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CONTENTS

Agenda item 32:

Report of the Commissioner-General of the
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for
Palestine Refugees in the Near East
Report of the Special Political Committee. . .

Page

1

Agenda item 23:

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

4

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 32

Report of the Commissioner-General of the United
Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine
Refugees in the Near East

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/5624)

1. Mrs. ACHARD (Dahomey) [Rapporteur of the
Special Political Committee] (translated from French):
I have the honour to present to the General Assembly
the report of the Special Political Committee on the
debate concerning agenda item 32 entitled "Report of
the Commissioner-General of the United Nations
Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in
the Near East".

2. This year the Committee devoted nineteen meet-
ings to consideration of this very old problem. During
the general debate the Committee heard thirty-three
different delegations as well as the Commissioner-
General of UNRWA and, at the request of thirteen
representatives of Arab States, Mr. Ahmed Shukairy,
who spoke on behalf of the Palestine Arab group men-
tioned by the representatives of the Arab States in
their request.

3. The Committee considered three draft resolutions
on this agenda item. The first [A/5624, para. 6] was
submitted jointly by Afghanistan, Indonesia and
Pakistan. The second, submitted by the United States,
was subsequently revised [*ibid.*, paras. 7 and 10]. The
third [*ibid.*, para. 9] was submitted jointly by eighteen
countries.

4. The Committee decided, without objection, to give
priority to the revised United States draft which, when
put to the vote, was adopted as a whole by 83 votes to 1,
with 12 abstentions. The sponsors of the other two draft
resolutions did not press for a vote on their respective
texts.

5. The Special Political Committee therefore recom-
mends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft
resolution of the Special Political Committee. [A/5624,
para. 14].

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was
decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political
Committee.*

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): State-
ments will be confined to explanations of vote in con-
nexion with the draft resolution recommended by the
Special Political Committee in its report (A/5624,
para. 14).

7. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My Government has care-
fully pondered the debate on the Arab refugee problem
in the Special Political Committee [A/5624] and has
drawn certain inevitable conclusions from it. That de-
bate has not helped to resolve the issues, but it may
have helped to clarify them. As the fog of rhetoric has
cleared, there have emerged two mutually exclusive
concepts of the nature of the problem and the kind of
solution which should be sought to it.

8. Israel sees this as a human problem resulting
from political and military events of fifteen years
ago, the responsibility for which was clearly estab-
lished at the time in the records of the United Nations.
Israel has been, and is, willing to co-operate in an
over-all settlement of this problem agreed to between
the host countries and itself. We believe that Israel
shares this basic approach with all peace-loving
Member States.

9. On the other hand, Arab delegations insist that the
refugees reject Israel's statehood, and that they must
return in order to overthrow that statehood, with the
help of the rest of the Arab world. When the Foreign
Minister of an important Arab country speaks from
this rostrum of a so-called "Algerian solution" to the
problem, what he means may perhaps be seen from a
despatch from Cairo, in The New York Times of
2 November 1963, which was headed "United Arab
Republic Plans to Draft a Palestinian Army". The
despatch starts:

"Lt. General Youssef Agrudy, Governor of the
Gaza Strip, proclaimed today a law for compulsory
conscription to be issued shortly for the 'estab-
lishment of a Palestinian army'."

The report then quotes what it calls "reliable sources"
to the effect that the aim is to prepare for guerrilla
operations against Israel which would be assisted by
the Arab countries without their getting directly in-
volved. One might ask whether these guerrilla units
are to operate under banners on which is inscribed
the slogan "In implementation of paragraph 11". In
any event, such a doctrine of "conquest by repatria-
tion" cannot be reconciled with the United Nations
Charter or the needs of peace.

10. The unbridgeable gulf between these two concepts is reflected in the argument over the meaning of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III). That paragraph, torn from its setting, has undergone an irrational transformation in the Arab mind. It has become a mystic symbol for the contention that Israel does not belong to the Israelis, and must be wiped off the map of the Middle East. It goes without saying that the United Nations has never accepted, and could never accept, this travesty of one of its own resolutions—least of all, the very same resolution which demands of the Arab States to negotiate a full and final settlement with Israel. But it is a sorry fact that the Arabs hail paragraph 11 as a denial of the sovereignty of a United Nations Member State and as a licence for belligerency.

11. Under these circumstances, the Arab States have left no room for serious and realistic discussion. That is why my delegation feels compelled, as in the Special Political Committee [see A/5624, para. 11], to vote against operative paragraph 4 of the United States draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 14] renewing the mandate of the Conciliation Commission in a way which would tie it once more to paragraph 11. That mandate was bestowed on the Commission four years ago against Israel's opposition, and it has since then been proved incapable of fulfilment. Because of the central position of operative paragraph 4 in the present text, we shall again vote against the draft resolution as a whole. I would reaffirm that such a vote does not imply any lack of support for those paragraphs in the draft resolution which concern UNRWA, or for the humanitarian aspects of the problem.

12. This issue goes much deeper than a text or a mandate. It is rooted in the Arab refusal to come to terms with Israel in general, and on the refugee question in particular. While this stalemate is maintained, Israel can do no more than it has already done to help to solve the problem. We certainly cannot co-operate in bringing our statehood into question or in undermining the safety of our realm.

13. One day, we hope, Arab statesmen will have the civic courage to lead their people into the path of peaceful coexistence, instead of stirring up ideas of hatred and bloodshed in their minds. When that happens, Israel may be enabled to give fresh thought to the contribution which it might make to this humanitarian problem, within the framework of a final and agreed solution to it, and subject to its sovereignty, its national security and its economic capacity.

14. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to put on record its feeling of deep respect for those Governments which have now for three successive Assembly sessions submitted draft resolutions appealing to Israel and the Arab Governments concerned to settle their differences at the conference table, and to the many other Governments which supported these initiatives. At the present session, this appeal for direct negotiation was renewed with regard to the Arab refugee problem alone, but it was rejected by Arab spokesmen in the same fierce and uncompromising spirit as was encountered by the previous proposals.

15. Let us bear in mind that none of these other countries has any direct involvement in the Arab-Israel dispute, and all of them are friendly to both sides in that dispute—facts that lend great moral force to an appeal which is entirely in accordance with the tenets of the Charter and the spirit of our

times. We are convinced that their approach will continue to gain ground as the sensible way to overcome the present deadlock, to deflect the threat of war, and to secure peaceful and productive lives for the refugees, who should remain the object of our compassion and concern.

16. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): I come to the rostrum to explain my vote in accordance with your directive, Mr. President, and not to follow the line taken by the Israel representative in the intervention which he has just made. The substance of the issue before us could be found in the extensive debate which took place in the Special Political Committee. In that debate the right answers were given to the misleading statements of the Israel spokesman.

17. My delegation voted in the Special Political Committee in favour of the draft resolution contained in the report [A/5624, para. 14] submitted for the approval of the Assembly. At this stage also we shall give this draft resolution of the Committee the same affirmative vote. We do so because the draft resolution reaffirms in explicit language the legitimate rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine to repatriation and compensation, as stated in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 and in subsequent resolutions on the question.

18. The present draft resolution calls on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to continue its efforts for the implementation of these Arab rights. Besides this, it does not derogate from the rights of the Arab refugees to their own properties in the Israel-occupied territory of Palestine, nor does it derogate from the duty of the Conciliation Commission to protect the properties, property rights and interests of the Palestine refugees, as stated in operative paragraph 2 (c) of resolution 394 (V) of 14 December 1950.

