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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 62

Budget estimates for the financial year 1963

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5307)

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

Mr. Quao (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/5307).

1. Mr. CHERNYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The USSR delegation feels that it must give the reasons for which it will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution [A/5307, section 18] on the financing of the regular programme of technical assistance from the United Nations budget.

2. The USSR delegation cannot support this resolution because it considers that the sum of \$6.4 million for the financing of the regular programme of technical assistance to under-developed countries should not be included in the United Nations budget for 1963.

3. In our view, such appropriations cannot be regarded as binding on States Members of the United Nations within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter. Such expenditure should be financed on a voluntary basis and in national currencies. In the case of the Soviet Union, for example, contributions should be payable in roubles and not in United States dollars.

4. We believe that technical assistance to under-developed countries should be voluntary and that it should be provided through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund and under bilateral agreements.

5. With regard to the regular programme of technical assistance, certain obstacles prevent the Soviet Union, in particular, from participating in it. We are not allowed to participate in this programme through the provision of Soviet specialists. At the same time, we are asked to pay in United States dollars. It is known that the Soviet Union has qualified specialists and the latest equipment and that it is therefore able effectively to assist under-developed countries in their economic development.

6. We have in mind also the steady increase in the amount of appropriations for technical assistance under the regular budget, which is the procedure we are particularly opposed to.

7. The deliberate discrimination against the Soviet Union with regard to the practical implementation of the technical assistance programme in general casts doubt on the usefulness of the Soviet Union's participating in the regular programme of technical assistance, that is, assistance financed from the budget.

8. The Soviet Union has been providing substantial technical assistance to under-developed countries both through the United Nations and under bilateral agreements.

9. The Soviet Union is ready to continue to furnish assistance to under-developed countries. But we wish to do so on a voluntary basis, in national currency and without any discrimination whatsoever.

10. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation will be unable to support the draft resolution which has been submitted to the plenary meeting by the Fifth Committee.

11. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee which appears in the report [A/5307]. A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 1 and on operative paragraphs 2 and 3 taken together. The Assembly will therefore first vote on the preambulatory paragraphs of the draft resolution. Then on the operative paragraphs in the order I have mentioned and then on the draft resolution as a whole.

The preamble was adopted by 73 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 79 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 were adopted by 84 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 82 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

12. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Czechoslovakia in explanation of vote.

13. Mr. MUZIK (Czechoslovakia): In the Fifth Committee my delegation, in aiming to attain a solution of

the complicated question of technical assistance within the United Nations, suggested that the requested amount of \$6.4 million be transferred from the regular budget of the United Nations to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and that the two programmes be merged. This suggestion was based on our conviction that all technical assistance activities should be financed by voluntary contributions. At the same time, this suggestion would help to solve many of the existing problems of United Nations technical assistance. Specifically, our suggestion would inevitably restore to requesting developing countries their prerogative right to choose with complete freedom their own projects and to establish their own priorities; furthermore, the suggestion would inevitably be conducive to the elimination of any duplicity, to savings in administrative costs, and to making it possible to apply uniform procedures in both of the former programmes. The possibility for payment of these contributions in national currencies, as is already the case in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, would not only alleviate the heavy burden of paying contributions to the United Nations budget in convertible currencies, but would also accelerate the future growth of technical assistance resources.

14. Finally, my delegation has stated in the Fifth Committee [940th meeting], and has proved on the basis of facts and figures, that the present arrangement for United Nations technical assistance has made it possible to discriminate against Czechoslovakia and certain other countries whose possibilities—that is, services and facilities—were not satisfactorily utilized within the United Nations technical assistance. Further details of our suggestion are contained in paragraph 10 of the report [A/5307].

15. Before concluding, I would like to stress once again our anxiety to participate to the utmost in technical assistance activities. Another proof of this is the present increase by 50 per cent of Czechoslovak contributions to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1963, declared during the 1962 United Nations Pledging Conference. However, unless the present structure and administration of the United Nations technical assistance is changed, my delegation will not be able to support the recommendations related to United Nations technical assistance, and we had therefore to abstain when voting on the resolution.

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI)
(continued)

16. Mr. ROS (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The Argentine delegation wishes to thank and congratulate the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI), ^{1/} and in particular the representatives of Uruguay and Venezuela, for the work accomplished in that organ of the General Assembly. Document A/5238, containing the Committee's report, indicates the extent of the work it has accomplished in this first year of its activity.

^{1/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

17. In studying the report submitted to us, my delegation has also kept in mind what has been done by all the committees which have dealt with questions relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories and with the special case of the mandated territory of South West Africa during the interval between the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions of the General Assembly. There are some aspects of the picture presented to us, high-lighted by the accession of many territories to independence, which relate to the structure of the United Nations as well as to the substance of the problem of decolonization and which warrant serious analysis and a statement of our views, based broadly on the ideals of the United Nations Charter and on our traditional position on colonial problems.

18. To deal first with organizational problems, we feel that the Committee of Seventeen has done its work well, despite the fact that, in an effort to accommodate views which were in some cases far apart, its terms of reference were by no means clear. Taking as its guide the ultimate objectives outlined in resolution 1514 (XV), the Committee of Seventeen has overcome the lack of precision in its terms of reference. Thus, the report submitted to this session of the General Assembly indicates a line of action directed positively towards the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), and the draft resolutions contained in the report reaffirm that purpose in the case of a number of specific territories.

19. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization (A/5201/Add.1) regarding the need to reduce the division of responsibilities for colonial questions. The number of special committees dealing with such questions during the year now drawing to a close demonstrates the necessity of concentrating this work in the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI). We have seen instances where the same item was dealt with by two committees simultaneously. That defect, logical as it may seem at a time when the Assembly is passing through a period of experimentation, should be corrected, and the body established under the aforesaid resolution should assume all the responsibilities which are spread over other *ad hoc* committees. In so doing, the Committee of Seventeen can establish whatever sub-committees it may require to carry out its duties. The draft resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee (A/C.4/L.757) has already dissolved the Special Committee for South West Africa and has asked the Committee of Seventeen to take over its functions. The body known as the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, and the sub-committee for Angola, should be similarly abolished. We believe that this should be done because, by assigning to different committees responsibilities which logically fall within the competence of the body established under resolution 1654 (XVI), we are undermining the latter's prestige and duplicating, if not triplicating, the work of the Organization. Needless to say, this view implies no criticism of the excellent work done by the *ad hoc* committees, as summarized in the reports submitted to us.

20. We venture to make one exception to our previous suggestion. We believe that when the United Nations machinery for dealing with colonial questions is overhauled, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be maintained. We think that it should work closely with the Committee of Seventeen, but we also think, from the experience we

gained in serving as a member for three years, that the kind of work it is now doing, in accordance with the Charter, is quite different in nature from that performed in the Special Committee. The Committee on Information works in an unperturbed atmosphere conducive to the balanced judgement and objectivity with which information transmitted by administering Powers should be examined. We hardly think that the Special Committee would be able to spare the time required for a serious study of such information.

21. Another aspect which calls for some comment is the present composition of the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI). If the Committee is to take over and centralize the detailed work previously performed by the *ad hoc* committees, it will necessarily have to establish sub-committees, as it has already done for dealing with petitions. This in itself is surely a good argument for enlarging its membership. A further reason is that the Special Committee must be fully representative. We believe that Latin America, which was represented in the other special committees, should continue to enjoy adequate representation in the enlarged committee. We trust that the present proportions will not be changed to our disadvantage if the membership is increased.

22. Turning now from problems of structure, we should like to refer to certain substantive aspects of the question. We must express our disappointment and regret at the failure of some administering Powers to co-operate with the United Nations. In that respect, Portugal has given no indication of accepting the slightest possibility of reaching an understanding. Both the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and the report on Angola indicate that the Government of Portugal simply refuses to grasp the problem and persists in its vain attempts to find refuge in Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter even after the Organization, by an overwhelming vote of almost all its Members, has declared itself competent in the matter. South Africa feels that, where the territory of South West Africa is concerned, it can continue to disregard its responsibilities under the Mandate, despite the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Confronted by such downright negative attitudes, we cannot but acknowledge that, generally speaking, the other administering Powers have co-operated sincerely with the United Nations and have facilitated the task of decolonization to some extent.

23. The process whereby colonial countries and peoples accede to independence is not the same in all territories; the problems are not the same; sometimes internal difficulties within local parties unnecessarily delay the date of independence. The problem of the European minorities which control local government may, as a result of a lack of political vision and magnanimity on the part of their leaders, complicate the smooth progress of some territories towards the free exercise of their right to self-determination. Yet, despite the complications created by these and other factors, we believe that freedom will come to all the colonial peoples. Our task, and the task of the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI), is to see that that freedom is gained as rapidly as possible, peacefully and in close co-operation with the administering Powers, provided that the latter understand the objectives which the United Nations has set itself and that they demonstrate their loyal support for the Organization.

24. Our country, a part of whose territory is under foreign occupation, understands the ardent desire of the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Americas for immediate freedom. We believe that, in this era of freedom, we shall witness the elimination of colonialism in all its manifestations and forms, even in the case of very small territories. For example, the occupation of Las Islas Malvinas, a flagrant violation of our sovereignty carried out at a time when British imperialism was spreading and Argentina was newly independent, is regarded by the people of Argentina as something which cannot usefully contribute to mutual understanding and friendship between two peoples bound by so many other ties. The presence of the United Kingdom in those sparsely populated islands is an anachronism devoid of political sense, and we hope that the magnanimity displayed by the United Kingdom in other parts of the world will be reflected in this particular instance also.

25. We would not want to conclude without expressing our fervent hope that, during the coming year, more countries will attain their independence and still others will intensify and accelerate the process leading to that goal. Our trust is in the United Nations, in the Special Committee and in the understanding and co-operation of the administering Powers, that this process may be completed smoothly and democratically, free from political, racial or economic discrimination and with a noble insight into the future of those peoples.

26. Mr. MACQUARRIE (Canada): Last year, when resolution 1654 (XVI) was adopted, the Canadian delegation recognized that it was logical and sensible to create machinery for the purpose of examining the application of the 1960 colonial Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)] and making suggestions and recommendations on the progress achieved in implementing the Declaration. That Declaration is rightly regarded as a historic document. It expresses in the clearest terms the very strong desire of this Assembly to hasten in every way it can the movement to independence which has been one of the most exciting and important features of the times in which we live.

27. My delegation sees no need to feel dissatisfied with the steady progress which has been made in the past two years towards its implementation. Seventeen new Members joined the United Nations in September and October 1960, at the beginning of the fifteenth session. Because of pride in their independence and their desire that the movement should not lose its momentum, these new Members played a most decisive part in bringing about the adoption of the colonial Declaration by an overwhelming majority of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 [947th meeting]. Since that date the United Nations has welcomed ten more newly independent Member countries. Several more are on the verge of independence, and we look forward to welcoming them.

