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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*)

CHAPTER ON TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/5629)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The first item on our agenda this afternoon is the report of the Fourth Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration. Members will remember that the General Assembly transmitted to the Fourth Committee for its consideration and report that part of the 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] relating to Territories under Portuguese administration.

2. I invite Mr. Marsh, of Jamaica, Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, to introduce the Committee's report [A/5629].

3. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: The report of the Fourth Committee [A/5629], was adopted by the Committee at its 1495th meeting on 29 November 1963. Paragraph 3 of the report, as well as paragraph 4, deals with the request from Mr. Galvao for a hearing which was granted. Various legal arguments were brought into the Committee and, as a result, the Secretary-General was requested to give advice on the matter.

4. Paragraph 4 of the report deals with the discussion at the 1490th and 1493rd meetings of the Committee in which certain implications of the adoption of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 16 of the report were discussed, and the representatives of Ceylon, Cambodia and Mexico made certain contributions concerning the relation between the resolution and Article 12 of the Charter.

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

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Consequently, we now take up the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/5629, para 16].

6. I give the floor to the representative of Portugal to explain his vote before the vote is taken.

7. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): In explanation of the vote on the draft resolution in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/5629, para. 16], my delegation wishes to add a few comments to the statements we made in the Fourth Committee concerning the debates that preceded and followed this recommendation.

8. Our first comment is that this draft resolution does not find the slightest justification in the Charter, and indeed it is contrary to the Charter. We shall therefore oppose it with our vote, and we formally express our reservations with regard to its consequences.

9. We also renew our most emphatic protest against the illegitimate and outrageous mention in paragraph 2 of the report submitted by the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee [A/5629] of a certain individual as "President of the Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile". I request that our protest be placed on record, the more so as a similar protest expressed by us in the Fourth Committee does not appear in the report.

10. The intention to violate the Charter became quite clear right from the time the Portuguese Overseas Provinces began to be debated in this Organization. Article 73, although not applicable to Portugal, was invoked, but as its traditional interpretation, based on its letter and spirit, on the doctrine of legal commentators and on the jurisprudence and practice of the Organization, did not help the preconceived design to disrespect the sovereign rights of the Portuguese nation, a novel interpretation was eventually attributed to it.

11. Now Article 73 contains no allusion to independence of the territories to which it refers but only to a possibility of self-government, which during many years meant for the General Assembly autonomous administration conducted by the local people and compatible with many forms of inclusion in the framework of the State. Thus several Non-Self-Governing Territories were officially struck off the list by the General Assembly after it was ascertained that they had internal self-government. The idea of forcing or imposing independence in spite of the Charter was brought in as late as 1960, ironically by the head of the most ruthless colonial empire in the world, which thus sought popularity in order to shield its own empire from hostile criticism.

12. In resolution 1541 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, there was a search for a definition of colonial territories, and mention is made of territories which are geographically separated and ethnically or culturally distinct from the administering country. It was, however, unavoidably added that there are other elements to be taken into account of administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature, which seemed fully to cover the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, the more so as in another resolution, resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, it is stated: "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." The Portuguese case clearly fits in here, but the passion and prejudice which prevail in these matters have not permitted justice to be done to us in accordance with those more sensible provisions.

13. Today, even Article 73 has been practically set aside and resolutions are arbitrarily adopted to be later cited against Portugal. Now resolutions of the General Assembly are no more than recommendations. They may at best represent aspiration, general feelings of episodic majorities, but they certainly do not constitute law. Yet certain recommendations, based on the original sin of a novel, but erroneous and specious, interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter, are quoted here as if they were the very basic Articles of the Charter, and strong action is loudly asked for on the basis of allegations that such recommendations have not been complied with—even measures to deprive a sovereign Member State of the inherent natural right of self-defence recognized by the Charter.

14. The majority in this Organization has therefore put itself as regards my country, a Member State, in a most absurd position: they expect us to respect simultaneously the principles of the Charter and resolutions contradicting those principles. They are, of course, at a loss to indicate precisely the principles of the Charter which we are supposed to have infringed.

15. There are examples of countries whose territory is not continuous, and there are examples of countries which extend themselves over more than one continent. The Charter is not invoked against them, as indeed it cannot be. But also it cannot be invoked against the structure of the Portuguese nation, multi-racial and pluricontinental as it is, whose populations have exactly the same status and rights, political or others, wherever they are.

16. And now we have to deal with a draft resolution which clearly contravenes Article 12 of the Charter and contains the most illegitimate recommendations to the Security Council to act on a matter which, even if it were a reality, would clearly fall outside the scope of its jurisdiction.

17. Those who are seeking recourse to the Security Council for action would do well to remember that the Charter excludes its Chapter XI from the functions of the Council. Even those who invoke their novel and erroneous interpretation of Article 73 should keep this in mind. Furthermore, it is no function of the Security Council to create new nations, much less to create them by force and against the will of the populations concerned as if nations should arise, not by organic evolution from within, but by a pro-

cedural vote from without. Yet, following this fantastic theory, it is sought to put the Security Council—illegally, of course—to such a preposterous use.

18. Incidentally, this draft resolution seeks to activate the Security Council—a thing which some of its sponsors have already done on their own. It seems to my delegation that the other sponsors of this draft have thus been called in as mere camp-followers, and the General Assembly itself is sought to be reduced to the position of a seconder of a move already made by some of its members.

19. It is indeed a matter for deep thought that this Assembly is asked to concern itself with questions falling outside the scope of the Charter, and indeed in violation of the Charter, when problems of a very grave import for the world are allowed to go with just a superficial, face-saving, discussion, and even entirely by default. Berlin, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Kashmir, the Caribbean, and such other serious problems, fraught with great dangers to world peace, are either not brought up for discussion here, or are deliberately left in cold storage. Likewise, questions of real colonialism in its most damnable form, where nations once free are subjugated by force, are allowed to fall into this category. No attempt has been made by this Organization to take any practical action against certain Member States who have actually broken the peace and committed aggression—the greatest crime of which any nation can be guilty. But a climate of concern is artificially and lawlessly created around a non-existent problem: the alleged problem of Portuguese territories; and "necessary measures"—Heaven knows what exactly is in the minds of the sponsors of this draft resolution—are loudly demanded against Portugal. How can those who close their eyes to the invasion of Goa have any moral authority to demand any measures against Portugal, a peaceful and peace-loving country.

20. If the sponsors of this draft resolution had any concern for the real welfare of our populations, they would have shown that concern in regard to Goa; in regard to foreign aid in money, arms, volunteers and training bases being given to terrorists to disturb their peaceful lives; in regard to the difficulties being placed in our way to prevent us from developing the multiracial society, which we pioneered in the modern world. When the very opposite is being done, both outside and within this Organization, we feel fully justified in concluding that there are deep and sinister motives behind this campaign of false charges and lawless procedures directed against Portugal.

21. When the European Portuguese extended the nation over other continents, largely on open or unused lands, they carried with them and sought to share with the peoples with whom they came in contact, concepts very different from those which were later carried by other European nations in their expansion overseas. To those peoples who had not yet attained the notion of a fatherland, they offered one; for those who were dispersed and mutually unintelligible in their dialects they provided a common language; to those who fought one another they guaranteed peace, while the lowest states of indigence were progressively overcome by order itself and by the construction of an economy without thereby exploiting or disrupting any organized way of life. Firmly believing in the equality of all races and in the universal brotherhood of man, we were the first people in the world to give practical effect to those concepts, which

necessarily mean equality of races and participation on equal terms in all common endeavours.

