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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

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) (A/5238) (continued)

In the absence of the President, Sir Patrick Dean (United Kingdom), Vice-President, took the Chair.

1. Mr. VOLIO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): The report of the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI), contained in document A/5238, is so important and significant that the General Assembly is well advised to devote several meetings to it in order to consider it thoroughly. This document, with its many pages filled with valuable information, and its annexes, will certainly contribute to the continued elimination of colonialism by the United Nations on bases more in conformity with the nature of the problem.

2. The delegation of Costa Rica is pleased to note that Venezuela and Uruguay have taken a constructive part in the Special Committee's work—not only because this testifies to the consistently responsible approach of those two delegations, but more especially because in this way Latin America has reaffirmed the strong interest which, since the founding of the United Nations, it has shown in the process of decolonization.

3. The countries of Latin America, all of which were represented at the San Francisco Conference, eagerly took part in the forging of new and more effective instruments with which to struggle against colonialism. In close co-operation with other countries, they played a leading role in matters relating to colonialism and effectively pressed for the establishment of the Trusteeship Council as an organ, and the formulation of Chapters XI and XII of the United Nations Charter,

which represented a great advance over the Covenant of the League of Nations.

4. There is a notable difference between the Covenant and the Charter where they deal with the problems of peoples under colonial subjection. The former contains only two specific references to the question—in Articles 22 and 23 (b)—both conceived from a limited and paternalistic view of the colonial Powers' responsibility towards the subject peoples. Article 22 stipulates that those Powers should see to the "well-being and development" of the indigenous peoples. Article 23 (b) affirms that the members of the League of Nations "undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control".

5. The Charter of the United Nations, however, in three of its Chapters and particularly Chapter XI, leaves no doubt that the colonial Powers are committed to lead the peoples under their control to rapid self-government and the development of their "free political institutions", with absolute respect for the right of "self-determination"—concepts not recognized by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

6. Despite its structural imperfections, the Trusteeship Council has been able to advance along the road to decolonization, and when its limitations paralysed its activities the General Assembly has been able to overcome the difficulty by creating special committees, thus providing a powerful impetus for the crusade. Of foremost importance in this new stage are the bold General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI), and the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples—a new and highly effective instrument for action.

7. Latin America's contribution to the new conception of the struggle to free subject peoples from foreign domination stemmed from its own liberation movements, which left a deep and indelible mark on the minds of our peoples—calling forth from them, in several instruments of the Pan-American regional system, a condemnation of colonialism. It will suffice to recall a few paragraphs of resolution XXXIII of the ninth International Conference of American States of 2 May 1948, the first three preambular paragraphs of which affirm:

"The historical process of the emancipation of America will not be complete so long as there remain on the continent peoples and regions subject to a colonial régime, or territories occupied by non-American countries;

"The ideal that inspired the epic of the independence of America will always animate our peoples and Governments, united in their moral pledge to strive by all peaceful means within their power to eliminate from the continent any status of depen-

deney, whatever its form, political, economic or juridical;

"Ever since they achieved their independence, the American States have had this common objective, which has lately been defined in precise terms at the Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held at Havana and at Rio de Janeiro, in resolutions condemning colonial régimes in America and reaffirming the right of the peoples of this continent freely to determine their own destinies".

8. The delegation of Costa Rica, in view of this splendid record, has devoted particular attention to the Special Committee's report on its first period of work. We recognize with satisfaction that the report is an extraordinary contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism. The Committee has shown wisdom in the selection of its procedures and the establishment of its priorities for examining the questions referred to it by the General Assembly for consideration. The Charter and the resolutions which led to the establishment of the Committee constituted its terms of reference, although outside forces interfered in its work and possibly rendered that work less constructive, as I shall later indicate.

9. I do not intend to review the report in detail, and shall refrain from duplicating many of the remarks made by other delegations which have expressed their opinions from this rostrum. To state our view on the pith of the matter, it is enough to say that in most of the twelve cases studied by the Committee we find that the process of complete self-determination is far advanced, and that the United Nations should redouble its efforts to accelerate this process and to implement General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI) as rapidly as possible. The complexity of the cases studied and the obstacles which exist should not constitute reasons for delaying compliance with the will of the General Assembly; they indicate, rather, that in order to overcome them rapidly the parties concerned, and particularly the administering Powers, should marshal all their resources and strength, in the certainty that mankind will thereby be brought nearer to an achievement which will confer great distinction upon it: the end of the colonial system.