28. Canada voted for the resolution setting up the Committee of Seventeen on the understanding that the function of the Committee was to scrutinize the progress made in applying the principles of the colonial Declaration, to offer suggestions on the practical steps that should be taken in particular territories, and to report back to the General Assembly at the present session.

29. As has been made clear on other occasions, the Canadian attitude to the problem of ending colonialism is based on a number of considerations. First and

foremost is Canada's concern that fundamental human rights and freedoms should be fully respected throughout the world, including the national right of self-determination and the freedom of the individual from discrimination on grounds of race, colour, creed or political belief. Secondly, Canada wishes to do all it can to promote the evolution from colonial rule to full self-government and independence for all dependent peoples who desire that status, at a rate of development governed only by practical considerations of internal stability. Canadians believe firmly in the policy of the good start—the creation of a viable economy with a solid base of trained administrators. Thirdly, it is the opinion of the Canadian Government that the Declaration on colonialism is intended to apply throughout the world. Fourthly, each remaining colonial territory has its own special problems and its own conditions. The United Nations approach should therefore be pragmatic. Different methods must be applied to fit the circumstances in each case. Fifthly, the Administering Authorities cannot share or shift their responsibilities for the dependent peoples under their control. If the United Nations is to contribute to orderly evolution, it must take account of these responsibilities, as well as of the aspirations of the inhabitants of the colonial territory concerned.

30. The Special Committee has pursued its difficult task with vigour and determination. My delegation is particularly happy to pay tribute to the ability and wisdom of the Committee's Chairman, Mr. Jha of India, whom we have recently welcomed as his country's representative in Canada.

31. The Committee has done a great deal of useful work in the investigation of the issues involved in the areas which it has studied. The scope of the report shows the magnitude of the problems still unresolved. The experience of the Committee clearly demonstrates that progress in this most important and complicated field can best be achieved in a spirit of accommodation among all parties concerned. Whenever it has been possible to reach a consensus, the Committee's proposals have pointed the way to practical progress. Unfortunately, the Soviet delegation used the Special Committee's deliberations as an opportunity to put forward extreme proposals on colonial territories, proposals which were known to be unacceptable to the administering Power, rather than to find practical solutions to existing problems. The subject with which the Committee is concerned, the achievement of self-government by dependent peoples, is too important to be used as a device for scoring meaningless victories in Committee debates, or for the passing of resolutions which have little or no prospect of being carried out.

32. On occasion, the Committee adopted resolutions addressed directly to the administering Power. This, in our view, goes beyond the mandate of the Committee and is a most undesirable development, having regard to the authority and prestige of the General Assembly. The Committee should confine itself to reporting to the General Assembly. If it believes that the situation in a particular territory demands urgent consideration by the Assembly, it is at liberty to say so. The Assembly can then take action, if it sees fit, under the procedure for holding an emergency or special session. In any case, the responsibility for making direct recommendations to the administering Powers should remain with the General Assembly.

33. Having made those comments, I should like to emphasize my delegation's opinion that the fundamental

idea which led to the creation of the Committee of Seventeen is a sound one—namely, that there should be somebody, responsible to the Assembly, which has the duty of weighing and evaluating the progress achieved in carrying out the colonial Declaration of 14 December 1960. The only alternative, and one which we consider impractical save in special circumstances, would be the creation of a number of subsidiary bodies, each with a limited and particular mandate. This would raise serious problems of co-ordination. There would also be a real danger that the proliferation of special colonial committees, with widely varying compositions, could lead to uneven reports and be wasteful of both efforts and funds. The latter would be particularly objectionable at a time when the United Nations is trying to economize its resources of manpower and money.

34. My delegation does not wish to comment at this time on the individual recommendations made by the Committee of Seventeen. Some, such as those on Northern Rhodesia and British Guiana, have been overtaken by events. The General Assembly has considered and acted upon the conclusions and recommendations regarding South Rhodesia. As for South West Africa, this question has already been examined by the Fourth Committee, on which I have on more than one occasion had the honour of representing my country.

35. The result of the debate on South West Africa which has just concluded in the Fourth Committee is proof of the essential unity which can be realized, even on a difficult colonial issue, when a serious and patient effort is made to take account of various points of view and thus to maximize the area of agreement. For similar reasons, we continue to believe that the consensus procedure is the method of work best suited to the Special Committee. It allows full play to all Members, enables the majority view to be clearly and forcefully expressed and avoids the need for formal votes, which would often divide the Committee.

36. In pursuing its work in the immediate future, the Special Committee will continue to devote most of its attention to the problems of applying the colonial Declaration in African territories. We recognize the validity of the Committee's decision to give priority to the remaining areas of colonial rule in Africa. That continent is the scene of some of the most complex problems yet remaining to be solved.

37. The Special Committee recognizes, in its report, that:

"... it has by no means completed the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and that there are many more territories concerning which the implementation of the Declaration remains to be considered" [A/5238, chapter I, para. 151].

This conclusion is fully sustained by actual situations which exist in many parts of the world but which are not confined to any one geographical area. Understandably, in recent years, there has been emphasis on Asia and Africa, because those are the areas in which the stirring march to nationhood has surged forward at a quickening pace. It is the very fact of great progress in these areas which has stimulated and concentrated international interest in developments there.

38. But this Assembly has recognized that the Special Committee of Seventeen must be aware that,

like the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and like the Charter of this Organization, the Declaration on colonialism was intended to be all-embracing in its application. The appropriate Assembly resolutions on this subject offer no exemption and admit of no exceptions. The rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration extend to subject peoples everywhere. This, in the Canadian view, should be the basic approach of the United Nations to the implementation of all declarations and resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with fundamental rights and freedoms. It is their universal application, without distinction, that we should keep in mind. Having regard to its established methods and priorities, the Assembly should act to ensure that degree of application. In our approach to colonialism, all of us here should recall that the historical factors which contributed to the establishment of Belgian, British, Dutch, French and German imperial systems in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led at the same time to the establishment of a Russian empire, under which long-established cultures and whole nations were subjected to foreign domination. In the course of that development, colonialism spread from Europe, not only across the oceans, but also over wide stretches of land. Moreover, in modern times, we have witnessed a second surge of Russian imperialism. Free countries, established by virtue of the right of self-determination, which was promoted at the end of the First World War, have been swallowed by the Communist empire.

39. But this is not merely a matter of history, obscured by the passing of time; it is an essential part of the problem which we are discussing today and which we have discussed in this Assembly on many earlier occasions and under various items. It is the problem of the universal application of rights and freedoms proclaimed under the general authority of our Charter.

40. In the pursuit of these great Charter principles and purposes, this Organization has been instrumental in bringing freedom and independence to many nations. The record since 1939 shows that forty-four nations, with a total population of over 840 million people, have attained independence. Their representatives today play an important part in our deliberations.

41. But what about the position of the subject peoples within the Soviet empire? Assessments may vary, but there are about 96 million people under Soviet rule who have never been permitted to exercise the right of self-determination which the Soviet Union so loudly proclaims for others. It is a unique and disturbing phenomenon at this time in world affairs, when one of the highest aspirations of mankind is the peaceful and orderly evolution to freedom for all dependent peoples, that the Soviet Union should continue to deny the rights of free election and expression to subject nations under its domination.

42. It is all the more disturbing because the actual developments within the Soviet empire are so completely out of tune with the protestations of Soviet propaganda. Directly following the Soviet revolution, much was made of the communist belief in the right of self-determination. During the early twenties, independent States did spring into being in the land-mass now dominated by Russian communism. The nationhood of separate peoples in that broad area was, however, quickly extinguished as soon as the communist party leaders in Moscow realized that

those States were intent on protecting from Kremlin interference their political freedom and their cultural and linguistic heritage. With callous disregard for the earlier recognition of the independence of those States, and with no thought for the treaties of friendship and non-interference legally binding between them and the Soviet Union, the Red Army was deployed to subjugate many small but proud nations. So it has been that, even in the period of progress elsewhere—that is, since 1939—the Soviet Union has incorporated over 260,000 square miles of additional territory with a population of 22 million people. Employing tactics devised in the earlier revolutionary period, with some refinements of more recent times, the Soviet empire in the last twenty-three years has absorbed the Baltic States; the Kurile Islands; South Sakhalin; Tannu Tuva, formerly a part of Mongolia; certain Finnish provinces; certain Polish provinces; Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, formerly belonging to Romania; East Prussia and Ruthenia, formerly a part of Czechoslovakia and predominantly Ukrainian in speech and culture.

43. Moreover, this spread of Soviet domination has always been accompanied by a systematic suppression of political nationalism in the subject areas and by the subversion of long-cherished cultures, languages and religions. When resistance proved stubborn, the Soviet Union used deportation as a method of consolidating its rule. No less than seven minority nations were deported from their native regions, and it was not until 1957 that any pretence was made to restore to some of them even a token of their deprived rights.

44. This is but a small part of the Soviet record of tyranny, and it is a sorry record for a nation holding great Power status in this Organization. It lays bare the reasons why the Soviet Union and its supporters spend so much time in United Nations debates criticizing and condemning the actions of others.

45. It explains why the Soviet representatives on the Special Committee of Seventeen have engaged in tactics which could have no purpose but to disrupt the work of the Committee. Clearly, Soviet representatives were seeking to cover, with a smoke screen of violent attacks against the Western Powers, the ugly realities which exist within the sphere of Soviet imperialism. To divert attention from its own evil practices, the Soviet Union has long preached against the sins of others.

46. In keeping with its own tradition and outlook, Canada has warmly welcomed the steady development toward independence during the last two decades. We have sought to promote that development by exerting our influence in the direction of accommodation and orderly progress. We have been glad to assist the new nations in finding a firm footing in economic and social stability.

47. Therefore, we cannot but deplore that the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which has marked this period of United Nations achievement, has not spread to the areas under Soviet domination. The contrast between the record of the Western Powers and that of the Soviet Union is clear for all to see, and the discrepancy between Soviet protestation and Soviet performance is no secret. We need look no farther than the Berlin wall to see the determination with which the Soviet Union seeks to isolate the oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain from the contagion of freedom.

48. The views which I have been expressing reflect no new departure on Canada's part. Speaking in the general debate of this Assembly in September 1960 [871st meeting] the Prime Minister of Canada sharply contrasted the record of the Western European Powers with that of the Soviet Union. Mr. Diefenbaker had the opportunity then to call on Chairman Khrushchev to make good his many professions of concern for the rights of dependent peoples by granting to the nations under his domination the right to choose their own leaders and form of government through free and secret elections. At that time the Canadian Prime Minister said:

"Indeed in this Assembly the membership is composed in a very considerable measure of the graduates of empires, mandates and trusteeships of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and other nations.

"I pause to ask this question: how many human beings have been liberated by the USSR? Do we forget how one of the post-war colonies of the Soviet Union sought to liberate itself four years ago, and with what results?