22. We are, therefore, happy to note that some die-hard racialists of yesterday seem to be converted today—though belatedly—to the doctrine of racial equality, which we have been practicing for five centuries.

23. In all overseas territories, the harmonious mingling of populations resulted in the formation of a multiracial society. The most important elements of this process lay in the spirit of familiar intercourse at all levels, the recognition of the same opportunities for all, the promotion of more advanced sociological patterns, and, last but not least, the ever-increasing participation of all in nation-building activities.

24. This is the historical reality; this is still the ideal which we are sedulously promoting in our provinces in Africa. But an entirely distorted image of our provinces and of our policies there has been maliciously created in this Organization throughout the years in order to enable some to adopt resolutions against Portugal based on deliberately engineered false premises. Therefore, to those who falsely accuse us of forced labour, we reply with the report of the ILO, and with our Rural Labour Code, the most advanced labour legislation in the whole of Africa. To those who allege that our health and sanitation organization is backward, we reply with the report of WHO. To those who criticize our educational efforts, so necessary for the formation of cadres, we reply with the statistics of UNESCO, which are so favourable to us, and with the fact that we now have two universities in Africa. To those who underestimate our agricultural system, we reply that an FAO team is just now surveying our provinces at our request, and that we await its report with confidence.

25. To those who belittle our economic achievements in Africa, we point out our fine ports and aerodromes, our railways, our civil construction, our modern towns, our accomplishments in community development, our ever-expanding industries, our dams, all of which place us in the forefront of economic progress in Africa. To those who charge us with stifling the political aspirations of our overseas populations, we reply with the measures which we have adopted to ensure full and equal political rights for all—notably, with the new Organic Law, and with the other facts which will soon be in evidence; conspicuously, the widening of franchise and elections to all provincial and national bodies. We are thus perseveringly improving the institutions through which all our populations are given increasing opportunities to take an active part in public affairs.

26. To those, finally, who accuse us, so unjustly, of oppressing our populations, we reply with all the facts and witnesses to which I have just referred, and to the testimony of several hundred impartial foreign observers who have visited our provinces to see things freely for themselves. We reply also with the eloquent evidence of loyalty given by the populations of Angola when the President of the Portuguese Republic visited all parts of that province recently. We feel that no one has any right to accuse us, since our invitations to our critics in this Organization to visit our provinces have been refused, and since we are told that facts and realities are no longer relevant.

27. We have been in Africa for five centuries and we have built there multiracial societies. While we do not claim perfection, we are proud to say that they are based on the dignity of the human person, social justice and full equality before the law. We have not exploited Africa; indeed we have given much that is good in Europe to Africa, just as we have also taken to Europe much that is culturally good in Africa. We do not see why an African and a European territory cannot remain politically linked, since it is accepted that there can be a political link between African and Asian countries.

28. Those who believe that the tendency of our times is towards large economic and political spaces should find it difficult to understand the attempts made in this Organization to destroy the centuries-old structure of the Portuguese pluricontinental racial democracy. Since our territories are under-developed, we do not believe that others will promote the real well-being of the populations concerned more than Portugal, which has traditionally regarded those populations as its own without any difference whatsoever. Therefore, to our friends we say: "We will do all we can for our populations in Africa"; to others we say: "Leave us in peace to build a better home for all our populations in Africa".

29. We have given proofs of our sincerity. For instance, we have in recent talks with African representatives explained our concept of self-determination, which is clear in itself, as set forth in the report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council. We too have our idealism, which is not inferior to that of anyone else anywhere in the world. It is in this spirit that we have shown our readiness to live in friendship and to co-operate with all the new African nations and to talk with them so that the clouds of mistrust and suspicion may be cleared and we may all live together in Africa for the greater good of the whole continent. This, we are firmly convinced, is also the true spirit of the United Nations—not what we are unfortunately witnessing at the present moment.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the request addressed to the President of the Assembly by the representative of Portugal, I wish to confirm that his statement will be included in the record of this meeting in the usual way.

31. I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/5629, para. 16]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen,

Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon.

Against: Portugal, Spain.

Abstaining: Canada, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Belgium, Brazil.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 11 abstentions.**

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now continue the general debate on item 23.

33. Mr. Mahmoud RIAD (United Arab Republic): Just a few days ago the General Assembly unanimously adopted another historic Declaration [1261st meeting], namely the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In its drive for justice and equality for all mankind, this international Organization, guided by the very principles of the Charter, had previously adopted two principal declarations. The first was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaimed that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind, in particular as to race, colour or national origin.

34. The second was the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, by which the Assembly declared that the subjection of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the function of world peace and co-operation. The Assembly further declared that all peoples have the right to self-determination and, by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development in freedom.

35. It is gratifying to note and watch the parallel efforts of this Assembly and its concern to ensure the faithful application of these historic Declarations. Needless to say, the restoration of fundamental human rights, the elimination of racial discrimination and the end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, all contribute to the dignity and worth of the human person, to the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. More important, these efforts are bound to correct injustice, create solid ground for international co-operation and maintain the United Nations ideal for universal peace.

36. There is no doubt that the efforts of the United Nations in the fields I mentioned have rendered tangible results which should encourage us in demanding the furtherance of these policies. Today, in the process of decolonization which is approaching its end, we face many and indeed variant situations. In some cases we find that the colonialists are preparing for departure, but only after they have ensured the

continuation of the exploitation of the resources of the territories under their control. In many other cases the colonialists have planted foreign settlers in considerable number, have given them the best of the land and other resources in the country they occupy, have concentrated the power in their hands; and then they argue that they are in no position to discharge their responsibility towards the indigenous people and the international community. In certain situations the colonialists endeavour to establish foreign settlements from the metropolis and face the world with a fait accompli as in the case of the Portuguese territories.

37. With the exception of few cases, the refusal of colonial Powers to comply with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is motivated by their desire to preserve the strategic positions they hold in the dependent countries and the foreign monopolies through which they exploit the natural and human resources of the countries they occupy.

38. In July of this year, thirty-two African Governments requested the Security Council to examine the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination, and the Council decided that the policies of Portugal in claiming the territories under its administration as overseas territories and as an integral part of metropolitan Portugal are contrary to the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Furthermore, the Council determined that the situation in these territories is seriously disturbing peace and security in Africa. To our regret, the efforts of the Secretary-General and several Governments to persuade Portugal to recognize the right of self-determination for the inhabitants of territories under Portuguese administration, as conceived by the United Nations, have not achieved positive results.

39. Consequently, today, after four months, the security Council resolution of 31 July 1963^{1/} remains unimplemented. That is why the General Assembly has just adopted a resolution requesting the Security Council to reconsider this question immediately and to take the necessary measures to give effect to its own decisions, particularly its resolution of 31 July.

40. It must be noted that the independent African States are determined to support the nationalists in the dependent African countries in regaining their freedom and recovering their liberty. The decisions taken on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa at the Summit Conference of Independent African States must be read carefully and clearly understood. For this determination to support the populations of the dependent territories of Africa will continue on all levels and through all channels.

41. The attitude of the United Kingdom Government in the Security Council debate on Southern Rhodesia during the month of September 1963 was at the very least a violation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It was indeed regrettable that the United Kingdom resorted to its veto power on a colonial issue, thus attempting to undermine the authority of the Council.

42. Only today we have received the report of the Secretary-General on the question of South West

*The representative of Rwanda subsequently informed the Secretariat that, had he been present at the time of the voting, he would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5380.

Africa, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII), adopted during this session. To our regret, the Government of South Africa still refuses the presence of a United Nations Resident Representative in South West Africa, thus preventing the United Nations from rendering technical assistance to the people of South West Africa.