19. To the satisfaction of my delegation, the draft resolution submitted to us today was approved in the Special Political Committee by 83 votes in favour to 1 vote against—the vote of Israel. My delegation recognizes that Israel's defiance of the successive pronouncements of the General Assembly calls for more effective measures by the United Nations to curb it. Similarly, the rights of the Arabs of Palestine require more adequate decisions to secure their full and immediate implementation. We therefore hope that, in the near future, the General Assembly will seriously consider taking such necessary steps.

20. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation fully supports the draft resolution which was adopted in the Special Political Committee [A/5624, para. 14] and will vote for it. We consider it to be a good compromise draft within the principles of the Charter. It is in fact almost identical to the resolution [1856 (XVII)] that was nearly unanimously adopted at the last session which had then become a compromise resolution by virtue of the amendment proposed and introduced by Cyprus in adding the third preambular paragraph to that resolution, and my delegation is gratified to note that it has been incorporated as the same third preambular paragraph in this year's draft resolution as presented to the Special Political Committee, originally presented by the United States delegation.

21. My delegation is also gratified to see that there has been no objection on the part of Israel with regard

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 31, document A/5387, paras. 10 and 14.

to that part of the draft resolution which has been the consequence of last year's amendment by Cyprus. The objection I noted is with regard to operative paragraph 4. We believe that any resolution which is adopted by the General Assembly must be a resolution which is consistent with the principles of the Charter. This draft resolution and operative paragraph 4 are consistent with the principles of the Charter and consistent with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly. Furthermore, we note that in paragraph 4 there is this year a call to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine to continue its efforts for implementation. As we said last year, the request which was made to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine and the thanks that were produced were in consideration of the expectation that results would have been achieved. In view of the fact that no results have been achieved, it is only proper that now there should be a more direct call on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to continue its efforts. For what else could it continue its efforts than for the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III). Thus we feel we must fully support and vote for the resolution.

22. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): The report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East was carefully studied and a long debate took place on this question in the Special Political Committee. Everything that could be said on the substance of the problem has therefore already been said and I do not wish to reopen the question as a whole. I wish to state, however, that my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution [A/5624, para. 14] which is now submitted to the General Assembly for adoption because my delegation feels that this draft resolution does not depart from the provision of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. This paragraph constitutes the crux of the problem for the Arabs of Palestine; it must be regarded as the basis of their rights and as constituting an obligation for the United Nations.

23. Thus, when paragraph 4 of the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation was amended in this sense [*ibid.*, para. 10], that is to say in favour of the maintenance in force of the provisions of paragraph 11 in question, my delegation, like other delegations, had no difficulty in approving paragraph 4 and voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole. The motives which prompted my delegation to adopt this attitude in the Special Political Committee remain valid. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted to us today in the report of the Special Political Committee.

24. I should like briefly to refute the arguments just advanced in this connexion by the representative of the Israel authorities.

25. He stated that his delegation had not voted in favour of paragraph 4 and was not prepared to do so. We know that the delegation of Israel voted against paragraph 4, but in so doing it isolated itself completely, for there was only one negative vote, that of Israel. The representative of the Israel authorities also said that in his opinion the problem of the refugees was a humanitarian question. This idea bears no relation to reality and my delegation cannot agree that the return of the Arab refugees of Palestine to their native land and to their homes can ever be regarded as a humanitarian question. In our opinion the question is one of law.

26. Palestine was taken over by a minority which subsequently called itself the State of Israel. The Arabs, who formed the majority in that country and today are exiled from their native land, must return to their homes. That is why we feel that the question of the Palestine refugees is not simply a humanitarian problem: it is essentially a legal one: the problem of a people's right to return to its home. All the arguments advanced by the representative of Israel in this connexion will never convince us and we believe that in adopting the draft resolution the General Assembly will have held that the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 are fully maintained.

27. It was the General Assembly which adopted those provisions in 1948 and it is the Assembly's duty to see that these provisions are maintained and are fully and completely implemented.

28. Without entering into the substance of the problem, I wish to refute the arguments of the delegation of Israel in this connexion and to state there can be no interpretation of the provisions of paragraph 11 other than that given by the Special Political Committee, which, I am sure, will be given also by the General Assembly itself. There can be no dynamic or evolutive interpretation of the resolution of 11 December 1948 on the Palestine question or of the return to their home of the Palestine refugees; these refugees must return home. It cannot now be argued that because the State of Israel has been established the matter must be considered anew and the question treated as non-existent, or else transformed or modified. The General Assembly will have been able to judge from the statements made by the representative of Israel to what extent Israel respects the provisions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Let those concerned therefore take note!

29. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): All the speakers who asked to explain their votes before the vote on the draft resolution have now spoken. We shall proceed immediately to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report (A/5624, para. 14).

30. The Secretary-General has informed me that in carrying out this draft resolution the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine may incur some at present unforeseen expenses. The Secretary-General proposes that, if the Commission does incur such expenses, they shall be met in accordance with paragraph 1 of the resolution (1985 (XVIII)) on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1964.

31. With that clarification, we shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution. Under rule 91 of the rules of procedure, the representative of Israel has requested a separate vote on operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. If I hear no objection we shall first take a separate vote on paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Paraguay, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Philippines, Portugal, Togo, Upper Volta, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Nepal, Nigeria.

Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution was adopted by 79 votes to 1, with 18 abstentions.

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the whole of the draft resolution appearing in the report of the Special Political Committee (A/5624, para. 14).

The draft resolution was adopted by 82 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

33. Mr. PUREVJAL (Mongolia) (translated from French): The General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted at its fifteenth session resolution 1514 (XV) entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". This declaration, as a programme for the immediate future, has become a basic document of the United Nations and a source of inspiration for oppressed peoples in their struggle for freedom and national independence. The question of the immediate implementation of this historic Declaration continues to be one of the vital issues before the United Nations. The vile colonial system in all its forms and manifestations must be eliminated from this globe once and for all.

34. With the support of the socialist countries and of peoples throughout the world, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples is constantly winning new victories and causing the disintegration of the colonial system.

35. The Mongolian delegation is glad to note that, since the adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly, the struggle of the peoples to end colonialism has won a series of successes in many countries. During this period, the long and heroic struggle of the Algerian people was crowned by an outstanding victory over the colonialists. National independence has been attained by a number of countries such as Tanganyika, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and others. The Republic of Indonesia has succeeded in freeing an integral part of its national territory, West Irian, from the foreign

colonialist yoke. The long and persistent struggle of the people of Kenya has scored a great success and, as a result, that country will become independent in a few days' time.

36. However, we must note with regret that the colonial Powers, despite the Declaration and the resolutions of the General Assembly, are obstinately endeavouring to maintain their colonial rule over the dependent countries and refuse on various pretexts to grant these countries independence. For this reason, even today, more than fifty million human beings are still suffering under the colonial yoke in sixty countries and territories of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America.

37. The colonial policy of the Portuguese Government provides the most striking example of the way in which the implementation of the Declaration and the resolutions of the General Assembly can be sabotaged. The Portuguese colonialists, strengthened by the powerful support of their NATO allies, obstinately maintain 12 million human beings in slavery in Africa, by using the most cruel repressive methods against the freedom-hungry peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other colonies. The peoples of the Portuguese colonies no longer wish to live in a state of slavery and resolutely demand freedom and national independence.