"I say that because these facts of history in the Commonwealth and other countries invite comparison with the domination over peoples and territories, sometimes gained under the guise of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of political freedom. How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 with Chairman Khrushchev's confident assertion of 23 September in this Assembly? Mr. Khrushchev said [869th meeting]:

"We have stood, we stand, and always will stand for the right of the peoples of Africa, just as those of other continents, to establish whatever régime they may please in their countries on attaining their freedom from colonial oppression."

"That I accept—and I hope that those words mean a change of attitude for the future on the part of those he represents.

"What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them? Mr. Khrushchev went further and said in the same meeting:

"... Complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations is demonstrated by the entire course of the history of the world in recent decades."

"There can be no double standard in international affairs.

"I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections—to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under generally free conditions. If those conclusions were what his words meant, for they must apply universally, then indeed will there be new action to carry out the obligations of the United Nations Charter; then indeed will there be new hope for all mankind." [871st meeting, para. 193 to 197.]

I need hardly add that the Soviet Union did not respond to this invitation. No evidence has come to the United Nations to suggest an easing of the intolerable situation in the Soviet empire.

49. Consistent with the position outlined by the Prime Minister, the Canadian Government has continued to urge that the focus of United Nations attention be brought to bear on conditions within the Soviet empire and more particularly on the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These conditions should be placed in the context of all Assembly discussions about these rights and freedoms and about the status of dependent peoples everywhere. Our aim is to provide perspective for the strident demands which the Soviet Union makes on behalf of others for rights and benefits denied to subject peoples of the Soviet empire.

50. There can be no dispute that the Declaration on colonialism is intended to apply throughout the world. There can be no denying that its implementation is far from complete. It is abundantly evident that the Special Committee of Seventeen has much useful work to perform in the future. If I have stressed, in this statement, the problem of Soviet imperialism, I have done so because, in the opinion of my Government, not enough United Nations attention has been paid to that problem in the past. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, why should it not turn its attention at some stage to the areas of darkness under Soviet rule? This Assembly has no cause to be selective in its denunciation of oppression.

Mr. Crowe (United Kingdom), Vice-President, took the Chair.

51. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Two years have passed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) on the elimination of the odious system of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. At its last session the Assembly, in its resolution 1654 (XVI), noted with regret the violation of the provisions of the Declaration by the colonial Powers and set up a Special Committee of seventeen members to examine the application of those provisions and to report to the Assembly at this session.

52. The resolutions and measures adopted by the United Nations have spurred the hopes of the subject peoples and given a new impetus to their strivings and to their legitimate struggle for national liberation. These decisions were supported by all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples.

53. Yet the colonial Powers have not only disregarded their obligations, both under the abovementioned resolutions and pursuant to the Charter; confronted by the endeavours of the United Nations and the growing struggle of peoples to cast off the shackles of colonialism, they have redoubled their machinations and have striven by every means at their disposal to maintain, even if in a new guise, the shameful system of subjugation and exploitation of peoples which is the very basis of imperialism.

54. This year, by dint of struggle, more countries have attained their independence. Thus we have had the pleasure of welcoming to the United Nations six new Members. It should be particularly emphasized that the historic victory won by the valiant people of Algeria through their long and heroic struggle was the richly deserved triumph of their legitimate aspirations. By their victorious struggle, the Algerian people have not only liberated their homeland; they have become, by their example, a source of inspiration and encouragement to all peoples struggling

against colonial subjugation and have made a great contribution to the cause of the drive for national liberation.

55. Other nations—tens of millions of human beings—still suffer under the yoke of foreign domination. In various parts of the world there are peoples fighting against the colonialist oppressors, men by the thousands dying in battle or suffering savage repressive measures simply because of their struggle to gain recognition of their legitimate and inalienable right to freedom and independence. Resolution 1514 (XV), paragraph 5, stipulates:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

56. We cannot but express our concern with regard to the implementation of the Declaration and the intolerable state of affairs under which millions of subjugated people now labour and which, at the same time, represents a constant threat to international peace and security. The provisions of the Declaration must not remain a dead letter; they must be put into action and must contribute effectively to the struggle of the subject peoples seeking to make an end, once and for all and without further delay, of the colonial system.

57. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fate of those who are still suffering under the colonial domination of the imperialists. The report of the Special Committee (A/5238) and the plain facts of the situation now prevailing in the dependent territories in Africa and in other continents testify to the importance of the final and immediate eradication of colonialism in all its forms.

58. Some of the speakers who preceded me in this debate have mentioned the serious situation which exists in the territories studied in the Special Committee's report and in other dependent territories, and they have described the negative positions adopted in that regard by the administering Powers concerned, their obstructionist attitudes and their various manoeuvres to evade the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Irrefutable facts cited from this rostrum have clearly shown us how the Powers have spurned the provisions of the Declaration and how they have redoubled their efforts to protract their sway over the territories under their administration for as long as possible.

59. In Africa, the United Kingdom continues its systematic policy of safeguarding, in new guises, its imperialist and colonialist interests.

60. In the two Rhodesias and in Nyasaland, where the most detestable racial discrimination is rife, the United Kingdom, disregarding the Declaration of 14 December 1960, persists in its legislative trickery and in other intolerable discriminatory measures designed to secure the privileged position of the minority of white settlers and to safeguard the interests of the United Kingdom colonialists who derive fabulous profits from those countries.

61. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom has completely disregarded resolution 1747 (XVI), and in particular its operative paragraph 2 (a) in which the General Assembly requests the convening of a constitutional conference in which all political parties would be represented for the purpose of formulating "a constitution... in place of the Constitution of 8 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of 'one man, one vote'". Contrary to the Assembly's request, and despite the determined opposition of the African population, the United Kingdom Government has in fact now put into force the discriminatory Constitution of 1961. Arbitrary and discriminatory practices against the African population, which constitutes the overwhelming majority, continue as in the past; a merciless system of repression is directed against all the progressive forces of the indigenous population; political parties are still prohibited and the freedom fighters languish in the jails of the white masters.

62. Other means to the same ends are employed in other territories under United Kingdom administration. As is clear from the report of the Committee of Seventeen, the United Kingdom Government, despite its promises and declarations, is applying its well-known traditional method of "divide and rule" in Kenya, in Zanzibar and in British Guiana, striving to sow the seeds of all manner of discord and to promote separatism and regionalism. The patriots of Kenya have cautioned the United Nations against any delay, which might endanger, not only the future of a country threatened with dismemberment and fragmentation into new Katangas, but peace in general.

63. In Zanzibar, the United Kingdom authorities continue to arrest and imprison patriots struggling against colonial oppression. On 5 May 1962, they arrested a journalist, James Bugenko, and fourteen other patriots. The people of Zanzibar rose up in force and protested strongly against such acts; in particular, they brought to light that there was collusion, in these despicable operations, between the United Kingdom authorities and the United States consulate in Zanzibar, aimed at crushing the struggle of that territory's freedom fighters by every repressive means. The people of Zanzibar denounced United States "aid" and firmly demanded the dismantlement of United States rocket bases in Zanzibar.

64. As for British Guiana, the United Kingdom has again postponed the territory's independence and has not even fixed a date for it.

65. In the Middle East, the United Kingdom, apart from its war of extermination against the heroic people of Oman, who for years have been struggling for their freedom and independence, plans to convert its colony of Aden into a major military base to serve its aggressive purposes in a region where its position has been severely shaken by its defeat over the Suez Canal. The recent measures taken by the United Kingdom Government to that end, including its attempts to set up a federation between Aden and the adjacent areas, give us added proof of the close link between the strategic military plans of the imperialists and their system of colonial domination, and thus of the threat to the cause of peace represented by the continued subjugation of peoples.

66. Despite resolution 1514 (XV) and the repeated condemnation by the General Assembly and by world

public opinion of Portugal's colonialist policy and its absurd claims regarding its colonies, the Government of that country continues to disregard its obligations under the Charter and under United Nations resolutions. True to its thoroughly negative and insensate outlook, the Portuguese Government, on 28 August 1962, made public a plan for the outright annexation to Portugal of its colonies as an integral part of its metropolitan territory. Paradoxical as they may seem, it reflects that Government's conception of its colonies. The world knows of the war of extermination waged by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola for the past two years. We cannot too strongly call the attention of the General Assembly to this iniquitous war which has become sheer genocide. The United Nations must take urgent action to end the slaughter of a people struggling for its inalienable right to live in freedom and independence.

67. A system of terror and repression prevails in the other Portuguese colonies. The leader of the struggle for national liberation in "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Amílcar Kobra, at a press conference on 27 August 1962, said of the régime of colonial terror in his country that the capital, Bissau, had been turned into a vast prison; more than 9,000 police armed with modern weapons were terrorizing the indigenous population, and some 3,000 freedom fighters were rotting in gaols and concentration camps. Among the methods employed against the Africans by the colonial authorities he cited poisoning, brutal torture and the wiping-out of entire villages. Speaking of the constantly rising struggle for national liberation, he drew attention in particular to the aid furnished to Portugal in its colonial war by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the imperialist Powers belonging to that aggressive bloc, foremost among them being the United States.

68. There is no doubt that, without such aid, Portugal would never be able to resist the rising struggle for national liberation of the peoples under its domination or to spurn the numerous resolutions on the subject adopted by the General Assembly. As is well known, the United States, under its current agreement with Portugal, has constructed military bases in the Azores. Before renewing the agreement, the Portuguese Government has demanded of the United States further supplies of arms and a greater measure of diplomatic support for its colonial policy in Africa. The newspaper *La Tribune des Nations* recently reported that Portugal had asked the United States Government to use its influence with some of its allies in the United Nations to enlist their support in the Organization for Portugal with regard to its colonial problems; the newspaper also said that this request had been approved by the Pentagon.

69. There is close co-operation between the Portuguese colonialists and the United States imperialists concerning all the Portuguese colonies. It is through such co-operation that Portugal is now building new bases in Angola and Mozambique.

70. The nationalist leader of Mozambique, A. Gvambé, said among other things in a recent statement on the subject that, apart from the ten bases already in Mozambique, the Portuguese were going to construct five more, including one near the Tanganyikan border. All these bases, he asserted, are being constructed with the direct assistance of the NATO bloc of countries for the purpose of suppressing the liberation movement in Mozambique and in other African coun-

tries. We deem it necessary to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the importance of abolishing the military bases of the Western Powers on African soil and in their other dependent territories, thus serving both the need to create conditions conducive to the liberation of the subjugated peoples and peace in general.

71. In South Africa, the Government continues to impose its criminal policy of apartheid against the coloured population. That Government, entirely disregarding the General Assembly's Declaration and the numerous resolutions adopted on the subject, is maintaining its colonial domination of South West Africa. The extraordinary measures that it has taken recently, and the acceleration of its military preparations to repress the movement for national liberation in South West Africa by force of arms, cannot fail to disquiet the United Nations and to make it aware of the seriousness of the situation. As recommended in the report of the Special Committee, the United Nations must take immediate and positive measures to ensure that South West Africa becomes independent as soon as possible.