43. I propose to comment now on the part of the Special Committee's report which deals with Aden and the South Arabian Protectorates [A/5446/Rev.1, chapter V]. It is my delegation's view that the Special Committee of Twenty-Four should be commended for its decision to dispatch a Sub-Committee to the area with a view to gathering information on the spot with regard to the conditions in the territory. We believe that this decision was wise, not only because it initiated the method of visiting missions as a method to be adopted by the Special Committee, but also because it was of great importance in relation to the situation in Aden and the Protectorates. The report submitted by the Sub-Committee has served only to justify our initial gratification at the decision of the Special Committee.

44. As much as we commend the swift and prompt action taken both by the Special Committee and its Sub-Committee, we regret the attitude of the United Kingdom Government towards the Sub-Committee. Instead of co-operating with the Sub-Committee, which was acting on behalf of the whole United Nations, the United Kingdom Government decided to obstruct and frustrate its mandate and its tasks. The denial by the United Kingdom of entry into the territory by the members of the Sub-Committee can serve only as further proof of the deplorable conditions prevailing in Aden and the Protectorates under British colonial rule.

45. The Sub-Committee on Aden, having been deprived of the right to enter the territory, interviewed in the surrounding Arab capitals many representatives and leaders of political parties and various organizations. The petitioners were unanimous in their demands for an immediate end to British colonialism, the carrying out of elections based on universal adult suffrage, the evacuation of the British military base in Aden, together with the other military installations, the realization of unity, and an immediate end to the rule of terror and oppression in Aden and the Protectorates. On the basis of these interviews as well as the extensive examination of the conditions in the territory, the Sub-Committee made several specific recommendations to the Special Committee, which it in turn endorsed. Foremost among these recommendations is that the people of Aden and the Protectorates should be enabled to exercise the right to self-determination. We have no doubt that when the people of Aden and the Protectorates are allowed to determine their own future freely, they will decide to join their motherland of Yemen. This is all the more true in the light of the great drive for greater Arab unity which is already shaping events and trends in our Arab homeland.

46. The Sub-Committee also recommended that an immediate end should be put to all laws and regulations which were adopted by the colonial authorities to oppress the population in exercising its will. In this respect, it is also of the highest importance that the General Assembly should endorse the Sub-Committee's recommendation with regard to outmoded colonial methods such as the bombardment of villages

and towns, the imprisonment and exile of political leaders, and all other repressive measures which are being taken by the colonial Power with the sole aim of consolidating its domination of the area.

47. In this connexion, it is also relevant to refer to the military base in Aden, which is being maintained by the United Kingdom only to beat down the nationalist movement in this part of the world. Its evacuation, which has been unanimously demanded by the petitioners, should also be sanctioned by the General Assembly, particularly in the light of operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution adopted by the Special Committee in which it considered: "... that the maintenance of the military base in Aden ... is prejudicial to the security of the region ..." [A/5446/Rev.1, Chapter V, para. 478].

48. It is the hope of my delegation, and I am sure it is also the hope of many other delegations, that the United Kingdom would re-examine its stubborn colonial policies and allow a peaceful and swift accession of these territories to freedom and national dignity. Given a truly free choice, supervised by an effective United Nations presence, the people of Aden and the Protectorates shall not fail to play once again their role in contributing to the march of human civilization—a role which they have so proudly played through history.

49. A few days from now we hope to welcome the representatives of independent Kenya and independent Zanzibar, when they will occupy their seats in this hall. The struggle of the people of Kenya for their dignity and liberty will always be a source of inspiration to the peoples who are still under foreign domination. We wish to pay our tribute to the people and leaders of Kenya for their real statesmanship in coping with difficult situations and in giving a clear answer to all malicious pretexts of delaying unnecessarily the independence of that country.

50. We wish also to welcome the approaching independence of Zanzibar in spite of all the ordeals the peoples and leaders of Zanzibar had to go through. Their struggle for freedom is finally crowned with success.

51. There is still much to be done to free the people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is important not to burden these emerging countries with obligations or commitments to be imposed upon them by the colonial Power.

52. With the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland we trust that the arrangements for the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will not be delayed.

53. At this time I should like to take the opportunity to extend to the Special Committee my delegation's sincere appreciation for its efforts. May I, on behalf of my delegation, express our gratitude to the Committee for its endeavours, to which this report can testify.

54. We notice that the Special Committee was only able to examine the situation in twenty-six out of sixty-four territories. However, we still realize that there are some territories which are not listed for the consideration of the Special Committee. It is necessary to examine the status of these territories which are neither independent nor self-governing.

55. The present report of the Special Committee has dealt also with the following territories: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Malta, Fiji, British

Guiana, Gambia, Gibraltar and the territories under Spanish administration in Africa.

56. Although we agree entirely with the decisions of the Special Committee on these territories, we would like nevertheless to comment on one or two situations. In the light of the threats of the Republic of South Africa to incorporate the three High Commission Territories, all measures for guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of these three territories must be taken. Perhaps the Assembly can agree during this session to appoint a limited number of observers to be stationed in each of the territories and to watch the situation closely and to report on any development in the situation.

57. With regard to Gibraltar, we have no doubt that that territory forms an integral part of Spain, and that Ceuta, Melilla, Ifni and Spanish Sahara are also an integral part of Morocco.

58. The dispute in British Guiana is arbitrarily decided upon by the Colonial Office in London and we hope that all efforts towards conciliation between the various political parties of this country will be intensified for the benefit of the Guianese people themselves.

59. With regard to the future work of the Special Committee, we are particularly concerned with the refusal of certain administering countries to receive visiting missions appointed by the Special Committee and we would like the Assembly to address an urgent appeal to those countries to facilitate the task of the Special Committee. Perhaps the Special Committee, if enabled and if it so wishes, should decide at the very beginning of its session for the year 1964 to dispatch various visiting missions, each one covering more than one territory in each particular region. These missions, after reporting to the main Committee will enable it to evaluate the situation and thus save a great deal of debate and discussion.

60. The General Assembly may therefore find it fit during this session to make adequate provisions in order to facilitate the task of the Special Committee as a whole.

61. The Special Committee has been given during this session a specific and additional mandate in accordance with the resolution [1899 (XVII)] adopted on 14 November 1963 on the South West African question. That mandate is to consider, in co-operation with the Secretary-General and the agencies of the United Nations, the implications of the activities of the mining industry and the other international companies having interests in South West Africa, in order to assess their economic and political influence and their mode of operation.

62. We hope and expect that this study will be comprehensive and cover these activities, not only in South West Africa but also in all of the dependent territories in Central and Southern Africa, for indeed the operations of these international companies are interlinked and cover many fields in more than one territory.

63. It has been voiced with good intention that the United Nations should not hasten the attainment of independence of colonial countries and peoples. The argument advanced is that a hasty granting of independence to a country or a people might throw it into conditions of chaos or civil strife. We are sure that **some recent events must have motivated those who believe in that argument to address this warning.**

But, with all frankness we do not believe that such fears are justified. For any objective comparison between the conditions which prevailed in any country before it acquired its independence and those which prevailed after independence would only demonstrate the great advances which took place as a result of independence.

64. The upheavals which might accompany the accession to independence could only be explained by the transformation and readjustment to new conditions. This, together with the attempts of the colonialists to maintain loop-holes through which they can practise their influence even after their departure, can only explain the difficulties inherent in any stage of readjustment.

65. The speedy implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would not only restore the rights and freedoms to those peoples, but would help to promote friendly relations between nations and so provide the necessary conditions for peace and security in the world.