38. This is strikingly illustrated by the heroic struggle for liberty which the people of Angola have already been waging for several years. The punitive expeditions, the atrocities, the mass extermination of peaceful population, all these crimes committed by the agents of Salazar in Angola arouse the anger and indignation of decent people throughout the world. The war imposed by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola is costing thousands of Angolese lives. According to testimony by petitioners, more than 50,000 inhabitants of Angolan towns and villages recently lost their lives as a result of the systematic bombings carried out by the Portuguese air force. Salazar's forces are committing in Angola the most monstrous crimes against humanity. The same situation prevails in so-called Portuguese Guinea. There too the population is engaged in a dedicated struggle for its freedom and national independence.

39. The appeals of the United Nations, notwithstanding, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other members of NATO fully support the Portuguese Government in its colonial policy and are steadily supplying that Government with arms and munitions.

40. At the meetings of the Security Council last July, the representatives of the African States strongly denounced the atrocities of the Portuguese colonialists and demanded for the Security Council the right to take effective measures with respect to Portugal. In doing so, they emphasized the crucial role played by Portugal's allies in that country's colonization programme. In statements made during the general debate in the Assembly, several delegations also brought out the fact that Portugal would not be in a position to wage a colonialist war in Africa were it not for the support of the NATO countries. Spain is openly giving political support to Portugal. Furthermore, according to Press reports, Salazar, Verwoerd and Roy Welensky have formed an alliance against the national liberation movement of the peoples of Africa.

41. The provocative attitude of the Salazar Government which holds United Nations decisions in contempt and systematically refuses to comply with them is incompatible with membership in an international Organization that has proclaimed the right of all peoples to self-determination. My delegation believes that the United Nations has no other choice than to employ the strongest measures to compel Portugal to implement the General Assembly's Declaration on decolonization as it applies to Portuguese colonies. The Western Powers must end immediately all the material and moral aid such as they have been lending Portugal until now for the conduct of its colonialist war.

42. A considerable number of countries in different parts of the world are still under British colonial administration. Thus, the peoples of the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Swaziland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Gambia, to mention only the African territories, have still not obtained national independence. The peoples of Southern Arabia and of several islands in different parts of the world are still under British colonial rule. The granting of independence to Guiana is being deliberately postponed by the United Kingdom.

43. On 17 June 1963, Mr. Cheddi Jagan, Prime Minister of Guyana, sent the Committee of Twenty-Four a cable in which he openly accused American and British petroleum, sugar and shipping companies of attempting to overthrow his Government by fomenting discord among the country's political parties.

44. Although the United Kingdom Government has been obliged to dissolve the colonial Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is still not clear when that Government will grant independence to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation supports the resolution on the immediate granting of independence to these two Territories, which was adopted by the Committee of Twenty-Four on 27 July 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VIII, para. 184].

45. The United Kingdom Government has so far refused to accede to the legitimate demands of the people of Southern Rhodesia where the racist and reactionary régime of the white settlers holds sway. Ignoring the General Assembly resolutions on the question, the United Kingdom Government refuses to take any step to bring about the abrogation of Southern Rhodesia's racist Constitution of 1961 and the drafting of a new constitution in which the rights of the indigenous African population would be guaranteed.

46. The United Kingdom Government has gone so far as to deny that the General Assembly is competent to consider this problem; and there is even the possibility that Winston Field's racist Government may insist upon independence without any modification of the existing régime, that is, with a group of white settlers still exercising absolute control over 3 million indigenous African inhabitants. Both the régime in Southern Rhodesia and the Verwoerd régime have been setup as bastions of colonialism in Africa, in order to exploit the inexhaustible resources of the continent which attract the Western Power monopolies.

47. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has become threatening. With the United Kingdom attempting to transfer all powers and the armed forces to the Government of Winston Field, a real danger arises. This danger is the possible emergence of a racist State on the pattern of the Republic of South Africa,

in which the Africans, who form the absolute majority of the population, would become subject to oppression and racial discrimination.

48. The General Assembly, having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its present session, has denounced the policy of the United Kingdom Government with regard to Southern Rhodesia and has adopted two resolutions aimed at satisfying the legitimate aspirations and demands of the African population of Southern Rhodesia [1883 (XVIII) and 1889 (XVIII)]. The Members of the United Nations and the peoples of the entire world are waiting for the United Kingdom Government to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly and the latter has decided to keep the question open for discussion throughout the present session.

49. The policy of the South African Government arouses profound indignation in all freedom-loving peoples. In the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa the indigenous peoples groan under the cruel oppression of the racist Verwoerd régime which has the full support of the Western Powers. The Government of South Africa stubbornly maintains its policy of annexation with respect to South West Africa. Not only does the South African Government refuse to implement the various General Assembly resolutions on South West Africa, it even denies that the United Nations is competent to deal with that Territory. The racist South African régime whose policy and activities are in open conflict with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, has become a serious threat to international peace and security.

50. According to the list drawn up by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [A/5446/Rev.1, annex I], among the colonial Powers administering Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories are such Powers as the United States of America, France and Spain. The United States has transformed into military bases the Pacific Islands which were entrusted to it. The French colonialists have employed savage measures of repression in order to maintain their rule over the people of Somaliland under French administration. Spain still maintains its colonial rule over several African territories.

51. The facts I have just mentioned clearly show that the colonial Powers are sabotaging the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and are trying to maintain old-style colonialism where it is still in existence. At the same time, they are trying to revive colonialism in more subtle and disguised forms in other countries. This neo-colonialism is essentially the same as the colonialism of the past. In other words, it is a system of oppression, exploitation and domination of peoples.

52. The primary aim of neo-colonialism is to perpetuate the economic dependence of the underdeveloped countries. The most active champions of this policy are the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany, which, under the cloak of "economic aid", are increasingly interfering in the economy of the younger States. In carrying out the policy of neo-colonialism all sorts of methods are employed, including interference in the affairs of other States, the imposition of military agreements, the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, economic servitude and the formation of colonial federations. The policy of the United States Govern-

ment with regard to South Korea and South Viet-Nam is a remarkable example of how neo-colonialism can be applied through the use of armed force and direct intervention in the affairs of other countries. During the present session, representatives of certain Western Powers have sought to blackmail the under-developed countries which were critical of neo-colonialism, by threatening to cut off their investments, which amounts to a form of pressure. In order to carry decolonization to a successful conclusion, we must intensify our struggle against this evil, we must strengthen the political and economic independence of the young, recently liberated States.

53. The freedom-loving nations cannot accept the attitude of the colonial Powers which are evading implementation of the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; nor can they tolerate the attempts of those Powers to preserve the last vestiges of colonialism in various parts of the world. For, as Mr. Sori Coulibaly, the representative of Mali, declared in a statement made during the present session of the General Assembly:

"... the colonial system is a threat to international peace and security. It is a denial of the basic principles of the Charter, namely, respect for human dignity and the self-determination of peoples. It is also an act of violence, since the administering Power and the ruling foreign minority can maintain their domination over an oppressed people only by the use of force." [1231st meeting, para. 108.]

54. Under the terms of the General Assembly Declaration, there can be no valid reason or motive for denying or postponing independence for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is a well-known fact, however, that the tactics employed by the Western Powers to delay the process of decolonization are obviously dictated by the selfish interests of their monopolies. Such a policy is in flagrant violation of the General Assembly's Declaration.

55. Our delegation's position on the question of decolonization has already been defined by our Minister for Foreign Affairs in the statement which he made in the General Assembly on 1 October 1963 [1223rd meeting], and in other statements by members of our delegation during the debate on the practical aspects of decolonization.

56. The Mongolian People's Republic, recognizing and respecting the right of all people to self-determination, has consistently spoken out in favour of implementing the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism without further delay. Clear evidence of Mongolia's position has been provided by our active participation in the people's anti-colonialist movement and, in particular, in the movement for solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples.