72. The situation that obtains in the territories still under the colonial system presents a sinister picture. There are millions of human beings still experiencing the most inhuman exploitation living in poverty, suffering racial discrimination and the most odious humiliation, deprived of the most elementary political, economic and social rights, and constantly subjected to a régime of savage terror and repression which grows worse as the striving and struggle of these peoples for national liberation gains in strength, and which culminates in some cases in a colonial war of extermination. The colonialist masters, the metropolitan monopolies and their local instruments, and the white settlers transplanted into the dependent territories from outside, hold all the power in their hands, reap enormous profits and enjoy every privilege at the expense of the indigenous population.

73. The negative attitude which the colonial Powers stubbornly adopt with regard to resolution 1514 (XV) and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and towards the very principles of the Charter, conflicts with the obligations incumbent upon those Powers as Members of the United Nations. This anachronistic attitude, which weighs so heavily on the lives of millions of human beings, is condemned by all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and can no longer be tolerated.

74. The fact that the colonialist Powers have been able to maintain their colonial domination to this day and to withstand the tidal wave of the peoples' striving for independence is undoubtedly due to their solidarity, and above all to the support and assistance they receive from the leading imperialist Power, the United States. That country is now the main bulwark of colonialism in our time. It is the most dangerous adversary of the striving for national liberation of the peoples, and of all who fight to free themselves of the colonial yoke or to consolidate their independence and national sovereignty. The United States therefore bears primary responsibility for the continued existence of the detested system of colonial exploitation, in which the United States monopolies are co-partners with the other colonialists and from which they derive enormous profits.

75. One characteristic feature of the period following the Second World War is that the imperialist Powers,

faced by a new power relationship in the world and buffeted by the mounting tide of the struggle for liberation of the subjugated peoples, have realized that they can no longer maintain outdated forms of political domination in the colonies; to safeguard their interests, they felt it necessary to resort to new methods which are less obvious than the former ones and more suited to the new circumstances. Thus they have found themselves obligated, in some cases, to make political concessions while at the same time safeguarding their economic interests, principally in the form of control over raw materials and foodstuffs, as well as over markets for their industrial products and their capital.

76. Some new partners, such as the United States, Western Germany and others, have joined the old colonialists in practising this form of neo-colonialist exploitation of the peoples. In the great neo-colonialist stakes, the United States has certainly proved to be the most powerful and most formidable competitor to the former colonial Powers, and also the most dangerous adversary of the peoples struggling for their independence.

77. Since foreigners began to mine gold, diamonds, copper and other minerals in such regions as South Africa, Rhodesia and the Congo, American capital has been competing with European capital. In order to gain some idea of the flow of United States capital into Africa, it should be noted that whereas United States investments in that continent in 1939 amounted to only \$100 million, in 1959 the total investments were more than \$2,000 million and produced a profit of 20 per cent, or \$400 million. It is important to note the significant fact that, although the total of current United States investment in Africa is less than that of the European colonial Powers, the latter is decreasing while United States investment is constantly increasing.

78. The assistance offered by the Western Powers to the under-developed countries which have recently become independent does not meet their need for rapid development; it is given for purposes totally divorced from the interests of those countries.

79. A pamphlet recently published by the Foreign Affairs Mission of the Kenya African National Union, describing in detail the United States neo-colonialist infiltration into Africa, states that the various forms of "aid" from the United States to the under-developed countries are designed, not to give those countries what they need for their rapid development, but rather to establish bases for the infiltration of United States investments and to satisfy the requirements of United States imperialism, which are: a cheap supply of mineral and other resources needed by United States industry; new markets and greater profits for manufactured goods from the United States or for consumer-goods industries established abroad with United States capital; control of strategic commodities, establishment of additional military bases and alliances, and compulsion of economically dependent countries to follow the foreign policy of the United States Government. The pamphlet also states that the "assistance" given to African countries by the United States is nothing more or less than the provision of arms to be used against the peoples of those very colonies for the protection of the investments of the United States companies exploiting them.

80. Of course, United States neo-colonialist infiltration is not confined to Africa, but extends to other con-

tinents and to many countries. Thus aside from direct colonial domination, the United States is using new and camouflaged methods of establishing the financial and political domination of United States imperialism.

81. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America undoubtedly know exactly where they stand. By their own experience of colonialist domination, or by the experience of other peoples who succeeded in casting off the chains of colonialism only after a lengthy struggle, they will be able to find ways of frustrating the plans and purposes of all neo-colonialists, including the United States.

82. More than ever before, the current trend in the international situation favours the cause of the peoples, whose struggle against colonialism and neo-colonial-sources of war and international tension, is being intensified and is gaining victory after victory. This struggle is closely linked to the popular movement in defence of peace. Peace and the freedom of peoples are indivisible. Every victory in the struggle for national independence weakens the forces of aggressive imperialism, strikes a blow at the forces of war and contributes to the consolidation of peace.

83. The United Nations must spare no effort to make an effective contribution to the struggle of peoples for independence. This is its highest task. The colonial Powers ignore the Declaration and the General Assembly resolutions on the subject and refuse to abandon their colonialist and imperialist interests. The General Assembly must take adequate, energetic and decisive steps to force the colonial Powers to apply and implement, completely and forthwith, the Declaration calling for the elimination, at the earliest possible moment and without delay, of the colonialist system in all its forms and manifestations. Colonialism, that survival which disgraces our society, must be wiped out once for all.

84. The United Nations must also require all its Members to refrain from giving to any colonial Power assistance which will be used against peoples struggling to free themselves from colonialism.

85. In view of the obstinately negative attitude displayed by Portugal and South Africa towards all United Nations resolutions which concern them, it is high time for the General Assembly to take decisive steps to force these colonial Powers to apply the Declaration to the territories under their administration immediately, and, if need be, to demand the imposition of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

86. The Albanian delegation considers that the Special Committee has done substantial and useful work. Its report provides us with a detailed account of the situation in the territories which it studied and of the negative attitude adopted by the colonial Powers towards the Declaration. We consider that the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report will facilitate the General Assembly's task of adopting further measures to secure the earliest possible implementation of the Declaration.

87. My delegation will support any measures that may effectively help to achieve the desired objective—the elimination, once for all and without delay, of colonialism in all its forms.

88. Mr. IQBAL (Pakistan): Permit me to convey the warmest congratulations of my delegation to the Special Committee on its report on the situation with

regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/5233].

89. I may take the liberty of recalling here that the Special Committee was brought into being under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), which was sponsored by thirty-eight African and Asian States, Pakistan being one of them, and adopted on 27 November 1961. This resolution was adopted for the realization of the objectives laid down in resolution 1514 (XV), adopted on 14 December 1960. Resolution 1514 (XV), which my country had the honour also to co-sponsor, has been justly described as the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, because it solemnly proclaims "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" and declares that "immediate steps shall be taken in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

90. My delegation is gratified to note that, within two years of the adoption of this historic resolution, many peoples have attained the status of nationhood and many nations have achieved independence. In 1960, eighteen new States were admitted to membership of the United Nations. In 1961 and 1962, we were happy to welcome Tanganyika, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Rwanda, Burundi and Algeria to membership of this international community of sovereign States. We sincerely and earnestly hope that, in the near future, what remains of the colonial problem will also be brought to a just and appropriate solution.

91. I may say that the position of my country with regard to the problem of colonialism is well known. We have always denounced the system of colonialism in its traditional, as well as in other forms. Colonialism, in the accepted sense of the term or in the implied sense, whatever its alleged justification, always leads to exploitation of one kind or another and retards the natural movement of man in the direction of freedom and liberation from the subjugation of other men.

92. It is unnecessary to enumerate the evils of colonialism, for much has already been said about them in the preceding debates of this Assembly. For the last two years, one of the main preoccupations of the United Nations has been to find ways and means to hasten the process of decolonization, particularly through an effective implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, in the shortest possible period of time.

93. In this respect, my delegation attaches great importance to the report of the Special Committee, which we have studied very carefully. In our view, the programme of work adopted by this Committee is commendable and appropriate. By deciding to give priority to the dependent territories in Africa and dealing with them before the consideration of other territories, the Committee selected a wise course of action, for undoubtedly it is in Africa where peoples and territories continue to remain, to a considerable extent, under colonial subjugation, and where conditions prevail

which are not only unfortunate and tragic but also tense and explosive. There is no denying the fact that the completion of African independence, the spectacular beginning of which we have already witnessed, will almost amount to the solution of the problem of colonialism.

94. The decision of the Committee to visit Africa and to hold its meetings there also deserves our appreciation, for it not only indicated the desire of the Committee to grapple with the problem where it actually existed, with all its tragic and explosive consequences, but, in the words of the Ambassador of Guinea, Mr. Diallo Telli, it "awakened wide-spread interest in Africa and... buttressed the hopes and confidence of African peoples that new and decisive steps may be taken towards their accession to independence". * [1169th meeting, para. 2]

95. The Special Committee has indeed performed a very useful task in focusing the attention of the United Nations on the conditions prevailing in twelve colonial territories, eleven in Africa and one in South America. There remain, however, still other territories where the study of conditions also comes within the scope of the Committee's work, although the Committee, for obvious reasons, has not adopted any programme of future work concerning these territories. The intricate problem of such dependent territories as the islands scattered over the Pacific Ocean, or territories which constitute small enclaves within another territory, also needs attention, and useful suggestions and recommendations are required, relating particularly to the mechanics of self-determination or accession to independence of these territories.

96. We have also given serious consideration to the recommendations of the Special Committee with regard to the other committees, sub-committees and special committees which are at present dealing with the question of the implementation of the Declaration in all forms of dependent territories. Either these other bodies of the United Nations, working in closely related fields, could be amalgamated with the Special Committee or some form of co-ordination could be achieved in their methods of work. In our view, it would be proper to enlarge the present membership of the Special Committee without, of course, making it unwieldy. The report of the Committee contains specific studies of dependent territories under the Administering Authorities of the United Kingdom and Portugal. As the report indicates, the conditions in the territories differ widely because many of them seem to be ripe for the assumption of the responsibilities of independence immediately, whereas in others not much progress is being made.

97. The conditions prevailing in the South African dependent territories, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and South West Africa, are certainly alarming and consequently demand urgent solutions. We are indeed aware that the record of some Administering Authorities is brighter than that of others, and in this respect, we have always acknowledged with appreciation the contribution made by the United Kingdom to the cause of freedom and independence. Speaking on the same item last year, I had said:

"The British policy of guiding their colonies towards self-government is in sharp contrast with that of certain other colonial Powers, which profess

* Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

by a fiction not to regard their overseas territories as colonies and, consequently, are not prepared to accept self-government or independence for these territories as an objective of policy." [1061st meeting, para. 6.]