66. Mr. SMIGANOWSKI (Poland): Although three years have elapsed since the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization [resolution 1514 (XV)], most of the United Nations bodies continue to deal with matters related to colonialism. It is true that the colonial questions are the direct concern of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, but a closer examination of the deliberations in other Committees reveals that a number of speakers in the First Committee voiced their opposition to the presence of military bases of the Western Powers on colonial territories and in the newly liberated States, to say nothing of the nuclear tests conducted in defiance of the vigorous protests of the inhabitants of those territories.

67. In the Special Political Committee we have dealt at length, and we will continue to deal, with the problem of apartheid, which is but a brutal manifestation of a policy of colonial exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the population in the interest of the European settlers.

68. The Second Committee urges the liquidation of the obsolete division of labour, based on the exploitation of the colonies by their metropolitan Powers.

69. The Third Committee has recently approved a draft Declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination [see A/5503 and Corr.1].

70. And as we all know racial discrimination is still used by the colonizers to justify the subjugation of peoples under the discredited pretext of making them civilized. Is it not noteworthy and significant that the Security Council, the main organ of our Organization responsible for the preservation of international peace and security, has been dealing ever more frequently with colonial problems?

71. The United Nations has played an important part in the process of decolonization, its actions being based upon the provisions of the Declaration of 1960. Suffice it to mention that eleven Member States of our Organization gained their independence after that date. Moreover, we are looking forward to the imminent proclamation of the independence of Zanzibar and of Kenya whose people suffered such immense losses in the struggle for liberation. Likewise, we welcome the announcement of the granting of indepen-

dence to Malta and Nyasaland next year. We hope that Northern Rhodesia will also soon join the family of free nations, and we shall be happy to welcome all these States as new Members of our Organization.

72. It is, however, regrettable that in various cases the colonial Powers still refuse to admit that the process of emancipation of colonial peoples is irreversible. Not all of them are willing to draw proper conclusions from the lesson taught by the Algerian people that neither repressions nor war waged even with the most modern weapons can defeat a nation fighting for its sacred right to independence, and that the victory in this seemingly uneven struggle must be that of this very nation.

73. Though the sphere of colonial domination has shrunk in the last few years, the danger inherent in the continued existence of colonialism has by no means decreased. The dependent peoples ever more determinedly have been striving to throw off the colonial yoke. They do not want to live any longer under the colonial bondage which has become an anachronism in an era of great social and political transformations, in the age of outstanding achievements of science and technology. They understandably refuse to live any longer under the colonial yoke when, in their very neighbourhood, colonial régimes have been eliminated and independent statehood has been substituted.

74. However, the colonial Powers not only reject these just aspirations, but even attempt, through violence and the use of force, to suppress them.

75. This situation is fraught with real dangers since in our times peace is indivisible. That is why Poland and, indeed, the whole international community is so vitally interested in the speedy liquidation of colonialism.

76. The most explosive situation threatening peace in the whole of Africa prevails in Portuguese colonies. More than that, not only do the Portuguese troops conduct a war against the indigenous population, but they also violate the frontiers of other African States. They bombed the territory of Senegal as has been revealed in the Security Council. They violated the territories and air space of Tanganyika and Guinea, as has been pointed out by the representatives of these countries in the Fourth Committee. I hardly need to elaborate on the dangers which such acts could generate.

77. The position of the United Nations with regard to Portuguese territories has been defined in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The latest resolution was adopted in July 1963.^{2/} Today, at the beginning of December, it is clear that the Security Council resolution has been completely ignored by Portugal in the same way as all the previous resolutions on Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese "interpretation" of self-determination can hardly deceive anyone and is rightly opposed by our Organization.

78. The Polish delegation firmly believes that the Security Council, in conformity with the resolution the General Assembly has just adopted, will give effect to its own decisions so as to make Portugal respect the rights of nations to independence.

79. The report of the Committee of Twenty-Four [A/5446/Rev.1] and the debate in the Fourth Com-

mittee have provided ample proof that it is the assistance of Portugal's allies that enables it to pursue its colonial policy. The Portuguese army, in its wars against the Africans, is using military equipment acquired through NATO. It is obvious that without the military, financial and economic assistance of leading NATO Powers Portugal, with its limited resources, would not be able to maintain its domination in Africa. And the way in which these Powers voted in the General Assembly and in the Security Council—an example of which we were able to witness a while ago—constituted but further support of Portugal's policy. Therefore, the representatives of African countries rightly stated that such an attitude on the part of the Western Powers implied their responsibility for the acts of the Portuguese colonialists against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other territories.

80. The support given to Portugal by its allies must be viewed in the interests of the great Western monopolies in the African territories under Portuguese domination. Thus, for instance, the diamond industry in Angola is monopolized by the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, whose chief shareholders are the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, the American Morgan bank, and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. The Belgian Petrofina controls the extraction of petroleum in Angola.

81. These big corporations are closely linked with other Western financial groups operating in South Africa, South West Africa, the Rhodesias and the Congo. The so-called "golden belt of Africa", which comprises the richest regions of that continent, in 1961 provided 75 per cent of the Western world's production of industrial diamonds, 60 per cent of the cobalt, 67 per cent of the gold, 50 per cent of the chrome, and so on.

82. It is significant that there exists a *de facto* alliance between Portugal and the Republic of South Africa; the latter has for years been refusing independence to South West Africa. The question of South West Africa has already been considered at this session of the General Assembly, and the Polish delegation gave full support to the resolution that has been adopted.

83. At this session we have also adopted two resolutions [1883 (XVIII) and 1889 (XVIII)], on Southern Rhodesia. The situation there continues to deteriorate. The minority settler Government exerts considerable pressure to gain independence for Southern Rhodesia. There is a danger that another racist state may be created in Africa. How alarming therefore was the veto cast by the United Kingdom in the Security Council^{3/} on the resolution calling upon the Administering Authority not to transfer to the present Government of Southern Rhodesia the attributes of sovereignty and, in particular, the control over the armed forces.

84. We still hope that the United Kingdom will comply with the resolution of the General Assembly calling for the granting of a new constitution to Southern Rhodesia based on a system of universal franchise which will bring about the emergence of the independent African state of Zimbabwe.

85. We of Poland view the liberation of colonial peoples as an act of historic justice, whatever may be

^{2/} *Ibid.*

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, 1066th meeting.

the political and economic systems of independent States emerging as a result of decolonization. This attitude of ours is in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Declaration of 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)] which, in its operative paragraph 2, states unequivocally that:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

86. We regret that the colonial Powers do not abide by this clear provision of the Declaration and keep postponing the granting of independence to their colonies until such time as a government to their liking is installed. Such is the case of British Guiana, a territory which has passed through all the stages of the British pattern of constitutional development. It has had self-government since 1961, and yet not only is it being refused independence, but even the fixing of the date of the attainment of independence is being constantly delayed under various pretexts. I do not intend to dwell extensively on the well-known outside pressures exerted upon the Administering Authority as to the political direction of the development of British Guiana. Indeed, the United Kingdom has not co-operated with the Committee of Twenty-Four and its Sub-Committee of good offices, but has chosen rather to impose a decision upon British Guiana which the Prime Minister, Mr. Jagan, has described as a breach of faith with the people of the territory and their elected Government.

87. Another way of evading the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in order to preserve important strategic and economic positions of the metropolitan country is the creation of so-called federations. A classical example is the setting-up of the Federation of Southern Arabia, in which Aden has been included. According to the report of the Special Committee, this Federation was created against the will of, and without genuine consultation with, its population. The United Kingdom does not even conceal why it wants to maintain control over Aden. It wants to preserve the Western oil interests in that region and to maintain its military base there.