57. The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the decisions which were taken on the immediate liquidation of colonialism in Africa at the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments held at Addis Ababa in May 1963. The independent African States rightly demand that the United Nations should take decisive steps to accelerate the complete liberation of Africa from foreign rule. In this connexion, my delegation endorses the programme presented by Mr. Louis Lansana Beavogui, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea, in the statement which he made at the present session of the General Assembly [1220th meeting].

58. In pursuing the tasks entrusted to it, the Special Committee established by the General Assembly has produced positive and important results in spite of resistance by representatives of the colonial Powers. It has conducted broad investigations and exhaustive studies of the situation in a number of colonial countries. The Committee's report [A/5446/Rev.1], submitted for consideration at the present session of the General Assembly, contains important material revealing the colonialists' designs and presents useful conclusions and recommendations for expediting the implementation of the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism.

59. We believe that the recommendations of the Special Committee should be reflected in General Assembly resolutions. We feel that at the present session, the General Assembly should seriously consider the question of the obstinate and deliberate failure of the colonial Powers to implement the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism—in which the primary culprits have been Portugal and South Africa—as well as the question of their protectors. The Assembly should take bold decisions providing for practical measures to force the colonialists to implement the provisions of the Declaration. In order to obtain these objectives, it is of prime importance that a target date be set for the complete liquidation of colonialism throughout the entire world, as has been proposed on a number of occasions by certain Members of the United Nations. In this connexion, my delegation warmly welcomes the idea, advanced by a number of delegations, of aiming for complete world-wide liquidation of the infamous colonialist régime in time for the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations.

60. The Mongolian delegation considers it necessary for the General Assembly to adopt at its present session a resolution containing specific recommendations designed to expedite the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is important that the General Assembly, in approving the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, should authorize the Committee to continue its work with a view to securing the complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

61. In view of the negative influence exerted by the capitalist monopolies which have interests in the colonial countries, and their attitude towards the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, it is essential for the General Assembly to recommend that the Special Committee of Twenty-Four study the harmful influence of certain international companies on the implementation of the Declaration, and that it report to the General Assembly on the matter.

62. It is also imperative that the General Assembly's resolutions should recommend practical measures to be taken by the Administering Powers so that colonial countries may be granted independence. The following initial measures are called for: immediate cessation of all military action and repressive measures directed against peoples engaged in the fight for freedom and independence; immediate withdrawal of all armed forces of the Administering Powers; granting to colonial peoples the opportunity to exercise all democratic rights and freedoms; free general elections for the purpose of establishing representative bodies and transfer of power to such bodies.

63. My delegation is confident that the decisions taken at the present session of the General Assembly will

mark a great step forward in the direction of rapid liquidation of the colonial system whose existence is incompatible with the supreme objectives of the United Nations.

64. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): The Declaration on colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)] has become so much a part of the fabric of the United Nations and of our everyday work that it is hard to believe that only three years have passed since it was adopted. In those three short years fifteen countries, many of them in Africa, have acceded to independence. But the revolutionary character of the Declaration does not lie in this achievement, important though it is. It lies more truly perhaps in the procession still unrolling; in the steady march of territories still dependent towards the goals laid down by the Declaration.

65. The process of decolonization did not start with the Declaration. Indeed, it is probably true that a greater number of countries became independent before 1960 than ever can after that date. The Declaration's great achievement is that it codified and stamped with the seal of the world community the principles under which all territories must freely exercise their self-determination. The framework of decolonization has been set. Henceforth all countries are bound by those principles, even the one or two delinquent Administering Powers who do not acknowledge them. Henceforth all dependent territories will, indeed must, evolve along the lines fixed by the Assembly in 1960.

66. If we pause in this debate to look back over what has been achieved, we look forward even more to what must still be done. The principles have been laid down. The task now is to find the best means of applying these principles to the actual colonial situations which remain. It is this task, I would suggest, which is the subject of the present debate.

67. We are dealing with what are frequently called the remnants of colonialism. What are these remnants of colonialism? They are certainly not insignificant. They include the large and populous territories of southern Africa, whose complex and peculiarly difficult problems have been the subject of separate debates in this Assembly. They also include a very large number of small and sparsely populated territories. Indeed, leaving aside southern Africa, the principal impression left by a survey of the remaining dependent territories is one of diversity and relative smallness. Some may be embryo nation States, for whom the overcoming of political problems opens up the classic progression to independence. Others may seek independence by association among themselves, as with some of the islands of the West Indies; others, like the North Borneo States of Malaysia, through integration with another State.

68. But for many of these smaller territories no such clear-cut solution exists. For them a range of possibilities exists which has yet to be explored. Many of them are islands whose populations vary from a few hundreds to a few thousands. On this scale, economic viability may be scarcely attainable and political viability itself raises important considerations. It is a question of practical arrangements, not of principle. The principles of the Declaration and of the Charter apply to small islands as much as to the larger and more populous territories. The right to self-determination does not diminish with acreage, nor can political responsibility be measured by the census rolls. The task is to ensure the exercise of these rights

and responsibilities in situations far smaller in scale than any which have hitherto faced us. Supposing an island, exercising its full freedom of self-determination, does not choose independence. Is the United Nations sympathy to be extinguished? Is the United Nations to declare itself uninterested in territories so small in acreage and population as to rule out separate independence?

69. The answers are surely obvious. And yet the challenge remains. The representative of Chile has in a thoughtful speech [1267th meeting] urged the United Nations to meet this challenge by making a practical study of the problems confronting small territories. The need for such studies can hardly be disputed. They cannot be of merely academic interest to anyone interested in applying the universal principles of this Organization to the great diversity of territories which remain. Still less can they be academic for the countries which have administrative responsibilities for smaller territories. As one such country, New Zealand has for several years been giving careful thought to these questions.

70. New Zealand is at present responsible for the administration of nineteen such small islands in the South Pacific. These nineteen islands are spread over a million square miles of ocean to the north of New Zealand itself. Their total population is 25,000, varying from 8,000 on the largest island to only a few hundred on several of the smaller. The people are Polynesian, as are many New Zealanders. The historical and family ties which have long existed between these islands and New Zealand have acquired a new meaning as many of the islanders, who are New Zealand citizens, have migrated to, and settled in, New Zealand itself. Some of the islands are mere atolls which will support little more than their present populations; others are larger and have a small potential for agricultural development and light industry which large financial subsidies from New Zealand are gradually helping to realize. None of the islands possesses mineral or any resources other than the sea and the soil.

71. This scattered group of islands is now approaching a crossroads in its destiny. In voting for the Declaration on colonialism three years ago, New Zealand intended that the principles embodied therein should be extended as quickly as possible to these islands. For the last year or so the islands' representatives, assisted by various constitutional experts, have been discussing and preparing for the exercise of their right to self-determination. To determine one's future at a single moment in history is by its nature a solemn choice, made more solemn for the Cook and Niue islanders by their isolation and small size. They are conscious of its importance to them and determined by care to make the widest choice open to them.

72. If it is to be a genuine expression of the people's will, a meaningful act of free choice, self-determination demands careful preparation. The main prerequisite is political progress—progress to the point where the local government and administration are entirely in local hands. This progress, which began many years ago in the Cook and Niue Islands, is now far advanced. The legislatures, which are democratically elected, contain neither reserved seats nor weighted franchises. They possess unfettered powers of appropriation, including appropriation of that very large portion of their budget which is contributed as a grant-in-aid by New Zealand. The few

remaining restrictions on their powers of legislation are being progressively removed. The legislative assemblies already exercise a supervisory power over the administration through Executive Committees elected from among their members. By 1965 control of the civil service will be in local hands and in that year it is intended to inaugurate full cabinet government in the Cook Islands. This will in fact complete the structure of self-government: a premier and his ministers solely responsible for the good government of these islands and accountable only to the Assembly which chose them.