In the light of the observation I have just made, we sincerely trust that, inasmuch as the situation in Southern Rhodesia is distressing, the United Kingdom will exert its influence and discharge its responsibilities in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the indigenous people.

98. If we believe that the transfer of power in each and every form of dependent territory should take place smoothly and peacefully, our approach to the problem of colonialism should not be based on emotions but it should be realistic and constructive. The problem of colonialism has three salient features: First, there are the dependent peoples yearning for freedom and independence. It is because of this universal yearning for national freedom that the processes of liberation are irresistible and irreversible. Secondly, there are the Administering Authorities which are directly responsible for granting independence to their colonial territories. Therefore, without the co-operation and collaboration of these Administering Authorities, it is not possible to realize the objectives contained in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in a peaceful and orderly manner. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that resolution 1514 (XV) has categorically laid down that: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence." There are peoples in certain dependent territories who have to be trained, in the shortest possible period of time, particularly in the exercise of political authority. This is the only method by which they could shoulder the responsibilities pertaining to independent States and protect their countries from being hurled into chaos and confusion.

99. We have already witnessed that, in the dependent territories where a reconciliation had fortunately been achieved among these three aspects of the problem of colonialism, the power was transferred peacefully and countries attained independence in an orderly manner. This experience teaches us that the magic circle lies within the three sides of the triangle.

100. We are happy to conclude that, through the efforts of the United Nations and its bodies which are dealing with the question of the implementation of the Declaration, particularly the Special Committee, the subjugated peoples are speedily moving in the direction of liberty and freedom, and the day is not far off when man everywhere can proudly claim that he breathes in a liberated world, a really free world—in a world based on friendship and co-operation among peoples and States—all endeavouring to realize the ideals of the Charter so that a more perfect world order is brought into being.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan, (Pakistan), resumed the Chair.

101. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): More than two years have elapsed since the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted [947th meeting], on the proposal of the Soviet Union, submitted by Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government [869th meeting, para. 183], the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. That was a great

victory for the progressive forces of all mankind. The Declaration helped to launch an even more powerful offensive against colonialism with a view to its final eradication.

102. Each year more and more States and peoples attain independence. From November 1962 to the present time, many new States have won their independence: Tanganyika, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Rwanda, Burundi, Algeria and Uganda; the Portuguese colonialists have been expelled from their former colonies in India and the Dutch colonialists have been forced to come to an agreement with Indonesia on the question of West Irian.

103. But we are still not satisfied with the progress made in implementing the Declaration. Its implementation has been fiercely opposed by the closed ranks of the colonialist forces. Further decisive and united action is needed in order to overcome the resistance of the colonialists and to obtain the full implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

104. Like a drowning man grasping at a straw, the colonialists are seizing any opportunity in order to retain their positions in the territories they administer. To this end, they resort to ruses of all sorts, pose as democrats and humanitarians and attempt to halt the movement of the peoples towards freedom, independence and a better life.

105. To this end, the colonial Powers, and those who are associated with them in various blocs, try to use the United Nations and all its organs in which questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration are decided. Not a single proposal or decision aimed at implementing the Declaration is adopted without their opposition. One has only to look at the records to see who always casts a negative vote or abstains, and it becomes clear who is preventing the execution of the Declaration. This was also evident in the work of the Committee of Seventeen, which was, of course, entrusted with the task of making recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration and of submitting a report to the current session of the General Assembly. As may be seen from the report of the Committee of Seventeen [A/5238], two different approaches became apparent in the course of its discussions: the approach of the colonial Powers and their allies, which made every effort to delay the realization of the Declaration, and that of all the other countries, which insisted on the immediate implementation of the principles laid down in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

106. Thus, the representative of the United States of America, in an attempt to reduce the Committee's effectiveness, argued that the final recommendations of the Committee should relate "to types of situations rather than to individual cases" [*ibid.*, chapter I, para. 19]. It was this same representative who challenged the Committee's right to hear petitioners and to send visiting missions to territories without the agreement of the administering Powers. The representative of the United Kingdom threatened to cease co-operating with the Special Committee if "there were any attempts to intervene" in the Territories under United Kingdom administration [*ibid.*, para. 25].

107. In view of all this, the statement made by the representative of Australia at the 1173rd meeting of

the General Assembly on 21 November seems strange, to say the least. He claimed that the position adopted by the Soviet Union prevented the Committee of Seventeen from successfully carrying out its work. Who opposed the visiting mission of the Committee, the hearing of petitioners, the Committee's recommendations? Does the representative of Australia really think that the members of the Assembly have not read the Committee's report?

108. The position of the socialist countries in this matter, as the Byelorussian delegation has repeatedly pointed out, is that we favour the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration; we are co-operating and will co-operate with all those who adhere to the same view. But how can we co-operate with those who refused to implement the Declaration?

109. The Committee of Seventeen had to work in difficult conditions since it constantly met with opposition on the part of the colonialists and their allies. But these forces are not all-powerful at present. Therefore, they did not greatly influence the outcome of the Committee's work, although, needless to say, the Committee would have obtained better results if there had been no such obstacles.

110. After carefully studying 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, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR cannot but note with satisfaction that in the main the spirit of the Declaration prevailed in the Committee's deliberations. World public opinion and the general climate are now such that colonialism can no longer be openly defended. Therefore, the colonial Powers, basing themselves on the fashionable theory of neocolonialism, are employing various dishonest means and methods in order to prolong the existence of the colonial system in the territories they administer. Therefore, the peoples of the world must be ever watchful; they must see through the colonialists' manoeuvres and oppose them. It would be a dangerous illusion to refuse to see what is continuing to occur, although it is more carefully disguised.

111. In this respect, the Government of the United Kingdom pursues a policy which is particularly refined and camouflaged. To this day, the threads of the country's colonial web reach into many parts of the world. The United Kingdom colonialists have not yet abandoned the policy of "divide and conquer". Thus, the United Kingdom has begun to encourage regionalist and separatist tendencies in Kenya and to lead the territory towards partition and the creation of five or six new Katangas. But this policy is being increasingly opposed by the people of Kenya, and by the peoples of other territories where the colonialists attempt to pursue it. They are therefore forced to look for other formulas which would enable them to pretend that they are granting independence to a territory, whereas in fact the essence of colonialism is still there. One result of such activity is the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was created against the will of the people for the purpose of subverting the granting of independence to these territories. The peoples of the Federation are waging a heroic struggle for the genuine independence of its three constituent parts: Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

112. The colonialist Government of the Federation headed by Roy Welensky, in order to perpetuate its domination, even went so far as to hold so-called

"elections" to the "Federal Assembly". It is difficult to imagine a more hypocritical travesty of elections. Only 120,755 voters out of a total population of 9 million in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were permitted to register for the elections which took place on 27 April 1962, and only 15,000 persons actually participated in the voting. Nevertheless, Roy Welensky loudly proclaimed the "victory" of his United Federal Party, which obtained fifty-four out of fifty-nine seats in the Assembly. This is the way in which the United Kingdom is trying to create a Federation in Central Africa.

113. In the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, the United Kingdom seeks to unite its possessions, including Aden, into a so-called "South Arabian Federation"; in South East Asia, it advocates the plan of uniting the colonies into a so-called federation of "Malaysia". In all these cases, the United Kingdom has but one objective—that of maintaining its domination in the colonies in this area in a new and camouflaged form.

114. The reason that is most frequently advanced by the colonialists of the United Kingdom and other countries for sabotaging the implementation of the Declaration is the assertion that these territories are not ready for self-government, and that they are not adequately prepared in the political, economic and social domains.

115. Such tactics to delay the granting of independence are used in almost all Non-Self-Governing Territories. Since it is the colonialists who determine the degree of preparedness and are responsible for preparing those Territories for independence, it goes without saying that they are ready to delay independence indefinitely. In this connexion, it seems appropriate to quote the statement made by Mr. Williams, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, on 20 November 1962 at the London School of Economics:

"The West Indies is a lemon which the United Kingdom has squeezed dry and its main concern now is not to slip on the skin."

116. If the United Kingdom prepares all its remaining colonies for independence in the same way, the United Nations will have to wait a long time to see the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I would remind the representatives of the colonial Powers of paragraph 3 of the Declaration, which states:

"Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence." [Resolution 1514 (XV).]

117. Therefore, other pretexts are used for the same purpose, such as fostering discord between tribes and between political parties. The tactics used by the administering Power in Kenya, as the report of the Special Committee shows, are to point out that since the various parties are divided on a number of questions, it cannot support one party against the other and is thus not able to grant independence.

118. The facts show that the United Kingdom colonialists are ignoring the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and are continuing to oppress and exploit the peoples of the Territories under United Kingdom administration. They refuse to take radical measures to grant independence to the enslaved peoples and deprive them

of elementary democratic rights; they pursue their former policy of racial discrimination, and suppress by main force any movement towards genuine national liberation. We are convinced, however, that such colonies as remain will also obtain their freedom and independence.

119. The most unbridled and cruel policy of colonial oppression and plunder is being carried out in the territories held by Portugal. That small country compulsively clings to territories which have an area 22.5 times larger, and a population 1.3 times greater, than the area and population of Portugal itself.

120. The whole of progressive mankind is indignant at the bloody exploits of the authorities in the Portuguese colonies, especially in Angola, where a colonial war is still being fought. Armed by the NATO countries, the Portuguese colonial army is exterminating the defenceless indigenous population. Tens of thousands of Africans have been killed; thousands of people, fleeing torture and death, have left their homes and sought refuge in the Congo. However, no amount of suffering could force the Angolan people to abandon the struggle for the liberation of their country. That struggle would long ago have been crowned with success if Portugal had not received assistance from a number of NATO countries which help the Salazar Government with arms and loans to be used in the war against the people of Angola and the peoples of other Portuguese territories. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other Portuguese colonies are being subjected to intolerable degradations, deprivation, pillage and mass extermination.

121. Portugal refuses in the most insolent manner to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The Government of that country has simply declared all its colonies to be "overseas provinces" and does not therefore consider itself bound to carry out the Declaration.

122. The situation is no better with regard to the granting of independence to the colonies held by Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa. The colonialists fully understand and support one another, and jointly conspire to oppose the national liberation movements in the colonies. To this end, military bases are set up either close to or in the dependent territories and troops are equipped with weapons to fight against the colonial peoples.

123. The time that has elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has clearly shown the full extent of the danger that military bases on foreign soil represent for national liberation movements. Such bases are to be found in many countries of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania. I refer primarily to those bases which have been built in dependent territories by the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. It is no secret that in the final analysis, the aggressive blocs of Western Powers use these bases to combat the national liberation movements of the peoples of colonies and dependent territories.