88. Because of the non-compliance on the part of the colonial Powers with the resolutions adopted at the previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Committee of Twenty-Four had to re-examine questions relating to territories which had been the subjects of those resolutions. Hence, despite its almost uninterrupted activity since the period of February to October of 1963, the Committee could not consider all the colonial territories as called for by General Assembly resolution 1810 (XVII).

89. The report contains abundant information on how the colonial Powers directly or indirectly obstruct the decolonization process. May I be permitted to express once again the appreciation of the Polish delegation for the intensive work done by the Committee and for the efforts of its Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly. As a member of the Special Committee, Poland has made its modest contribution to the work of the Committee and has had opportunity to present there its position with regard to the problems covered by the report.

90. Poland supports the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee of Twenty-Four. Its methods of work proved to be helpful and useful in the fulfilment of the task entrusted to it. We favour the con-

tinuation of its mandate and support the proposal to give priority in the future work of the Committee to problems of territories which so far have not been considered. Such a priority, however, should not deprive the Committee of the possibility of re-examining the territories covered by the present report, both in the light of possible new developments and from the point of view of the implementation of resolutions adopted here.

91. The historic Conference of Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa in May 1963 was an important international event promoting the acceleration of the liquidation of colonialism on the African continent and the strengthening of the independence of the newly liberated African States. Poland has welcomed the creation of the Organization of African Unity and fully supports the resolutions adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference.

92. In this connexion may I quote the President of Ghana, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, who in his statement at Addis Ababa on 24 May 1963 said:

"Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspiration, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

"... Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa.

"There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest.

"But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to foment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability."

93. And indeed, this is exactly the case. Despite statements made here, neo-colonialism is not an empty slogan. It constitutes a real threat directed against economic independence, and thereby against the very independence of newly liberated countries. The general debate of this session has confirmed that the danger of neo-colonialism is well understood by the newly liberated States. The nineteenth century philosophy formulated by Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, that "Colonies do not cease to be colonies because they are independent," must be finally abandoned.

94. The elimination of colonialism and its aftermath and the defence of the newly liberated countries against neo-colonialism are closely interrelated with the question of peaceful coexistence and the consolidation of world peace.

95. The slowing-down of the decolonization process and neo-colonialism both give rise to tensions and create sources of dangerous conflict. International "détente", on the other hand, facilitates the emancipation of the colonial people and strengthens newly independent States.

96. For peaceful coexistence cannot and does not mean freezing of the colonial status quo. Peaceful coexistence implies equal relations among States, while colonialism, by its very nature, contradicts this principle of equality of States and nations.

97. The Polish delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly should recommend to the Special Committee to fix target dates for granting of independence to the colonial territories, in consultation with the representatives of the people and, where possible, with the Administering Authority. It is worth remembering that the 1960 Declaration on decolonization has already called for immediate steps to transfer to colonial peoples all powers in their territories, without any conditions or reservations. We believe that the twentieth anniversary of our Organization, to be observed in 1965, should be commemorated by complete and final liquidation of colonialism. This task is both realistic and worthy of vigorous pursuit by the General Assembly.

98. Mr. SOW (Chad) (translated from French): Less than three months ago in this hall of the General Assembly of the United Nations, where so many voices have already been raised in defence of the world's threatened freedoms, one man expressed himself in the following terms.

"Our concepts of the world are different ... A central difference is the belief of the American people in self-determination for all peoples ...

"In short, we believe that in all the world—in Eastern Europe as well as Western, in Southern Africa as well as Northern, in old nations as well as new—people must be free to choose their own future, without discrimination or dictation, without coercion or subversion." [1209th meeting, paras. 44 and 45.]

99. As will have been guessed, these words, whose timeliness has never been more evident, are taken from a speech made in this very hall on 20 September 1963 by the late lamented John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Since the fatal day when a criminal hand deprived the world of that universally loved champion of freedom, my sorely troubled mind has engaged in all kinds of speculation, for it is no secret that, in accordance with the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference,^{4/} Africa is at present waging an unceasing and merciless war against colonialism. Who was in a better position to help in so colossal an undertaking than President Kennedy, whose programme of action resembled it closely in certain respects? His recent tragic death, in a region that has always fiercely opposed the emancipation of the Negro, is reason enough for Africa to claim President Kennedy as one of its greatest and most illustrious martyrs. When I reflect on the unanimity of the tribute rendered daily to this courageous leader who was prematurely taken away from us, I have no hesitation in stating that his death will not have been in vain and that some of the ideas for which he struggled and fought so hard will rapidly gain ground throughout the world, as also in the United Nations.

100. It is in this spirit that my delegation offers its most sincere compliments to the Special Committee on the important report [A/5446/Rev.1] that it has just submitted for the consideration of the Assembly. As everyone knows, three years ago the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, unanimously adopted the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. The purpose of this Declaration was to create more favourable conditions for

the peaceful and smooth liquidation of the old colonial system. Unfortunately, for reasons that have been mentioned here many times, the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) have never been implemented. It is sad to recall that certain countries, such as Portugal and South Africa, have responded to this perfectly legitimate step on the part of the United Nations with bloody and barbarous repression.

101. At its sixteenth session, the General Assembly, having examined the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV), adopted on 27 November 1961, another resolution [1654 (XVI)] establishing a Special Committee to make suggestions and recommendations to the Assembly. Despite the Special Committee's good faith and its efforts to bring the task entrusted to it to a successful conclusion, the colonial Powers have always refused to co-operate with it. That is why the process of decolonization is taking place to the accompaniment of terrible upheavals, sometimes so violent that even the colonizing country feels the effects.

102. It is generally agreed that the abolition of colonialism has never been the exclusive concern of the dependent peoples. In this connexion, my delegation considers that it is only just to pay a tribute once again to the United Nations for its efforts in this sphere, which have led to the independence of more than thirty countries, my own among them. I hasten to emphasize, for the record, that this desire of the United Nations to wipe colonialism from the face of the earth won the full support of France and the United Kingdom, which decided that the time had come for peoples to determine their own destiny. This magnanimous gesture on their part has borne fruit, for the colonizers and colonized of yesterday are not divided by painful memories but are united by working freely and honourably together.

103. However, as I pointed out earlier, the steps taken by the United Nations have not always been effective. Stubborn and wilful resistance is offered by certain administering Powers, which have not been content merely to refuse to co-operate with the Special Committee but have contrived to place all kinds of obstacles in its path, the denial of access to the Territories they administer being among the least.

104. Bearing in mind the success already achieved by the United Nations in the field of decolonization, the General Assembly must, in the course of this session, find a more effective formula, which will enable the millions of human beings still groaning under the colonial yoke to recover their independence and lead a life more in keeping with their aspirations and with their human dignity.

105. My delegation is thus of the opinion that the General Assembly must confirm the Special Committee's decisions with regard to colonial territories. It urgently appeals to the other Members of the United Nations to use all their influence in the service of the sacred cause of decolonization, for, as the late President Kennedy so rightly said:

"Our concern is the right of all men to equal protection under the law—and since human rights are indivisible, this body cannot stand aside when those rights are abused and neglected by any Member State." [1209th meeting, para. 66.]

^{4/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963.

Further efforts must therefore be made to ensure that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, now fifteen years old, is fully implemented.

106. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Special Committee on decolonization has submitted its second report to the General Assembly [A/5446/Rev.1]. The great Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) on which it is based is now three years old. We have, therefore, an opportunity to analyse the whole of the Committee's work and determine with renewed zest and in broader perspective the course that the United Nations must henceforth follow.