73. The next step after self-government is, naturally enough, self-determination. Even as they are immersed in hammering out the details of political advance, the elected leaders and the people they represent have been discussing and pondering the future of their islands. Last year the Legislative Assemblies considered four alternatives open to them: independence, integration with New Zealand, federation with other Pacific Islands, or full self-government together with a voluntary association with New Zealand. By a unanimous vote they decided that constitutional planning should be directed towards the goal of an autonomous association with New Zealand, freely chosen and freely maintained.

74. This was not a binding decision, but a basis for planning. As such, it has been accepted by New Zealand. But the formal act of self-determination will require more: it will require re-examination of these alternatives by all the inhabitants of the islands, and a clear confirmation of their will. This, in turn, is necessarily of concern to the world community. In accordance with the Declaration, therefore, the United Nations will be invited to examine the issues and to satisfy itself that the choice is freely made.

75. I have spent some considerable time outlining the progress towards self-determination of these smallest of dependent territories. In doing so, I have endeavoured to describe how the solution being evolved is a pragmatic one, based on the desires of the people themselves, and being hammered out by their elected representatives. It is experimental, and the plan of advance is from time to time modified or adapted in the light of experience. What is emerging, the islanders feel, is a solution tailored to their own unique needs, but embodying universal principles of self-determination. But the reason I have dwelt so long on these territories is none of these things. It is to underline the point that an attempt to translate the Declaration on colonialism into practical terms involves, and must involve, a three-way partnership between the people of the territory, the administering Power, and the United Nations itself.

76. This is a point which has relevance beyond the territories for which New Zealand is responsible, a relevance which extends to the whole question of the future of the smaller territories. Perhaps the largest theme implicit in the Declaration is the need for co-operation—co-operation by the people concerned in formulating their wishes, by the administering Power in translating these wishes into facts and by the United Nations in assisting and accelerating this process. We have confirmed the effectiveness of this partnership by experience; the ease with which the Trust Territory of Western Samoa acceded to independence was based on no small measure on a tradition of easy and fruitful co-operation with this Organization.

77. It may be argued that the usefulness of co-operation, is hardly a novel assertion, except perhaps in the ears of two well-known Members of this Organization. No doubt this is true, but it is also true that co-operation is a joint effort. Just as there can be little co-operation with those who refuse to acknowledge the goal of independence, so it is also ruled out in the case of those who insist that all that is needed is for independence to be granted immediately. To us, instant independence for all territories means about as much as instant development or instant disarmament. These terms are useful as slogans, perhaps as figures of oratory. But they have come to be recognized as no substitute for the preparation required in the United Nations, as elsewhere in human endeavour, if significant results are to be obtained. Instant independence belies the meaning of the Declaration. It implies that there is nothing for the United Nations to do; no co-operation that is possible.

78. The true situation has been best summed up by the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four, the representative of Mali, in opening this debate [1266th meeting]. He drew attention to the valuable role which the Committee of Twenty-Four and the United Nations as a whole can play in assisting territories to attain independence "without difficulties and without creating hatred"—in his words. He pointed out the part which the United Nations performs in preparing the conditions for a meaningful self-determination.

79. As we turn our attention increasingly towards the smaller territories, the need for this role has not diminished. Co-operation between the administering Powers and the United Nations is not perhaps the only way to achieve the goals of this Organization. But three years have proved that, where possible, it is the most effective.

80. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): In December 1960 the General Assembly adopted the momentous Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. During that session, the historic fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the discussions here in the plenary dealt with the question of colonialism in general, its place in history, and the role the United Nations has to play to bring about its total liquidation.

81. This year, the Assembly is called upon to consider the best and most practical means for the speedy and full implementation of that Declaration which may justly be considered as one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations, and indeed one of its most luminous landmarks.

82. This Organization came into being to meet man's desperate need for peace and security, and to satisfy his eternal yearning for freedom and dignity. Nowhere has the need been greater than in the colonies, because, among all the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, none has had such meaningful relevance to our age as the right of self-determination and the concept of international responsibility for the welfare of non-self-governing peoples, and the ensuring of their rapid advancement towards freedom and independence.

83. At first, the United Nations took uncertain and cautious steps to implement these provisions of the Charter. But with the great increase in membership, and the gathering momentum of the world-wide movement for liberation, the United Nations could no longer be satisfied with the palliative measures and modest advances which characterized its activities in early

years. For in those years the granting of independence was considered to be a far, and in some cases unattainable, goal. It now has become the immediate concern and responsibility of the United Nations.

84. It is against this background that the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four must be considered. Its mandate is clear. It is—to quote paragraph 8 resolution 1810 (XVII):

"(a) To continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet obtained independence;

"(b) To propose specific measures for the complete application of the Declaration;

"(c) To submit to the General Assembly in due course, and not later than its eighteenth session, a full report containing its suggestions and recommendations on all the territories mentioned in paragraph 5 of the Declaration;

"(d) To apprise the Security Council of any developments in these territories which may threaten international peace and security."

85. It can be seen from this that the Special Committee has one specific function—and one specific function only: to submit recommendations for the speedy implementation of the Declaration in all territories that have not yet attained independence. It is in the light of this clear mandate that the recommendations of the Special Committee on individual territories should be considered.

86. In spite of some progress that has been achieved since its establishment two years ago, the Special Committee still has a great deal of unfinished work. In some of the territories the full implementation of the Declaration still encounters great difficulties. There are territories which still await the attention of the Special Committee, and some others have not even appeared on its agenda. Considering that the Declaration envisaged the immediate transfer of powers to the peoples of all the territories that have not yet attained their independence, it is clear that the Committee not only has a heavy workload ahead of it, but has to dispose of this with a minimum of delay.

87. To do this, the Committee needs the wholehearted and loyal co-operation of the administering Powers. This has not always been given, as can be seen from the debates of the Special Committee on the four major problems with which it has dealt, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Portuguese territories and Aden. Such co-operation would be in line with the moral and legal obligations which the administering Powers concerned have assumed as Members of the United Nations. It is also in their own interests to help the Committee of Twenty-Four to discharge its functions efficiently and expeditiously, since the maintenance of such dangerous situations will in the long run threaten peace and undermine the very interests which the administering Powers concerned profess to defend.

88. The Committee of Twenty-Four rightly considered the sending out of visiting groups as one of the most effective means of performing its task. In its efforts to acquaint itself with the territories and ascertain the views of the inhabitants, the Special Committee was continually frustrated by the refusal of some of the

administering Powers to co-operate. The Special Committee placed the problem before the Assembly in clear terms, and I would like to quote from chapter I of the report:

"... However, it notes with regret the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to agree to the visit by a group of the Special Committee to Aden and British Guiana. In both cases the refusal of the United Kingdom Government was based on its position that the presence of 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. The majority view in the Special Committee has been unable to accept the argument that a visiting mission, whose function is to ascertain the views of the population concerning a Territory's future or is one of good offices in bringing together the different political elements in a Territory and thus to assist them in achieving their independence, amounts to interference in the internal affairs of a Territory. Nor can it accept the assertion that by agreeing to such a visit, the administering Power is sharing its responsibility for the internal administration of the Territory. The United Nations has responsibilities with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories deriving from the provisions of the Charter concerning these Territories and from the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the General Assembly.

