general rule my delegation is in favour of direct negotiations between the parties concerned and it considers that, in the event of failure, conciliation or arbitration commissions would be required.

139. I have referred to the various problems of decolonization. There may be others which will arise owing to the attitude of the administering Powers and their friends or allies. In the Cambodian delegation's view, the rules to be followed in order to achieve a satisfactory solution should be based on the principle that the interests of the peoples of the Territories concerned are paramount, with its corollary, the right of self-determination. We must bow to the will and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples of those territories, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour. It is therefore important for us to bring about the necessary conditions to enable such consultations to take place in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

140. It now remains for me to inform you of the position of my delegation with reference to the various Territories which were considered by the Special Committee in 1963.

141. First, I should like to express our hope and our joy that the following Territories will shortly attain independence: Kenya on 12 December 1963, Zanzibar immediately after, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the beginning of 1964 and Malta on 31 May 1964.

142. We rejoice now that those countries will soon join the great community of free and sovereign States. We should also like to congratulate the United Kingdom, the administering Power, because that Power has finally managed to complete its task of decolonization in those territories.

143. In the case of Gibraltar and the territories administered by Spain, the Special Committee will resume its consideration of them next year. Some negotiations are still necessary and it is therefore premature to judge this issue.

144. With regard to Fiji, Gambia and the High Commission Territories—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—the Special Committee requested the administering Power to take certain steps in order to speed up the process of decolonization. We hope that the necessary efforts will be made towards that end, and we shall reconsider the situation in the coming months.

145. The Cambodian delegation would now like to deal at greater length with the other Territories considered.

146. The questions of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration have been debated at length by the Fourth Committee in the course of the last two months. The Cambodian delegation has stated its attitude on each one clearly.

147. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, whose people are fully entitled to self-determination and independence, it is a matter of bringing about the conditions in which all the inhabitants without distinction as to race, colour, education and wealth, will be able to decide freely the future of their country. Without such a preliminary referendum, it is not fair to transfer powers to a Government which in fact represents only a white minority of the population of the Territory. The dissolution of the Central African Federation, which was decided upon at Victoria Falls, is a good thing in itself, for an association must never be maintained against the wishes of the peoples concerned, but the consequences of that dissolution should be considered in the context of self-determination for the Zimbabwe people.

148. In the case of South West Africa, decolonization is all the more urgent in that the situation in that Territory is aggravated by the policy of apartheid which has always been practised there and by attempts to annex some or all of the country. At the present stage of the question—which has been before us for seventeen years—we feel that we should add weight to our arguments by adopting suitable measures of coercion. The Cambodian Government, for its part, has already made the necessary arrangements.

149. As far as the Territories under Portuguese administration are concerned, they are now a matter for the Security Council, to which this question will be submitted. The situation is serious, it is disturbing peace and security in Africa and, by extension, it constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Portugal's attitude gives no ground for hope. The United Nations, and with it the Security Council, are now fully aware of their responsibilities.

150. We feel very concerned about the situation in British Guiana. Here we have a Territory which should have been independent two years ago. The principle has been conceded by the administering Power, and elections on the basis of universal suffrage have been held in all regularity. We do not think that the existence of an opposition, however strong it may be, can be regarded as an obstacle to the granting of independence to the Territory. The Cambodian delegation would of course welcome the possibility of an agreement or a compromise between the two main parties in British Guiana, and consequently it is in favour of the action of the good-offices Sub-Committee set up by the Special Committee.

151. I should now like to speak about the question of Aden and the Aden Protectorates, on account of

which the Special Committee decided to send a Sub-Committee to the Territories concerned. This Sub-Committee, whose terms of reference are to ascertain the views of the population and to hold talks with the administering Power, was not able to go to Aden and the Aden Protectorates and was not even able to have talks with the United Kingdom Government. Having been authorized by the Special Committee to visit neighbouring countries if necessary the Sub-Committee went to obtain information from all persons from the Territories concerned, in the United Arab Republic, in Yemen, in Saudi Arabia and in Iraq. It discharged its duties with complete objectivity and faithfully reported what it saw and heard.

152. The recommendations which the Sub-Committee on Aden submitted to the Special Committee and which the latter adopted [see A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 478] are based on the following principles, which have been generally agreed upon: first, the recognition of the right of the people of the Territory of Aden and of the Aden Protectorates to self-determination and independence; second, the need to give the people of those territories an early opportunity to decide their future. The Cambodian delegation wishes to state that it firmly supports the measures which have been recommended and proposes that they should be adopted by the General Assembly.

153. To conclude my statement, I have still to speak about the future work of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

154. My delegation considers that we still have a tremendous task to accomplish. The Special Committee could carry it through successfully if the requisite conditions which I have mentioned are achieved and if the procedural methods adopted can be fully applied.

155. With regard to the action which might be undertaken in the coming year, and which relates mainly to the small territories, I fully endorse the views and suggestions of Mr. Coulibaly, the Chairman of our Special Committee, but I also feel that the quest for solutions to the problems of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration should be left to the Security Council or to a special session of the General Assembly.

156. Furthermore, my delegation considers that the membership of the Special Committee, whether changed or not, should remain at twenty-four, for an increase in the number could be prejudicial to the acceleration of its work. My delegation also considers that it is not yet possible to fix a final date by which all colonial countries and peoples shall be independent. We could hope, however, that the date might coincide with the twentieth anniversary of our Organization.

157. In conclusion, I should like once again to quote His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who said, "My thoughts go out to all those throughout the world who are shedding their blood for their freedom and independence. To them I wish to express our complete solidarity and our conviction that the day is not far off when we shall have the joy of welcoming them among us".

Organization of work

158. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before I adjourn the meeting, I should like to remind

representatives that, as announced earlier, the list of speakers on the item we are considering, item 23, will be closed at 6 p.m. today.

159. The next plenary meeting of the General Assembly will be held tomorrow morning, to consider agenda item 32. As soon as the consideration of this item is concluded, we shall resume the general debate

on item 23. Tomorrow, Tuesday afternoon, we shall have another plenary meeting, at which we shall continue the general debate on item 23 and next Wednesday there will be three plenary meetings—a morning, afternoon and night—in order to conclude the general debate on item 23.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.