124. Speaking in the Fourth Committee [1380th meeting], the representative of the United Kingdom did not hide the fact that arms were being supplied to the Republic of South Africa; indeed, he confirmed it.

It is true that he justified this by referring to alleged maritime interests in this area.

125. The peoples of the dependent territories categorically demand, along with independence, the liquidation of military bases on their soil, the withdrawal of foreign military forces and the discontinuance of the delivery of weapons to States which use or may use them to oppose national liberation movements.

126. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like the delegations of a number of other countries, wishes to emphasize that the attainment of political independence is only the first step on the difficult road to the acquisition of full—i.e. political, economic and spiritual—independence by the nations which have suffered for so long under the colonialist yoke. It must never be forgotten that the policy pursued for hundreds of years by the colonialists in dependent territories was designed to keep the local population in a state of illiteracy, poverty and lack of confidence in their own strength. We have only to look at the living conditions of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South West Africa, Kenya, Mozambique, Angola, British Guiana, Portuguese Guinea, Spanish Guinea and all the other dependent and colonial territories. Not only are there no political rights whatsoever, the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies being deprived of the right of vote, the right to join public organizations, the right of assembly, and freedom of speech and of the Press; they are also deprived of the possibility of owning land and of working, and they have no schools, no medical care, and no social security. In fact, they are barely allowed to exist.

127. One is filled with indignation upon reading 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, which describes the situation of the peoples of colonial and dependent territories. Racial discrimination and iniquitous laws are carried to the very extreme. Here are some examples.

128. In Northern Rhodesia, how a man is treated depends on the colour of his skin. There are European hospitals and African hospitals, and on more than one occasion an ambulance has been dispatched to the scene of an accident only to return empty when it was discovered that the victim of the accident was an African. Every African is treated as a potential criminal. Racial discrimination also leads to a disparity in wages. The pay of an African worker in the mining industry, for example, is one-seventh to one-tenth that of a white man doing the same work. According to statistical data published by the Government, only one-half the African children of school age attended school in 1960. Only two or three out of 100 African children can hope to receive a university education.

129. The colonialists like to talk about the prosperous life of the peoples in their dependent territories and the benefits that they are bestowing on those peoples. The New York Times of 10 April 1961 carried a report entitled "Placid Spanish Isle Off Africa Offers a Lesson in Integration", in which its correspondent Benjamin Wells describes the Spanish colony as follows:

"The lovely Spanish island of Fernando Po ... is a haven of peace and order off the restless continent of Africa ..."

"Sixteen thousand Africans and 4,000 Europeans live and prosper together here without friction."

and so on in the same vein. The true situation prevailing in the island bears no resemblance to the picture painted by this journalist.

130. Rio Muni (on the mainland), Fernando Po and a group of small islands constitute the colony of Spanish Guinea, which has a population of 212,000, of whom 4,500 are white. Poverty and servitude are the lot of the indigenous population of the colony. In the whole of Spanish Guinea there is only one secondary school (exclusively for whites) and two trade schools with 217 students.

131. An "agreement" was signed between Spain and Nigeria in 1957, when the latter was still a British colonial possession, concerning the use of Nigerian workers in the Spanish colony. Under that agreement, tens of thousands of Nigerians went to the island. Hundreds of them died as a result of maltreatment and appalling living conditions. Both the Nigerian workers and the indigenous inhabitants are no better than slaves. They are fined, flogged and thrown in jail for the smallest misdemeanour. They live, eight to a small room, in miserable, dirty hovels. After a year or two, these strong young people's health breaks down and many of them die.

132. This is the "haven of peace" that the Spanish administrators have established in the island of Fernando Po. The situation is the same for the peoples of all the other colonies in which the colonialists have established such "havens of peace".

133. The whole of progressive mankind, including the people of Byelorussia, are filled with indignation at the humiliating treatment meted out to the populations of all colonial and dependent territories by the Administering Members. But our just indignation, expressed in the Fourth Committee [1361st meeting], was rejected with "contempt" by Mr. Bodber, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom.

134. We have never questioned Mr. Godber's "sympathetic attitude" towards us, but he will nevertheless have to listen to world public opinion. The United Kingdom Government will ultimately be compelled to take effective measures to carry out the Declaration. The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and the whole of progressive mankind demand such action. These historical injustices must be redressed and colonialism must be buried.

135. It is difficult to be the devil's advocate. It is even more difficult to defend colonialism. Yet defenders still come forward. They vote in the United Nations against resolutions designed to implement the Declaration, they oppose those who reveal the true nature of colonialism; they support and praise one another. Thus, in the Committee of Seventeen, evaluating the action of the United Kingdom in Nyasaland, the representative of the United States said that "the United Kingdom Government deserved encouragement and praise for their recent action" [A/5238, chapter IV, para. 63].

136. During the discussion in the Special Committee on the question of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the representative of Australia said that "it had generally been United Kingdom policy to encourage peoples to elaborate a system of reasonable and democratic government" [*ibid.*, chapter V, para. 147].

137. According to the report of the Trusteeship Council [A/5204, part II, chapter II, para. 138], the United States representative described the activities of the Australian Administration in New Guinea and Nauru as follows:

"... the Administration had made an outstanding effort ...",

"its excellent work ...",

"... the Administration deserved commendation".

138. The colonialists sing each other's praises on every possible occasion. This puts me in mind of a fable by the great Russian poet, Krylov: "The cuckoo praises the cock because the cock praises the cuckoo." The colonialists deserve not praise, but general condemnation for their activities: the territories they administer, for the poverty and suffering of the indigenous inhabitants, for the blood shed by those who have fallen in the struggle against colonialism, and for their failure to implement the Declaration.

139. The majority of the representatives who have spoken in the Committee of Seventeen, the Fourth Committee and in the plenary meetings of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly have strongly criticized colonialism and those countries which fail to implement the Declaration. In reply, the colonialists, seeking to deny their responsibility, have frequently resorted to slandering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

140. The Byelorussian delegation thought that the laurel wreath for anti-Soviet slander should be given to the representative of the United States, but today we are obliged to reconsider and admit that the laurels should be handed the representative of Canada, as the winner. Does the Canadian representative realize that he is attacking the very basis of the existence of the United Nations? I do not think he does.

141. Mr. Plimsoll, the Australian representative, speaking at the previous meeting, also could not resist the temptation of slandering the Soviet Union. The colonialists and their allies always indulge in slander when their backs are to the wall and when they can say nothing to justify their actions.

142. We are convinced that the majority of the Members of the United Nations will not be deluded, and will not allow themselves to be side-tracked by the manoeuvres of the colonialists.

143. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic condemns the actions of the Administering Members in failing to comply fully with the Declaration and demands that all possible steps should be taken to make 1963 the year of the final liquidation of colonialism. In this connexion, we support the proposal of President Sékou Touré of Guinea [see 1148th meeting, para. 33] to the effect that in accordance with the desires of their population all colonial countries and peoples should become independent by 24 October 1963—United Nations Day. The colonial Powers must immediately put an end to all repressive measures they use against peoples fighting for their liberation. The local populations must be assured of the possibility of effectively enjoying their democratic rights and freedoms, including freedom of speech, the Press and assembly.

144. All laws favouring racial discrimination, restrictions and limitations of political parties, trade

unions and other public and political organizations must be abolished. All political prisoners must be freed. All power in the dependent territories must be transferred to the people's representatives elected in a democratic manner on the basis of universal direct suffrage.

145. In order to carry out these and other measures designed to liquidate colonialism, strong and effective control by the United Nations is required. Decisive measures, including sanctions, must be taken against those States which, for more than two years, have deliberately refused to implement the Declaration. The time has come for the Security Council to deal with these matters.

146. The Byelorussian delegation has opposed and will always resolutely oppose colonialism in all its forms. We shall support the most radical measures to ensure the implementation of the Declaration.

147. The liquidation of colonialism is one of the most important tasks of our time, and its immediate solution is a matter of concern for millions of people, for the whole of mankind. The peoples of the colonies will at last obtain their freedom and will be able to enjoy their natural right to determine their own destiny. The final and complete liquidation of colonialism will pave the way for establishing relations on terms of true equality among all peoples and countries, for strengthening friendship and co-operation among all the peoples on our planet and for preserving and consolidating peace in the world.

148. The PRESIDENT: There are two more speakers on the list for this meeting, but before I call on the next speaker I should like to mention that I propose to make a statement at the end of the meeting with regard to the order of business next week.

149. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): Speaking on this occasion, I wish to make it clear that the policy of non-alignment which is pursued consistently by Nepal has only one objective, and that is peace. That peace will necessarily remain an idle thought unless colonialism is eliminated in all its aspects and manifestations, universal disarmament achieved and the world's technical, scientific and economic resources pooled together to fight hunger, disease and illiteracy. Colonialism, by which we understand "the slow, gradual and imperceptible intrusion of the West into the East in its search for raw materials and markets accelerated by a great mechanical industrialization", is an unmixed evil that has become an anachronistic concept today.

150. Nepal, although it has never been under any subjugation, fully realizes that the anti-colonial movement is a part of the wider movement of peace and is opposed to all kinds of domination by one nation over another. Nepal opposes colonialism, not because it has at any time in history suffered the iniquities of colonialism, but because our whole policy stems from our deep faith in fundamental freedoms and in the dignity and worth of the human person.

151. To indicate our attitude towards colonialism and the reasons for it, I can do no better than to quote some excerpts from the speech which my Sovereign, King Mahendra of Nepal, delivered on 2 September 1962 at the Belgrade Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—a conference which, in many respects, sounded

the death knell of colonialism in all its manifestations:

"During the last four or five centuries Europe has moved much faster than any other continent in many respects, and particularly in science and technology. For this reason, Europe came to develop a dynamic economic and political system with a certain scale of human values, which, with some formal differences, became the norm for the whole of Europe and a model and a pattern for many other countries and continents which were fascinated, or even dazzled, by the splendours of Europe. On account of the momentum given to it by fundamental economic changes, European civilization, as it developed during this fruitful period, acquired an excessively extrovert character, to make it in the process push outwards. Some Western European countries aggressively pushed outwards during the period as torchbearers of European civilization, initiating in its trail an extremely painful process, which has become known as colonialism and imperialism. Asian civilization, on the other hand, is on the whole an introvert civilization and is therefore at its best when it looks inward and is at its worst when it seeks to push its elbow outward.

"This natural trait of the Asian civilization, as expressed in its contemplative bent and its disposition to encourage one to keep to oneself, was reinforced when it came into direct encounter with the Western European colonialism; Asia shrank closer into its own narrow, individualistic 'empire', illumined by its egoism only, while some Western European Powers enslaved humanity into extensive empires, over which, so far as the colonialistic peoples were concerned, the sun never rose.