"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, paras. 54 and 55.]

89. It is our hope that the Assembly will endorse the views of the Special Committee on this important question and will call, by a formal resolution, upon the administering Powers concerned to co-operate fully with the Special Committee in this regard.

90. Before referring to the individual territories considered in the report, I would like to refer to the point raised by the representatives of Chile and Ceylon in their statements last week [1267th meeting]. We fully share their concern regarding the creation of small and inviable States and feel that the Special Committee in its efforts to speed up the implementation of the Declaration should encourage, wherever and whenever possible, the merger of small territories. It is partly for this reason that we welcome the proposed association of Gambia with Senegal and advocated the reunification of Aden with Yemen.

91. As a member of the Committee of Twenty-Four, my delegation expressed its views on the various territories. Those views are fully reflected in the report now before the General Assembly, as well as in the records of the Special Committee. I do not propose therefore to take up the time of the Assembly by repeating what we have already said. I will confine my remarks to certain general observations and comments on any new development that may have taken place since the Committee last considered these territories.

92. The Fourth Committee has already discussed chapters II, III and IV of the report of the Special Committee [A/5446/Rev.1] dealing with the territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, and submitted its recommendations to the General Assembly.

93. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly has again called on the United Kingdom Government not to accede to the request of the present minority Government of Southern Rhodesia for independence until majority rule based on universal suffrage is established in the territory.

94. The question of independence for Southern Rhodesia has again become a matter of grave and urgent importance. Although the British Government has stated that it will not grant independence unless definite steps are taken to widen the franchise with a view to ensuring the election of an African majority in the Assembly, official spokesmen of the settler Southern Rhodesian Government still maintain that the United Kingdom Government will not withhold its agreement to independence. There are conflicting interpretations regarding the conditions which the British Government has set for approving the independence of Southern Rhodesia, and we believe that a forthright and unambiguous statement by the United Kingdom Government is most necessary now.

95. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, what we said last March in the Committee of Twenty-Four [136th meeting] still applies. We said:

"The choice for the United Kingdom seems to be either to take a firm stand now and use its considerable moral, legal and material influence to reverse the disastrous trend in Southern Rhodesia, or to abdicate its responsibilities toward the international community and the African population of the territory and permit the erection of another citadel of reaction and apartheid in the heart of the African Continent."

96. The Fourth Committee last week concluded its consideration of the territories under Portuguese administration and adopted a draft resolution, which will come before this Assembly this afternoon, referring the question to the Security Council where, we hope, the necessary measures will be taken to secure the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Council at its 1049th meeting on 21 July 1963.^{2/} The Portuguese territories are the oldest and largest group of colonies in the world today, and for nearly seven years, in fact ever since Portugal was admitted to membership of this Organization, the General Assembly has been dealing with this problem, but with no appreciable progress. While the United Nations was able to achieve notable successes in its handling of many other colonial questions, it has yet to find the means to deal effectively with the problem of Portuguese territories. All efforts to persuade Portugal to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and to implement the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have so far failed.

97. The United Nations is called upon to ensure the rapid and peaceful achievement of independence by all dependent people, and nowhere is this task more demanding and more urgent than in the Portuguese colonies.

98. The question of South West Africa remains one of the most dangerous and intractable colonial problems facing the United Nations. A resolution has already been adopted urging Member States to take certain measures against South Africa.^{3/} If this resolution is loyally implemented by all the Members of the United Nations and the measures recommended are taken and executed faithfully, then perhaps the impasse will be broken. The Security Council, whose attention has already been drawn to this problem, may be called upon to decide on appropriate measures to deal with a State that continually violates the Charter and disregards the will of the international community.

99. Regarding the other territories considered by the Committee, Malta is on the threshold of independence, but many problems still face the island. The positions of the political parties on the form of the constitution which will come into effect with independence on 31 May 1964 are still far apart, and we understand that further constitutional talks are expected to begin today in London to resolve the remaining difficulties. With regard to the African territories expected to achieve independence shortly, namely, Kenya and Zanzibar, we would like to express our satisfaction and congratulate the peoples concerned.

100. The dissolution of the Central African Federation has paved the way for the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which we hope will not be delayed.

101. In the High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, the situation is still serious. South African designs on the territories are being actively pursued. Constitutional progress is still slow and the economic problems facing these territories are still as acute as ever.

102. In British Guiana, a dangerous stalemate has been reached. We fully subscribe to the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on British Guiana [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter X, para. 59]. It was proposed that a team of constitutional experts be sent to the territory but unfortunately the United Kingdom Government has unilaterally decided to accept the solution advocated by one party, namely, proportional representation.

103. A territory to which we naturally attach special importance is Aden, which this year was considered in great detail by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. It devoted twenty-six meetings to the consideration of this important colonial problem, and appointed a Sub-Committee to visit the territory in order to ascertain the views of the people and to hold talks with the administering Power. The decision of the United Kingdom Government to withhold its co-operation compelled the Sub-Committee to confine its activities to neighbouring countries where it heard scores of petitioners and received hundreds of petitions. Its report to the Special Committee, which is contained in chapter V of the report, speaks for itself. As a member of the Sub-Committee I should not comment on its work, and I would leave it to others to appraise its contribution to the cause of freedom in that part of the world.

104. I had the honour of opening the debate on Aden in the Special Committee last April and our views on this question are well known, and have been summarized in no less than forty-four paragraphs of the report of the Special Committee.

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5380.

^{3/} Ibid., document S/5386.

105. The question of Aden has all the elements of a classical colonial situation. The territory fell under British control through military conquest and was subsequently made a colony of the Crown. It now serves as an important military base for the protection of the interests of the colonial Power in the region. An unrepresentative régime, particularly amenable to British advice and direction, is maintained and the forcible separation of the territory from Yemen continues. We have always maintained that the territory forms an integral part of Yemen, and its reunification with the mother country should not be obstructed or delayed in our view.

106. The representative of Yemen has given the Assembly a detailed and accurate historical account of the problem, and I would not wish to repeat what he said; but I think it is important to emphasize the doubtful legal basis of British authority in the area. As I have indicated in the case of Aden itself, this authority was the result of outright military conquest, while in the case of the Protectorates, British authority is based on illegal and unequal protection treaties, concluded during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Numerous such treaties were concluded with various sultans, emirs and sheikhs of the vast area stretching from Aden eastward to Muscat. Those treaties, which were either imposed or secured through bribes, but never voluntarily solicited, were concluded by ignorant feudal sheikhs who had no legal sovereignty over the lands and peoples in whose name they had accepted such far-reaching obligations. Moreover, it is quite clear that the treaties were completely unequal, having been concluded between weak and helpless local tribal leaders and what was, at the time, the foremost colonial empire in the world.

107. In recent times, British authority over these sultanates and sheikhdoms was consolidated by unifying them in a Federation with which the United Kingdom Government concluded a treaty in February 1959.⁴ Under this treaty, the United Kingdom maintained complete and exclusive control of foreign affairs. The Protection Treaties and other advisory agreements previously concluded with the Sheikhs were to remain in force, while British forces were given absolute freedom of movement and installation at all times.

108. These provisions, important as they are, do not really give an accurate or complete picture of the extent of control and influence exercised by the British Government over these territories. This influence is not derived from written engagements alone. It is based rather on the relationship of subservience which binds these feudal sheikhs to the British Government.