107. This voluminous report submitted to us by the Special Committee—of such a bulk that my delegation hopes it will be an exception—and such matters as the number of territories dealt with and the number yet remaining to be studied, the pace of the decolonization process, the growing concern to put an end to this stage of international relations condemned by our Charter from the outset, the difficulties facing each new nation along the path that it must follow in order to consolidate its independence, and the varied reactions of the metropolitan countries—all these and many other problems tend inevitably by their very complexity and urgency to make us forget our goal. On the other hand, our goal compels us to assess the experience gained, to examine the methods used by the Special Committee and the Assembly, to estimate future problems and to alter, as necessary, the future course of the Special Committee. Our Organization has displayed the utmost flexibility in the ever changing problems of international life. Once again flexibility is required, and our Special Committee must be better equipped to assist the process of decolonization.

108. To carry out such a study we must trace the links between the Special Committee and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We are, as is well known, in the process of a long and fruitful evolution which has been taking place within the limits laid down in Chapter XI of our Charter. Its two articles under the heading "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories"—in so far as they express aspirations and establish broad programmes, constitute our beacon: Article 73 establishes clear limitations on the metropolitan countries and lays down the principle of international control; Article 74 applies the great principles of equity and the spirit of international co-operation which must triumph over selfish national interests in this world of ours.

109. These two articles have served as a yardstick for the constant and decisive efforts of the United Nations in furtherance of the freedom of hitherto subject peoples. But the evolution that has taken place from 1945 to the present day is now sufficiently long to reveal its essential features. My delegation believes that it is in these articles that we shall be able to find the directives that will guide the Special Committee in its future work.

110. The General Assembly took the trouble at the outset to request the establishment in agreement with the colonial Powers of a list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. When that was done, the States concerned were requested under Article 73 e to transmit information regarding the status, present situation and developments in those colonies. The Special

Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was established for that purpose. It soon became permanent, and its existence was a reminder of the continuing interest of the General Assembly in those territories. A first and most important milestone was thus established in regard to international control.

111. As was to be expected, there were various reactions on the part of the metropolitan countries; worried about interference in what had hitherto been within their exclusive jurisdiction, they tried hard to stem the tide. Their first reaction was to remove from the original list various Non-Self-Governing Territories; generally this was done by the process of constitutional change. Their second reaction was to try and get the General Assembly in specified instances to accept a limitation of its competence, in other words to decide when its competence ended in regard to a Non-Self-Governing Territory. The matter was gone into very carefully, and the result was the extremely important resolution 742 (VIII) on factors, as it was called. This betokened a general acceptance of the competence of the General Assembly to intervene in colonial matters. If we briefly recall the history of the League of Nations, we shall agree that this was a great step forward.

112. As a result, a large number of new Member States joined our Organization; some of them, apparently, with their own Non-Self-Governing Territories. But in face of the repeated refusals of the administering Powers it was indispensable to determine, and in every case within the scope of the Charter, when territories were truly colonial. Once again, the matter was examined at length, and with the approval of the representatives of the group of so-called colonial Powers, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV). Principle III, which appears in the annex to that resolution, sums up a long series of developments; it constitutes a worthy culmination of our Organization's constant efforts. In that principle, the metropolitan and non-metropolitan countries acknowledge that the possession of colonies constitutes an international obligation with all its legal consequences. Under that resolution the Assembly became a representative organ of the community, a trustee of peoples under the colonial yoke and capable of intervening on behalf of men who had not been able hitherto to attain self-government.

113. Soon these founder countries were to become a constellation of nations—mainly African—which by their presence strengthen our Organization. The Trusteeship Council has achieved brilliant successes and has almost eliminated itself by virtue of the fact that the majority of Trust Territories have gained their independence. As a result of this expansion and the renovated and vigorous anti-colonial spirit of the new Members, it was deemed possible to express in concrete terms the desire to put an end to colonialism. The General Assembly then adopted resolution 1514 (XV) which contains the Declaration.

114. Quite obviously, the Declaration marks the end of one phase and the beginning of another. We find in it many of the principles which we laboriously developed within the course of our history. The important role of the United Nations stands out clearly; the right of peoples to free self-determination pending their attainment of complete independence is firmly declared; provision is made for the immediate and full transfer of all rights to hitherto subject people.

115. The idea of immediate action was present in 1960. But it was a political, not a physical idea. One year later, the Assembly realized that it had not progressed far, at least not enough to justify the spirit in which the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples had been adopted. The General Assembly therefore established the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration resolution 1654 (XVI)] and requested it to examine the application of the Declaration and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress achieved. That was the first year, and as was inevitable, it was one of groping and experiment; there was some overlapping of the work of the Special Committee and other organs. The Committee established under Article 73 e of the Charter was still in existence. Efforts to merge them were founded on good reasons: better co-ordination through a division of functions and territories seemed advisable. Otherwise, machinery that is ill-devised might frustrate generous efforts and allow the colonial Powers to play the card of their choice.

116. In 1962 the Special Committee submitted its first voluminous report.^{5/} In view of the importance of the matter and the questions involved, it was considered that the report should be examined directly by the plenary. The same procedure was again adopted on this occasion with regard to the second report [A/5446/Rev.1]. But what was a bad practice has now virtually become established. The plenary, which reviews the work of its various Committees is not the most appropriate organ for an exhaustive debate. Nor can it devote the necessary time and attention to a careful and detailed analysis that such a voluminous and complex report as that of the Special Committee deserves. We listened last year, and again this year we are listening to a number of statements of a general nature which do not go to the roots of the problem and leave the Committee without the precise directives that it requires. It is not enough for the General Assembly to take note with approval —as, for instance, in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 1810 (XVII)—of the methods and procedures which the Special Committee has adopted; that is a mere beginning, and it is for the Assembly to determine the most adequate methods for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism; it should not be content to request the Special Committee to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration. I wish to put on record my delegation's hope that this procedure, which by its very nature must be regarded as quite extraordinary, will cease to be applied in the future. Our Fourth Committee has a long and brilliant history behind it; there is no reason why a careful and detailed study of future reports of the Special Committee should not be entrusted to it.

117. This seems all the more advisable since the Special Committee itself acknowledges that its work was not as easy or as effective as it would have liked. In paragraph 45 of chapter I of the report [A/5446/Rev.1], it states that it is aware "that decolonization in parts of Africa and elsewhere is not proceeding at a satisfactory pace". All the more reason why the Assembly should examine the problems facing the Special Committee and suggest to it new avenues for its activities.

118. Let us look now at the tools which the Special Committee has at its disposal. They are varied and indicative of the long series of developments to which I have referred. The Committee receives reports from the administering Powers either directly from those which are represented on it or through the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Alternatively, the Secretariat or other organs dealing with colonial matters provide the reports. In addition, there are other procedures originally limited to trusteeship problems, and the Committee has taken upon itself the right to hear petitioners and has even tried, though so far without success, to send out visiting missions. These are doubtless useful procedures and would be more so if they could be fully applied, but theirs is an old history. In using them, the Special Committee has not introduced any innovation; it may even be said that we are still working within the framework which existed before the adoption of the Declaration.