"However, as we look at the world today, we find that the most significant phenomenon in the international situation is not colonialism, but anti-colonial struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa. After a long and bitter struggle, the anti-colonial movement in Asia has almost come to its fulfilment. Almost all the countries of Asia which were once colonies have won their independence. Not only have these countries won their political independence, but they have already gone a long way to win their economic independence.

"The success of anti-colonial movements in Asia and the powerful support given by the newly independent Asian countries have combined to give a great impetus to the African fight for independence ... Some of the countries of Africa have won their independence in recent years, and speaking of the continent as a whole there is a tremendous upsurge of the masses for liberation in African countries. Nepal is firmly on the side of the forces of revolution. We believe that colonialism is an unmixed evil, a social and political order, involving such relationships between man and man as are not acceptable. The anti-colonial revolution wherever it takes place and in whatever form, must be supported and Nepal has always taken this uncompromising stand on this question. If the colonial Powers say that we do not appreciate their intentions and understand their problems, we reply to them that they do not understand our feelings.

"While taking this uncompromising stand against colonialism, we do recognize that some colonial Powers have acted with more grace and with greater statesmanship and imagination in reacting

to the challenge of time than others A colonial Power like the United Kingdom, having grasped the fact that the days of colonialism are numbered, has acted on the whole in such a manner as to get the approbation of many countries. Having taken a lead in enslaving large masses of people, she has also taken a lead in freeing them."

But it may be observed at this stage that we will be misled—and misled utterly—if we believe on this ground that the anti-colonial struggle is over. On the other hand, we should still be ready and prepared for a hard and protracted struggle before the liquidation of colonialism is complete 2/

152. The quotation was a long one, and I must apologize to the Assembly for having taken so much of its time. I felt, however, that the occasion called for a reiteration of my country's policy toward colonialism and, therefore, that the excerpt, however lengthy, had to be taken into account in order to show to representatives here the view held by my King, my Government and my people with respect to the various problems involved in colonialism. My delegation felt, furthermore, that since the issue of colonialism is, as the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland remarked on 15 November 1962 [1169th meeting], so aptly, second in importance only to the problem of complete and universal disarmament, a little digression from the main topic would not be amiss. For a problem such as colonialism is not an isolated phenomenon in world politics today. Colonialism and the movements against it, their success and failure, are really but a part of the larger movement for peace. It would be vain to direct the whole of human energy to maintaining decency in dealings among nations, to peaceful coexistence in larger freedom and to the preservation of peace, happiness and security on earth if we did not rightly tackle and solve the problems arising out of colonialism. All these problems are interlinked, so that we should be failing in our duty if, at this stage, we did not clearly recognize that the attainment of an independent status is not the be-all and end-all of a nation. Let us admit that the anti-colonial movement is only a part of a greater movement for peace, and let us also admit that the success of the lesser movement will contribute considerably to the ultimate success of the greater one. It is gratifying to note that the problem of colonialism has been viewed in its true perspective. This is evident from the statements which have been made by all representatives, statements which are conspicuous by their wisdom, moderation and practical suggestions.

153. We have before us the report of the Special Committee [A/5238], and the findings, suggestions and conclusions incorporated in it have acted as a basis of our evaluation of the problem of colonialism as practised by many nations in many parts of the globe. The report is a formidable volume, consisting of about 550 pages. As so many other delegations have pointed out, this report is not an ordinary document, but a milestone in the process of the decolonization of subject countries and peoples. The hopes and aspirations of oppressed nations and peoples to become free of external bondage are enshrined in this single volume. Though the Committee, for lack of time, has not been able to consider many other colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories, it has indeed considered twelve Territories: Southern Rhodesia, Northern

Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Zanzibar, British Guiana, Mozambique, South West Africa, Kenya and Angola. The Committee has heard petitioners, collected information, made visits and placed before us its observations and conclusions, which make very exciting and stimulating reading. My delegation wishes to place on record its deepest congratulations to the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Rapporteur and other members of the Committee for their selfless work in discharging the duties imposed upon them by the Assembly and for presenting such an able report.

154. My delegation lends its support to all other delegations which have signified their approval of the work and procedures of the Special Committee of Seventeen. It is significant that, except for a few occasions, the Committee, in a spirit of earnestness and awareness of its great responsibility, agreed to conduct its work without recourse to votes.

155. The Committee's refusal to remain a mere fact-finding body or an information centre also meets with my delegation's hearty support. The wide measure of latitude granted by the Assembly [resolution 1654 (XVI)] to the Committee for the accomplishment of its express task to examine "the application of the Declaration, to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration" amply justifies the assertion of the Soviet representative that "the Committee has not been established for sterile discussions".

156. In the course of the debate on this subject, a question has been raised about the advisability of the case-by-case approach which has been followed by the Committee in its procedural work. In the view of my delegation, however, the approach was the only legitimate one which could have been followed effectively under the circumstances. The question of colonialism has been raised and discussed so many times in previous years that no one here is in any doubt or ignorance about the general colonial situation existing in the world. The Committee was established with a view to finding means to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and it has rightly addressed itself to the task of finding ways and means for resolving each type of colonial situation. And for the accomplishment of this historic mission the Committee rightly decided to give priority in its considerations to the continent of Africa, where the most subtle form of colonialism reigns supreme.

157. It is gratifying to note that there are practically no opposing views on the evils of colonialism and the need to eliminate it. Today, most of the countries of Asia and Africa are free, and the rest are on the verge of achieving freedom and independence. Thus, the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which marked the penetration of the West into the East, is being slowly reversed; and as King Mahendra has correctly assessed, this has been made possible by the rise in Asia and Africa of an intense patriotic feeling known as nationalism, the desire to be free of domination, within and without, to choose one's own type of political, economic and social systems without let or hindrance from outside forces.

158. We do not belittle here the role of the United Nations in the process of decolonization; what we intend to point out is that independence has often been achieved without practical support from the United Nations. To take very recent examples, Algeria has

2/ Belgrade Conference (published by the Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, 1961), No. 4, p. 23.

won liberation from foreign bondage as a result of the continued struggle on the part of the Algerian people. On the other hand, the United Nations has played a decisive role in the solution of the West Irian problem. Here the United Nations has gone to the extent of providing administrative machinery for the territory in question. This one example goes a long way to justify the mystical faith which a large number of subject peoples have in the power of the United Nations to do anything and accomplish everything. This faith is largely based on resolution 1514 (XV), which declares that:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, 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 promotion of world peace and co-operation."

"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."

This historic resolution constitutes the Magna Carta in the history of the United Nations, and embodies in it the universal desire of mankind to live and let live, in an atmosphere of equality, freedom and justice.

159. The main features of this resolution can be summarized thus: reaffirmation of faith in the dignity of the human person, declaration of the inalienable right of people to self-determination, recognition of the fact that the existence of colonialism prevents the development of international co-operation. But mere reaffirmation of faith, declaration of principle or recognition of undeniable fact was not enough to crack the hard nut of colonialism. After a lapse of one year, the Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, felt that, unless an effective means be found to implement the Declaration, it was going to remain a dead letter. The resolution, in its operative paragraph 5, had clearly declared that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

In view of the intransigence and procrastination shown by the colonial Powers in implementing this provision of the resolution, the Assembly rightly thought it proper that a Special Committee of Seventeen nations should be established, with a view to ensuring that the Declaration be implemented. Resolution 1654 (XVI), which set up the Committee, further reiterated and emphasized the significant fact that "... inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". This provision of the resolution is all the more significant since the procrastinating colonial Powers were always in the habit of advancing arguments that the backwardness of subject peoples justified the blocking of their progress towards independence—arguments which run counter to logic.

160. The most recent and the most fallacious of these arguments is the Portuguese assertion to the effect that Angola, Mozambique and other overseas Portuguese

territories are not, after all, overseas territories but form part of metropolitan Portugal. By striking most effectively at the root of all such groundless arguments, the last preambular paragraph of the resolution has rightly rejected the plea of the colonial Powers to be allowed to continue their position as master nations for an indefinite period, under one pretext or another.

161. But the attempts of some of the colonial Powers to reverse the order of events have failed to divert the wind of change that, since the end of the Second World War, has been blowing in favour of the anti-colonial struggle. The original membership of the United Nations has been more than doubled in the course of seventeen years; and during the past one year itself, eight new territories have attained independence. The United Nations played a vital part in speeding the process of independence in the case of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanganyika and Western Samoa. The process of the attainment of nationhood was somewhat orderly in the cases of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda, which reflects credit on the leaders and peoples of the United Kingdom, as well as the territories concerned. Algeria's case was unique, in that independence was achieved after eight years of bitter and valiant struggle. The statesmanship and far-sightedness displayed by the Algerian leaders and the Government of President de Gaulle toward the end of the drama finally inaugurated the dawn of freedom and self-determination in Algeria. We once again congratulate all these new nations on the attainment of independence and wish them Godspeed in their more important task of economic and social development programmes.

162. As I stated, time is on the side of anti-colonial struggle, on the side of justice, freedom and self-determination. The Committee of Seventeen has been rightly entrusted with the task of expediting the process of decolonization. It has to date examined twelve territories, and its observations in respect to each of these are found in the report. Though several delegations have commented on the observations and findings of the Committee, my delegation feels that a review of these conclusions would not be out of place.

163. The main issue in the question of Southern Rhodesia is that the Government of the United Kingdom has not found fit to take steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of that territory. On the plea of a constitutional convention, a great Power like Great Britain has allowed itself to degenerate into inaction, while the infinitesimal white minority of the country continues to ride roughshod over the destiny of the large majority of the indigenous population. Believing that a convention remains a convention so long as it is not broken, and that a healthy precedent would be established if it is broken, my delegation has voted in favour of two resolutions: 1755 (XVII) and 1760 (XVII), which request the paramount authority to give up the policy of immobility and to assume real responsibilities.

164. With regard to the territory of Northern Rhodesia and the territory of Nyasaland, the Special Committee, having carefully examined the situation prevailing in the two territories, and having considered the evidence submitted to petitioners, confirms the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and national independence. The Committee has also thought proper to recommend that fixing the dates for the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be appropriate.

165. South Africa has long been professing its intentions to annex the three High Commission territories: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The Special Committee, having reiterated the inalienable right of peoples to independence, requests the General Assembly to declare, over Western objection, that such a declaration would have "far-reaching consequences", that attempts to encroach upon their territorial integrity in any way will be regarded by the United Nations as an act of aggression violating the Charter.

166. The Special Committee has fully recounted the causes of disturbance in Zanzibar following the general elections in 1961. The Government of the United Kingdom has been requested to promote harmony and unity among the political parties of Zanzibar and to expedite the process of independence.

167. We very well know that the recent talks, held in London in the autumn of 1962 between the United Kingdom and British Guiana, have not yielded any positive results. The failure of the talks having been discouraging, we should not, however, lose sight of the ultimate objective. The Committee has requested the Governments concerned to resume negotiations immediately, with a view to reaching agreement on a date for independence. We hope that the recent failure will not hinder the resumption of further negotiations.