109. The colony of Aden itself was included in the Federation in January 1963 without the consent of its people, and the most unusual methods were used to achieve this end. I should like to quote very briefly what I said on this subject in the Committee of Twenty-Four [149th meeting] last April, namely, the subject of including Aden in the Federation. I said:

"The demand of the opposition parties that elections should be held before the merger was rejected. Instead, the federal plan was adopted by the so-called Legislative Council. ... which was elected under a most undemocratic franchise. ... Over 76 per cent of the population boycotted the elections"—for this

council—"which were held in 1959, and the elected members received the votes of not more than 2 per cent of the population"—a majority of the elected members did not approve the merger which was only adopted thanks to the votes of the appointed members of the Legislative Council.—"Thus the destinies of the people of Aden have been decided for at least six years by a minority vote of a council chosen on the basis of a highly restrictive and selective franchise four years ago."

110. It is now clear that the main aims of British policy in Aden and the hinterland are the following: first, to ensure the permanent separation of these territories from Yemen; and, secondly, to facilitate and consolidate British control over this area of the Arab world with a view to maintaining the military base at Aden for the defence of foreign oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

111. The representatives of the United Kingdom have stated in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four that the policy of their Government is to bring the people of the territory to self-government and independence as fast as possible under propitious and stable conditions. We would be the last to quarrel with such a policy if it were truly based on the wishes of the people concerned. However, we have reason to believe that the independence that the United Kingdom Government is contemplating will not be based on the wishes of the people, and that far from leaving the territory strong and prosperous, it would always be dependent economically and politically on the United Kingdom.

112. The Special Committee's task was to find the best ways and means of ensuring the speedy application of the Declaration in a way that would truly reflect the desires of the people of Aden under conditions of freedom and security. The independence that the United Kingdom wishes to give—or states that it wishes to give—is quite different. It is designed to maintain in power a backward social system; it is designed to preserve and to perpetuate the privileges that the British Government enjoys at present, whether economic, political or military. The Declaration of 1960, on the other hand, contemplates an independence that is free from all fetters, an independence based entirely on the free choice of the people.

113. It was precisely with this in mind that the Subcommittee presented its conclusions and recommendations and the Special Committee adopted its draft resolution of 19 July 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter V, para. 478]. This draft resolution in reality has one central recommendation, and that is that the views of the population of the territory should be ascertained under the most suitable guarantees and in conditions of full freedom. We submit that this is an extremely reasonable recommendation. In fact, the United Kingdom Government has accepted this view in great parts of Africa when elections were held as a result of which national Governments were elected genuinely reflecting the opinions and desires of the peoples concerned. All that we ask is that the same thing be done in the case of Aden. We can see no difference between Aden and Kenya, Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland.

114. In the resolution of the Special Committee adopted on 19 July 1963 the Administering Authority was called upon to make

⁴/ Treaty of Friendship and Protection between the United Kingdom and the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South.

"... the necessary constitutional changes with a view to establishing a representative organ and the setting up of a government for the whole of the territory ... such legislative organ and government to be constituted following general elections to be held on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms."

The importance of paragraph 8 above would be better appreciated and understood if it were read in conjunction with paragraph 11 of that same resolution, which recommends that

"... conversations should be opened, without delay, between the government resulting from the elections ... for the purpose of fixing the date for the granting of independence."

115. The reason why it was proposed that there should be one legislative organ and one government for the whole territory is that when the time for independence comes, the arrangements and modalities for the transfer of power, and also the agreement for the fixing of the date of independence, would be concluded not with a variety of governments, sheikhs or sultans, but with one government representing the people as a whole, a government emanating from a legislative organ elected by the entire population on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

116. Furthermore, the draft resolution of the Special Committee 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."

117. As can be seen from the report of the Sub-Committee, the petitioners who were heard by the Sub-Committee were unanimous in their desire for some kind of United Nations involvement, because they did not feel quite safe, they did not feel that the elections would be conducted freely and genuinely if the matter was left entirely to the Administering Authority or the local governments at present in power. However, it should be noted that the Special Committee did not recommend that the elections be under the direct supervision and control of the United Nations. It proposed that there should be an effective United Nations presence in the territory before and during the elections. There is nothing novel in a United Nations presence. In the last few years many independent countries have accepted the idea of having a United Nations presence for the discharge of certain specific functions and purposes. If independent countries accept that, surely the Administering Authority should have no objection to having this United Nations presence in a Non-Self-Governing Territory for the purpose of implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence.

118. It is our hope that the recommendations of the Special Committee embodied in its resolution of 19 July 1963 would be endorsed by the General Assembly, because in our view they provide the best and most reasonable way of dealing with the situation in Aden and the surrounding Protectorates. We have here, of course, a vast territory which has been sadly neglected over a period of more than a hundred years, a territory which represents at present one of the last colonial outposts in the Arab world where the colonial Power seeks to maintain its position by a variety of

means, such as the maintenance of an archaic tribal system where feudal-minded sheikhs are presented to us as the true representatives of their people. Such a system has no place in our world today; it runs counter to all the progress that has been made in all the countries of the world towards freedom and national liberation. At a time when every people is emerging from the yoke of colonial rule and joining the great and irresistible march towards freedom, we find Southern Arabia still living under the most appalling medieval conditions.

119. It is with this in mind that we ask the General Assembly to give its endorsement and agreement to the draft resolution proposed by the Committee of Twenty-Four, and of course my delegation would support any draft resolution presented to the Assembly containing the basic provisions of that draft resolution of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

120. Mr. GEORGESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The General Assembly has again taken up the discussion of one of the most important political problems on its agenda. It is thus echoing the vast movement formed by the millions and millions of people throughout the world who are today assailing the last bastions of colonialism.

121. Three years have elapsed since the adoption by this Assembly of the Declaration calling for the immediate and unconditional liquidation of colonialism, and the wisdom shown by the United Nations in acting in accordance with the exigencies of history is today fully confirmed. The document submitted by the Soviet Union at the fifteenth session^{5/} has been a useful instrument in the service of human progress. It has stimulated the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples and mobilized new forces in support of that cause.

122. The many countries and peoples which have obtained their independence have shown, by their major achievements and by their contribution to the solution of the great problems of mankind, that the process of liquidating colonialism has released enormous forces which for centuries had been kept in darkness and had therefore been prevented until their liberation from making themselves felt.

123. In Greek mythology, Andromeda, the dark daughter of Cepheus, was chained and put to torture by Poseidon, the god of the sea. Later, however, she became a queen among the stars where she can be seen twinkling on clear summer nights. For us here, the merit of this legend is that it foretold the future.

124. All mankind appreciates the great contribution which the liquidation of colonialism has made to the spread of civilization and the flowering of man's genius. The colonial régimes have been finally condemned by history and the peoples of the entire world are calling with one voice for the immediate and total liberation of the territories under colonial rule. Nevertheless, there still remain dozens of colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

125. Racism raised to the level of State policy, repressive measures and armed expeditions against those who are fighting for their national freedom, the stiff penalties imposed on the leaders of revolutionary movements in the colonies and the liquidation of the leaders of certain peoples now on their way to

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

liberation—all these things prove that certain outmoded forces still persist in their vain attempts to arrest the course of history.

126. Some advance theories concerning the beneficial effect of the continuing presence of the colonial Powers in the various territories which have been under their rule for decades. Such theories are really nothing but a refurbishing of the shibboleth about the so-called civilizing mission of the metropolitan countries.