119. As a recently established body continuing the long anti-colonialist tradition of the United Nations, the Special Committee has elaborated new methods to which the Mexican delegation attributes unusual importance. It has introduced innovations in two fundamental sectors and it will find therein those elements which will make of it the organ most likely to put an end to colonialism. I refer in particular to direct negotiations and good offices. Here we find entirely new procedures in colonial matters. Nothing of the sort was foreseen at San Francisco; and doubtless our predecessors in the League of Nations would rub their eyes with incredulity in reading about them. That an organ of our Assembly should negotiate directly with a metropolitan Power about the future of a Non-Self-Governing Territory; that it should be able to act as a commission of good offices when a former colony is faced with internal difficulties, this indeed marks a very felicitous development in international relations.

120. The sceptics will tell us that direct negotiations with the United Kingdom over Southern Rhodesia have not been successful; that good offices concerning the future of British Guiana have not been fruitful either. But I believe that we must examine these great innovations with an optimism born of the Assembly's past experience in colonial affairs; a great process has been initiated, and the new paths that we have taken will not fail to lead us to our goal. Direct negotiations and good offices are, in my delegation's view, great innovations which fully justify the Special Committee, and its continued existence offers a guarantee of success. On many subjects, the great Powers have refused in principle to listen to those that are not great Powers; but they have acknowledged on occasion that the intervention of small powers is not only valuable but indispensable. The persistent reiteration of these principles and the repeated use of these methods will lead us here also to victory. It would be wrong for us to be discouraged by the inevitable initial failures. The conviction that the colonial Powers have now accepted the internationalization of the colonial problem assures us of success in the long run.

121. Of course, these new methods have to be applied with circumspection. There are large and viable territories about to attain their independence; the Special Committee can, in such cases, confine itself to a watching-brief. In other cases, there are territories whose future appears to be singularly obscure;

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 25, document A/5238.

these are viable States, but the administering Powers are quite heedless of world opinion. In such cases, the new methods do not appear to be applicable; the Committee may have to confine itself to continuing to gather information for the use of the Security Council.

122. It is just the opposite in territories with special internal difficulties where grave internal crises inherited from the colonial period are an impediment to early independence; precedents indicate that in these cases, the new methods are eminently suitable.

123. Good offices seem particularly applicable to the problems of territories of an undoubtedly colonial character but which are, at the same time, the product of imperial domination over nations already constituted. In these cases there is some dispute as to titular sovereignty. The Special Committee should not refrain from exercising its competence in respect of such territories; on the other hand, it should try to reconcile the interests of the subject peoples with those of other States and recommend—as the Mexican delegation proposed in 1962—reference of any dispute to the International Court of Justice or adoption of the pacific settlement procedures laid down in Article 33 of the Charter for a definitive solution.

124. Apart from those territories, there are others: remnants of the great colonial empires, they are not viable as potential nations and lose their justification with the disappearance of the great possessions which they were meant to safeguard. The representative of Chile made some acute observation on that subject [1267th meeting], and some time ago Mexico also submitted a draft resolution concerning a possible joint administration with the United Nations to ensure as early as possible and under the best possible conditions the exercise of the right of self-determination. Attention is only now being given to these territories and their problems. As the larger territories continue firmly and freely to organize themselves into States, other problems loom before us. The rules that were elaborated for the greater African territories are not applicable to them. We note also that the interest shown by Africa in the decolonization process is waning in respect of territories whose future is of greater interest to other regions. In its second report [A/5446/Rev.1], the Special Committee deals with four non-African territories whereas only one of them engaged its attention at its first session. This greater interest of non-African States in the liquidation of colonialism derives from Latin America's genuine and brilliant experience in this field; that is why my delegation was deeply astonished at the long process of negotiation which took place at the beginning of the year over the opposition shown by a group of countries to the inclusion of a Latin American representative among the officers of the Special Committee.

125. For such problems the Special Committee has as yet no adequate method. It even seems inclined to treat them as if they were identical with the old ones. As regards Malta, for example, in discussing a draft resolution, it rejected Italian amendments whereby Malta would have been granted technical assistance before independence. In the same way as regards the Fiji Islands, the distinction between viable and non-viable territories was not taken into account, as was pointed out by the representatives of Australia and Venezuela. My delegation trusts that the Committee will take into account the views

expressed in the plenary and will be able to achieve the widest application of the fundamental principle of self-determination so as to prevent the Administering Authorities from alleging unjustified motives for keeping non-metropolitan territories under their domination.

126. The Special Committee can look back with some satisfaction to its past efforts. But the Mexican delegation considers that it should not persist in a course of action which promises to be long and difficult. The precise decisions which were helpful to historically integrated and economically viable nations in their quest for independence are now behind us. We are entering a twilight zone where independence, apart from being an end in itself, must show itself as the best way for sovereign peoples to achieve economic and social progress. Hitherto it has been natural to assume that the latter is the logical outcome of the former. In future it cannot be accepted as the only outcome; the various other solutions for which provision is made in resolution 1514 (XV) as a means of ending a colonial situation have come up again for consideration.

127. Operative paragraph 5 of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) provides that "Immediate steps shall be taken ... to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations..." and lays down that such transfer must be in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire "to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom". It is this part of the Declaration—paragraph 5—which, in my delegation's opinion, determines the future of the small territories which have become stranded like the broken timbers of a great ship wrecked in a storm. To this sensitive issue must be added a no less important problem which arises, as has been said, from the imperial enclaves in foreign territories; these enclaves are by-products of the great empires and affect the national unity or territorial integrity of one State or another.

128. Proposals similar to those which I have just outlined were included in the draft resolution submitted by the Mexican delegation to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.^{9/} Many notions then latent have now developed. The Mexican delegation, like other Latin American delegations, trusts that the Assembly will lay down rules to guide the work of the Special Committee to a successful conclusion.

129. Mr. KANE (Senegal) (translated from French): The importance of the question which is now being discussed by the General Assembly no longer needs to be established. The founding Members at San Francisco were already aware of it. The United Nations Charter gave the peoples under colonial rule reasons for fighting for their independence. Its Preamble proclaimed "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", while Article 1(2) reaffirmed "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Lastly, when they signed the Charter, the Members of the United Nations which had responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognized, under

^{9/} *Ibid.*, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 88 and 22 (a), document A/L.369.

Article 73, "the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount" and accepted the obligation "to ensure... their political, economic, social, and educational advancement" and "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions".

130. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)], was later added to this edifice and gave the colonial peoples the legitimate hope of seeing their condition improve through a speeding-up of the process of decolonization.

131. It is now eighteen years since the Charter was signed and three years since the Declaration was adopted, and millions of human beings are still under the colonial yoke, under the rule and domination of foreign profiteers and adventurers. How then can we fail to recognize that, as many speakers have said before me, progress has fallen far short of the statements of intention and declarations of principle? The problems are too serious to allow the colonial Powers to side-step them either by engaging in legal quibbling or by resorting to delaying tactics. It is in the light of these considerations that the African Heads of State at the Addis Ababa Conference unequivocally reaffirmed their determination to do everything in their power to see that Africa is completely freed from all forms of colonialism and domination.

132. 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] is a comprehensive study, although the examination of the various territories falling within the Committee's competence is not completely finished. The delegation of Senegal wishes, at this time, to congratulate the Committee of Twenty-Four on the efforts it has made in carrying out the tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly in resolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) and 1810 (XVII).

133. Since, under resolution 1810 (XVII), the Committee is "to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence" and "to propose specific measures for the complete application of the Declaration", we feel that it is essential that the Committee should adopt working methods best calculated to achieve its objective. The experience it has already acquired in two years is appreciable. As it has to examine many different cases, some of which present special features, there is no reason to apply the same method of approach, *mutatis mutandis*, to each territory. The establishment of sub-committees and the organization of visiting missions to examine the situation in certain territories about which the Committee has little information seems to us a good method, because it makes for greater familiarity with the actual conditions.