168. The case of South West Africa is most tragic. This international territory stands in danger of being annexed by the Government of South Africa, which is wholeheartedly committed to the policy of apartheid. The time has come, so the Committee concludes, for the world body to take immediate steps to prevent South Africa from annexing the territory and to ensure that resolution 1514 (XV) be implemented at the earliest possible date. The draft resolution of which my delegation had the honour to be one of the co-sponsors, as recommended to the General Assembly for adoption by the Fourth Committee [see A/5310], basing itself on the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Seventeen and the Committee on South West Africa, reaffirms the solemn proclamation of the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to independence and national sovereignty.

169. The Committee has requested the administering Power to initiate measures to bring Kenya to independence at an early date.

170. With regard to the most unfortunate territories of Mozambique and Angola, the inalienable right of the peoples to self-determination and independence has rightly been reaffirmed by the Committee. The question of Angola is coming before the Assembly very soon, and my delegation has always taken a clear stand on the issue. I am sure my delegation would again express its view on the problem at the appropriate moment.

171. Thus, the single fact that emerges from the study of the report is the reassertion of the principles of equality of nations and the inalienable right of all peoples to independence and freedom of self-determination. The Special Committee by its extensive examination of the problems involved has justified the Declaration of the world body [resolution 1514 (XV)] to the effect that: "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". My delegation feels that the inadequacy referred to above can be sooner and more easily remedied in an atmosphere of equality and freedom than under foreign sub-

jugation and in the resulting atmosphere of mental inertia.

172. The Committee has in most cases recommended immediate granting of independence and requested the administering Powers, with one or two exceptions, to take effective measures to transfer power to the peoples of the territories concerned. On the basis of this study the delegation of Guinea has suggested that a definite date be fixed for the granting of independence to all dependent territories and peoples. This suggestion has been touched upon by several other delegations. My delegation, with all due deference to the spirit in which the suggestion has been made, feels, however, that such a step would not be applicable in respect to all territories. It would be certainly helpful if a definite date of independence is fixed in respect to some of the territories; as a matter of fact a definite deadline for some territories should be fixed now. My delegation's stand, therefore, is that if a deadline is fixed by the General Assembly, such a deadline should, of necessity, have a certain degree of flexibility and should not be rigid. For circumstances in each case may vary and these may have to be taken into consideration for practical purposes.

173. Before concluding, I would turn briefly to an organizational aspect of the Committee. We approve the report of the Committee as a whole and believe that the Committee can further play a constructive part in speeding the process of decolonization. The Acting Secretary-General in the introduction to his report [A/5201/A.1] has brought to our attention the abundance of committees and sub-committees dealing with allied issues, and has suggested the concentration of work under one committee. Many delegations have supported the suggestion on the grounds of budgetary savings and co-ordination of work. My delegation also is only sympathetic to the views of the Acting Secretary-General and would give the most careful consideration to any proposals that may be brought forward in this respect. One possible way, for the moment, may be to enlarge the membership of the Committee of Seventeen, taking into account the composition of all the other committees working on the issues of colonialism. The expanded committee may, as usual, divide itself into sub-committees to deal effectively with particular territories.

174. In conclusion, nobody dares today to defend colonialism on the grounds of a civilizing mission or on any other grounds whatsoever. This in itself is a powerful weapon in the hands of the anti-colonial forces. Movements of hearts once started cannot be checked. The Committee, moreover, has had the support of all Member States, large and small, colonial and non-colonial. Moderation and lack of rancour have been shown in its deliberations throughout, which is a recognition of the fact that colonialism is dying out. With a few exceptions, only the hard core of colonialism now remains—especially in those areas where the colonial rule is compounded by the pressures of powerful oil and mining interests and a large number of white settlers. On the whole, a continent has come of age and we are entering the threshold of a new era which knows no discrimination between man and man.

175. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): My delegation did not take part earlier in this general debate on the work of the Committee of Seventeen because our views on the whole question of colonialism are well known. Nor do we propose now to make a long statement. How-

ever, we should like to say a few words regarding the work of the Committee and the report now under review [A/5238].

176. In the course of this week its questions have been raised on the Committee's numerical composition, its method of work, and the scope of its operations. The recurrent question has been raised of setting a target date for the end of colonialism for all time.

177. My delegation wishes first of all to pay tribute to the Committee which, without precedents of experience, has found its own best methods of operation. It has tried, where it could, to achieve decisions on the basis of unanimity or, to use an equivalent word now in fashion, by consensus. Unanimity is, of course, desirable in all United Nations forums but the wish for unanimity should always be in the interest of attaining positive results. When these results are at stake, complete unanimity cannot and must not become the equivalent of paralysis or become, in effect, a veto of a decision by any number less than the whole. In fact, we doubt that any United Nations committee created by the General Assembly, can, under the Charter, abandon the democratic principle of decision by a majority vote. On this point we must bear in mind that the Special Committee is primarily a body for the implementation of the Declaration on colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It thus assumes a quasi-executive function especially in the light of the urgency which impels it in its work. The task assigned to it is a vast and difficult one. Therefore, it must be given ample scope in seeking out the shortest and the most effective methods for making its recommendations to the Assembly.

178. That is why my delegation fully supports the Committee's policy in exercising a most liberal procedure on the hearing of petitioners, especially those who speak for the freedom of the peoples involved. This also is the reason why my delegation would give the Special Committee wide discretion in visiting the areas within their terms of reference when the Committee deems it necessary to do so.

179. In pondering the rights and the duties of the Committee we must never fail to bear in mind that it operates under the broadest mandate ever given to a United Nations executive body. This is the mandate of a Declaration adopted by overwhelming unanimity in this Organization and by the tremendous support of world public opinion.

180. Similarly, on the question of priority, here too the Committee has already demonstrated its wisdom in giving the highest priority to the remaining African colonies because it is there in Africa that colonialism is making its last stand, with the hope that colonialism may even stage an effective counter-offensive.

181. From the fears expressed in this Assembly, from the many intimations, from the less than satisfactory positions often taken by the metropolitan Powers in the areas concerned, the word neo-colonialism has become more than a mere euphemism because, slowly and insidiously, behind the smoke and the din of the cold war, neo-colonialism, we find, is shaping up into a major cause of strife which is growing into dimensions of war and peace itself. Fortunately, the Committee of Seventeen has been amply alerted to this brewing storm, and I am confident that it will know when to resort to the Security Council, if this should become necessary.

182. It has been repeatedly stressed that the Special Committee holds in its hands the fate of some 50 million people who are still deprived of the Charter principle of self-determination. Therefore, what they have assumed is a solemn and awful responsibility. But it is not only a people who are involved. In our time, every unliberated territory becomes a potential strategic point which draws to itself the forces of conflict which are now loose in the world. If, for example, the colonies of central and southern Africa were today to hold even only half of their present populations, yet their importance in the world balance of power would not diminish by one iota. It is therefore not only people that are involved but also territories.

183. Therefore, while people are of paramount importance and even of sacred importance, places in the colonial sphere are equally vital. We must liberate not only people, but also their beloved homelands. These two, men and the country in which they live, are inseparable and indivisible.

184. I would only add one more word on this vital area. It is the area where vital economic interests are at stake for the colonial Powers. The implication is that there exists an inherent conflict of interests between these vast operations and the freedom of peoples. My delegation would like to say that there need be no conflict. On the contrary, there can even be partnership, but only on the basis of sovereignty. Where vital economic interests are at stake, the heads of these vast industrial and commercial combines should be the first to understand that it is not good business—indeed it is very bad business—to risk these interests by setting them against the inevitable. The man whose house is a fire risk should be the last to oppose an efficient fire-fighting department.

185. In emphasizing this priority, it is not the intention of my delegation to exclude other areas now struggling for their freedom, for example, British Guiana, which is certainly ready now, even by colonialist standards, for independence without further barter or quibble.

186. A word about how we regard target dates. In principle, the very mention of this phrase constitutes a kind of opposition to the Declaration on colonialism. Of course, the representative of Guinea, Mr. Tell, who called [1169th meeting] for 24 October 1963 as a deadline for liberation does not mean, we are sure, to create an extension of time beyond the demand for immediate independence because each day of continuing colonialism is one day too long, in a world where some men soar with wings of freedom to the stars, while others still remain shackled in chains of slavery. We would ask the metropolitan Powers to muster the will and the vision to join immediately in the African rhythm for liberation. In the meantime, my delegation feels that the Special Committee should, in its recommendations, try to establish what in its opinion, and also in the light of the facts, should be a recommended date for the independence of each specific territory.

187. We express our fullest confidence in the Special Committee which faces an arduous year, a year which we are confident will bring many more colonial people into the fold of free nationhood and into this world Organization.

Organization of work

188. The PRESIDENT: As I mentioned earlier, I would wish to report to the Assembly on the progress

we are making with regard to the business before the plenary.

189. On this item which is now under discussion in the general debate, the plenary started its first meeting on 7 November 1962. The general debate, after a procedural debate on 7 November, started on 9 November, that is to say, two weeks ago. Only seven meetings have, however, been possible of the plenary during this interval which could be devoted to the general debate. So far we have heard twenty-seven representatives in the general debate. The list of speakers who wish to participate in the general debate still contains, I believe, over thirty names.

190. It is possible that some of the representatives may decide not to participate in the general debate, for the reason that others may have said what they wished to say or, perhaps, they might wish to speak in some detail on the draft resolutions rather than in the general debate. However, that is for them to decide. In any case, having regard to the work still ahead in respect of the items allocated to plenary meetings and also in respect of draft resolutions that will be received from the Committees, I am disturbed somewhat by the feeling that the plenary is falling seriously behind the time-table I had in mind. I propose, therefore, to consider holding evening meetings from some date next week.

191. I would wish particularly to point out to delegations that, in view of the fact that this item has now

been under discussion for sixteen days, it is expected that those of them who are desirous of participating in the general debate are now ready for such participation, and that they would be ready to speak when their turn is reached, according to the order in which their names appear on the list of speakers. It is, of course, open to those of them who, for some reason or another, may find it convenient to speak later than they would be called upon in that order of speakers, to arrange with some other delegations that they might change places with them. If such an arrangement is notified to the Secretariat in time, it will be given effect. Otherwise, I submit to the Assembly that they will consider it legitimate that, when a speaker's name is called and he is not ready to speak, it might be taken as meaning that he does not wish to speak in the general debate but would prefer to reserve his observations or suggestions for a later stage when the draft resolutions are under discussion.

192. I wish also to mention that, in order to gain further time, I might find it desirable, subject, of course, to the General Assembly concurring in my suggestion, to commence the general debate on Angola before the conclusion of the debate on the present item. I trust, therefore, that representatives will start paying attention to their participation in the general debate on Angola which might come on, under the stress of time, before we have concluded consideration of this item.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.