127. The facts were—and are still—quite different. Assiduous and honest scientists and scholars of great renown have shown that many territories under the colonial yoke were, at the time of their occupation, at a definitely higher stage of development and prosperity than they are today. The peoples of those territories had their own form of organization and had attained a stage of material development that was remarkable for the period. Archaeological research in recent years has brought to light works of real artistic and cultural value.

128. One of the constant preoccupations of honest historians is to rehabilitate the history of many of these peoples. Their findings are increasing from year to year and should finally put a stop to all such spurious theories which, although contrary to reality, are still extant in certain political circles that have a stake in perpetuating the colonial régimes.

129. The Romanian delegation believes that the General Assembly, in examining anew the problem of colonialism, should take into account the extremely important fact that colonialism today represents all that is most retrograde in the world; it undermines the cause of progress and constitutes a source of tensions and conflict that is a threat to international peace and security.

130. The present situation in the colonial world confirms the validity of the assertion in resolution 1514 (XV) and subsequent resolutions that the continuance of colonial domination and any delay in the implementation of the Declaration pose an ever-growing threat to international peace and security and seriously impede co-operation among States. Since these are the very principles on which the United Nations rests, it must surely be the Organization's main task to promote them.

131. This session's debates on colonial problems have shown the growing world-wide concern at the situation in Central and Southern Africa, the areas which today have the greatest concentration of colonial régimes. This situation has been found to be a permanent source of international conflicts. The policy of the colonial Powers in that region creates a particularly grave situation for the continent; I refer to racism in South Africa and South West Africa, the colonial war and the atrocities committed in the Portuguese territories, and the imminent danger that Southern Rhodesia may become the second racist State in Africa. It has been stated frequently in the General Assembly that behind this policy lie the interests of the international monopolies which have long impressed upon the economic and social development of the entire region a monstrous pattern of inhuman practices and racist conceptions. The situation in that part of the African continent and its grave repercussions are clear proof that colonialism, especially in this age, is a threat to peaceful relations among nations.

132. On the occasion of his visit to the United States of America in July 1963, Mr. Julius Nyerere, the

President of Tanganyika, made the following statements in a speech to the Washington Press Club:

"Our nationalist motivation, therefore, means that continuing colonialism anywhere—but particularly in Africa—is an affront to those of us who have won independence.

"Tanganyika cannot rest content while alien rule continues in the south of our continent. Even if we wished to ignore the just demands of our brothers, our own self-interest would prevent us from acquiescing in this situation. Many questions of regional economic development are held up because colonial governments on our borders do not have the same purposes in economic development as we do."^{6/}

133. The tranquillity and security of independent Africa are therefore imperilled and the new States are denied the valuable leverage for their economic and social development to be found in co-operation on a continental scale. The United Nations should therefore help the African States in the most effective manner possible in their efforts to consolidate their political and economic independence by mobilizing international opinion and taking appropriate measures to oblige the colonial Powers to free the African continent finally and completely.

134. Southern Africa is the nucleus of colonialism today. Outside the continent of Africa there is also a considerable number of colonial territories scattered over the face of the globe. The same opposition to their liberation is shown by the colonial Powers.

135. The policy pursued by the administering Powers causes serious disquiet and provokes indignation particularly since today, in this century of the full flowering of man's genius, oppression and exploitation continue in all these territories, just as they did a century or two centuries ago, and they follow forms and methods characteristic of colonialism in its heyday. The disquiet expressed by international opinion and by our Organization is more than justified having regard to another fundamental factor which characterizes colonial policy today. I refer to the concern of the colonial Powers to maintain, by means of their territories scattered throughout the globe, a veritable network of bases for the buttressing of the colonial system.

136. This year, in fact, as is known, those Powers made use of the military bases in this network to ensure their domination over colonial territories; such was the case, for instance, of certain territories in the southern part of the African continent. The Romanian delegation pays particular attention to this type of manifestation of contemporary colonialism because the existence of such colonial staging posts scattered over the globe represents a serious threat for the recently liberated peoples and for international peace and security.

137. The United Nations finds itself a target for the various stratagems and methods adopted by the administering Powers to prolong their domination over the Colonies. When the old forms of oppression become vulnerable, new forms better adapted to present-day conditions must be found. In this connexion, I would draw attention to the growing number of complaints addressed to the United Nations by the inhabitants of various territories who have been deprived by the colonial Powers of any opportunity effectively to

^{6/} Vol. 109, U.S. Congressional Record, p. 12057, 16 July 1963.

exercise their right of self-determination. The General Assembly is at present considering the question of Oman. The representatives of Aden have exposed the fictitious character of the South Arabian Federation: they claim the right to real independence in accordance with the aspirations of the population. Under the pretext that they enjoy internal administrative self-government, many other colonial territories are kept in the political and administrative orbit of the metropolitan country concerned.

138. The danger of this neo-colonial policy poses a constant threat, particularly to the small territories which, if we were to believe the colonial Powers, could not exist on their own. As the process of liquidating colonialism reaches this class of territories, which are scattered over all the continents—in the Pacific, the West Indies and the Atlantic, the United Nations must see to it that they attain independence in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration and without violation of its spirit. The freely expressed wishes of the population must be taken into account if they are to secure real freedom and the colonialists' positions everywhere are to be fully liquidated. Any violation of these principles would lead to the perpetuation of the colonial régimes and the creation of new focal points of tension and anxiety.

139. The problems inherent in colonialism at the present time are graphically portrayed in the report [A/5446/Rev.1] 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.

140. The Romanian delegation wishes to pay tribute to the work of this Committee, which were entrusted with one of the noblest tasks of the United Nations, and endorses its recommendations. Full credit is due to the Committee for again giving priority this year to urgent problems, particularly those of Africa. We also welcome the fact that the Committee has extended its activities to other dependent territories. The report submitted this year by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples will add further material to the dossier on colonialism, which will help to expose it in its true colours.

141. The grave situation in the colonial world and the implications for the cause of progress and international peace and co-operation of this situation or of any post-

ponement of the implementation of the Declaration, confirm the urgency of ridding the contemporary world of the scourge of colonialism. United Nations responsibility and competence in this field are increasing in direct proportion to the failure of the administering Powers to co-operate in implementing the provisions of the Declaration.

142. Independence for the colonial peoples is a problem confronting mankind as a whole. It has never been and will never be within the exclusive competence of the administering Powers.

143. In the circumstances, appeals for moderation and for "parliamentary" debates in the United Nations and the theories of limited United Nations competence, expounded in the Committee of Twenty-Four, the Security Council and during the present debate, are merely echoing the forces which oppose in every way the final liquidation of colonial oppression. These forces aim not only to weaken the effectiveness of our Organization, but equally to diminish its authority in the eyes of the colonial people and to disarm them politically by asserting that independence can be attained only through the goodwill of the colonial Powers.

144. The General Assembly has a duty to intervene in order to secure immediate implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism. It must do so by adopting resolutions which give the colonial peoples additional weapons when these are most needed in their struggle for liberation. To quote a Latin tag, *Bis dat qui cito dat*—he who gives promptly gives twice. The mandate which the Committee of Twenty-Four will receive this year should reflect that situation. The new tasks entrusted to the Committee should confirm that the colonial peoples can find support and an ally in the United Nations.

145. As an expression of the solidarity which Romania has consistently shown in the struggle for the total and immediate liquidation of colonialism, the Romanian delegation will again during this session contribute all it can to the adoption of measures for the implementation of the Declaration adopted three years ago by the General Assembly.

146. The Romanian delegation believes that, with the combined efforts of all the anti-colonial forces, decisive steps can be taken to remove the obstacles which continue to stand in the way of the liberation of the colonial peoples.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.