134. I agree with the statement of Mr. Sori Coulibaly of Mali, Chairman of the Special Committee, that the Committee should not hold a debate on the situation in each territory and vote on a resolution, as is done in the main Committee of the General Assembly. Apart from the very controversial cases, usually the large territories, it is recommended that the

Committee, instead of wasting precious time in debating and then voting on a draft resolution, should try to reach a consensus of opinion. Moreover, a reading of the report shows that in many cases resolutions were adopted unanimously, and that means that a consensus of opinion could be arrived at.

135. Finally—and this is the last remark I have to make on the Committee's working methods—it is important that an attempt should be made to implement the spirit and not the letter of the Declaration. Some territories, minute in size and sparsely populated, have particular features which must be examined objectively. This is notably the case with the territory of the Pacific Islands and certain Caribbean islands. Do the peoples concerned believe that independence would be better for their territories than another form of self-government freely chosen by themselves? In seeking the answer to this question, the members of the Committee will, I have no doubt, show prudence and an ability to face facts, bearing in mind Principle VI of the annex to resolution 1541 (XV).

136. The General Assembly, in resolution 1654 (XVI), instructed the Special Committee to study the situation with regard to the Declaration and invited the Powers administering colonial territories to afford the Committee "their fullest co-operation in carrying out its tasks" [resolution 1654 (XVI), para. 7]. Now it is clear from the Committee's report that, in the majority of cases, these Powers have refused their co-operation. This is the case with Portugal and South Africa. The argument that the United Nations is not competent to examine the situation in the territories administered by these countries is no longer heard except at Lisbon and Pretoria. Resolution 1514 (XV) and the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the subject of the territories under Portuguese domination and of South West Africa should surely be sufficient to remove the slightest doubt.

137. Similarly, the constitutional argument and the argument that the United Nations interferes in its colonial administration, which the United Kingdom has advanced in the Committee with respect to Southern Rhodesia and Aden, cannot convince anyone but the champions of colonialism who dare not open their eyes to the facts. This is all the more regrettable in that the Committee of Twenty-Four expected from the United Kingdom, as a fully-fledged member of the Committee, something other than opposition to the sending of a sub-committee to Aden and refusal to use its good offices to help the leaders of the political parties of British Guiana to settle their differences. Nevertheless, my delegation, like many others, still hopes that at the close of this debate the United Kingdom will reappraise its position and heed the numerous appeals that have been made to it.

138. At the present time, the General Assembly must take stock of its position. It would serve no purpose—at least for the oppressed peoples who are waiting for the star of liberty to illumine at last the dark night through which they are passing—to reopen the whole case for decolonization in this forum. I realize that the representatives of countries that were once colonized are tempted to do so, because they know that some of their brothers are still living in the hell of colonialism, with all its attendant horrors.

139. During the past three sessions at plenary meetings and in the Committees of the Assembly, we have had occasion to define our position on the substance of the problem. We shall not do so again. What has been done? What remains to be done? Those are the questions that the General Assembly must answer and its answers will determine its future course of action. The delegation of Senegal, for its part, will try to answer those questions objectively and to suggest measures which it considers the General Assembly should take with a view to the complete implementation of the Declaration.

140. The report of the Committee of Twenty-Four gives us a clear idea of our present position. Kenya, Zanzibar and Malta are on the eve of independence: Kenya and Zanzibar will become independent this very month and Malta in the course of the coming year. Gambia, Rhodesia and Nyasaland have achieved self-government and it is to be hoped that the date of their independence will soon be set by the administering Power. This is the time to pay tribute to the United Kingdom for the constitutional, political and other progress it has brought about in these territories since the adoption of resolution 1810 (XVII). We welcome the fact that the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was decided upon at the Victoria Falls Conference.^{7/} I also wish to pay a special tribute to the political leaders of these countries for all the sacrifices they have made in their endeavour to win freedom and independence for their people.

141. In contrast with the appreciable progress that has been made in the countries I have just mentioned, the process of decolonization in other territories is still slow. Cases in point are British Guiana, which is still waiting for the date of its independence to be set, the Fiji Islands, Aden and the Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, which are coveted by South Africa. The General Assembly should take the necessary measures to prevent eventual aggression on the part of South Africa against these Territories, which come under the High Commission.

142. What are we to say about the tragedy of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and all the other territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa? We believe that, as long as the Security Council remains undecided and the General Assembly incapable of enforcing its own resolutions on the subject of these Territories, they will have to remain permanently on the agenda of the Security Council and the General Assembly, for they constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the African continent.

143. The Special Committee, as we were told by its Rapporteur on 28 November 1963 [1266th meeting], has not completed the examination of the situation in all the Territories to which the Declaration applies. I am thinking in particular of the territories administered by Spain. In renewing the mandate given to the Special Committee in resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 1810 (XVII), the General Assembly should make available to the Committee the material and financial resources necessary for the successful completion of its task.

144. I should like to conclude by clarifying my country's position with regard to the problem of Gambia. The Special Committee's discussions on Gambia dealt with two questions: its independence and the problem of its association with Senegal. To our great astonishment, the resolution adopted by the Committee on 13 September 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. XI, para. 105] made no mention of these two questions. This is to invent problems where none exists. Here in the General Assembly, on 31 October 1961, the President of the Republic of Senegal declared: "... we will respect the Gambian people's rights to self-determination, whether they choose to join us or not" [1045th plenary meeting, para. 32].

145. Subsequently, after consultations held at Bathurst and Dakar, the Governments of Gambia and Senegal agreed, as announced in a communiqué of 26 October 1962, that "... on the attainment of full sovereign independence by the Gambia, some form of association might be entered into between the Gambia and Senegal." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. XI, para. 33.]

146. At the request of the Governments of Senegal and Gambia, with the consent of the United Kingdom Government, the Secretary-General of the United Nations agreed to appoint a team of constitutional, economic, fiscal and financial experts. Under the terms of the communiqué of 26 October 1962, the conclusions of the team of experts will be studied by the two Governments and will form the subject of subsequent negotiations, with a view to achieving a close and friendly association between Gambia and Senegal. A preliminary mission of two members sent by the United Nations in May 1963 preceded the present group, made up of four experts, which is now on the spot. It is therefore too soon, in our opinion, to go into the question of association, for negotiations to this end will begin only after the two Governments have studied the experts' report. Hence at this stage, we can do no more than welcome Gambia's accession to internal self-government on 4 November 1963.

147. In our opinion, the Committee's resolution should at least have taken note of that important event in the Territory's harmonious progress towards independence, particularly considering that it was only in June 1963, after discussions held in London, that Her Majesty's Government agreed to grant internal self-government to the country.

148. I merely wish to add that Senegal and Gambia are bound together by geography, race, language and a host of other ties. The clearly expressed intention of the Governments of Gambia and Senegal to seek some form of friendly association between the two countries has a genuine and realistic basis. It is the natural course, both geographically and humanly speaking.

149. Senegal seeks association with Gambia only when it too is independent. We do not think that such an association would be any obstacle whatsoever to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960. We are sure in any case that by forming such an association Gambia and Senegal will together add one more stone to the edifice of African unity, the foundations of which were laid at Addis Ababa in May 1963.

^{7/} Central African Conference, held at Victoria Falls (Southern Rhodesia), 28 June-3 July 1963.

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would again appeal to distinguished representatives to be punctual in arriving at the times scheduled for our meetings so that no delays are caused through lack of a quorum.

151. There are thirty-five speakers listed for tomorrow's three meetings and I beg you, therefore, to make your statements as short as possible.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.