10. My delegation feels that it is constructive to point out the differences in the attitudes of the three administering Powers mentioned in the report, so as to encourage the attitude which has reflected the greatest concern for the implementation of the Charter and the General Assembly resolutions on colonialism, and at the same time to ensure that that attitude shall influence the other two which, as the record reveals, have been entirely reprehensible in this field.

11. A careful study of the Special Committee's report shows that the United Kingdom accepts the process leading towards self-government and complete independence for the territories under its administration, is aware of its responsibilities as an administering Power under the Charter and resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI), and does not obstruct the action of the United Nations designed to hasten the process of decolonization. In Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Kenya, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the difficulties in achieving complete autonomy are the result, not of any obstruction by the United Kingdom, but of the complex political, economic and social peculiarities of these territories, and particularly the characteristic, odious

and stubborn opposition of white minorities which exercise the functions of government and prevent the receptive attitude and efforts of the United Kingdom's official policy from bearing fruit.

12. A similar situation arose in colonial America when lip-service was paid to the enlightened Laws of the Indies but those Laws were not implemented by the colonial authorities. The United Kingdom, however, is in a position to use its authority and influence in order to overcome the obstinate resistance of the white minority groups and their discriminatory policy of opposition to the granting of self-determination to the indigenous inhabitants. In several cases it will have to accelerate the decolonization process—notwithstanding the differences between the political groups working for self-government—and abandon, in this regard, its present mistaken attitude of paternalism. In Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland the administering Power must make a special effort to improve, with United Nations assistance, the deplorable economic and social conditions which prevail there, and must, at the same time, stimulate movement towards the establishment of free political institutions.

13. My country is pleased to note that of the group of territories under United Kingdom administration Nyasaland, Kenya and British Guiana are on the threshold of independence, attainment of which by the last-named will increase the number of American States and enable the Territory to participate, together with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, in the association of Pan-American States. We have placed great hopes in this.

14. The report of the Special Committee presents us with a very different picture regarding Mozambique, Angola and South West Africa, territories which are ruled by Portugal and the Republic of South Africa. In these cases, not only is the prevailing policy one of racial intolerance on the part of the white settler minority, combined with a total lack of respect for the dignity of the indigenous majority and no development whatsoever towards self-government, but United Nations intervention is obstructed to the point of denying the Organization any right to intervene, to the detriment of its noble cause of putting an end to all forms of discrimination and to the colonial rule of the Powers concerned. It is both painful and vexing to see the manner in which the working classes are treated, their condition being in fact, very similar to a state of slavery. In order to end these assaults upon human freedom and dignity, the United Nations must spare no effort in bringing the weight of its moral authority to bear in favour of the peoples now suffering under Portuguese and South African rule. The delegation of Costa Rica is confident that we shall soon succeed in terminating the Portuguese and South African defiance of world public opinion as represented by the United Nations.

15. The scope and importance of the task entrusted to the Special Committee by the General Assembly indicates the need for its work to continue as long as may be required in order to secure implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI). However, the delegation of Costa Rica would like the Committee to be free, in its future work, from the pernicious influence of the "cold war", which, as the report shows, was unfortunately introduced by one great Power represented on the Committee. In the cases which the Committee considered, that Power was concerned to ignore any constructive action and arbitrarily, and

without cause, to associate the administering Powers' errors of commission and omission with the over-all values, moral and political, of the Western world. In this way there was introduced, most unfortunately and contrary to the will of the General Assembly, a negative and disintegrating element which, if it persisted, could undoubtedly distort the role of the Special Committee and bring its work to naught.

16. The "cold war" must be completely outside the work of the Special Committee if it is truly desired that this body should realize the General Assembly's desires regarding colonialism, desires which are totally unrelated to the dangers and anxieties which the "cold war" has created for humanity. The great process of decolonization must be approached with seriousness and a genuine interest in the fate of the peoples subject to foreign rule, and must never be used as a means for furthering the selfish political interests of any one country.

17. The "raison d'être", the impetus and the high moral value of the anti-colonialist struggle lie in the keen desire and inalienable right of those under foreign rule to put an end to their sense of deprivation and their feeling of social, economic and political inferiority, caused by colonialism; to free themselves from foreign persecution, discrimination and dependence; and, above all, to recover their former dignity. This anti-colonialist struggle is of universal concern in that it aims to restore to millions their native soil and allow them to perform upon it, freely and without interference, those acts which lead them to great spiritual and material heights.

18. The nature of the decolonization process, the sacrifices which have been endured for many years, the hopes which are placed in final victory and the contribution which the liberated peoples will make to the progress of humanity—all these spiritual and material values which characterized this liberating crusade deserve respect and call for co-operation which is free from motives alien to its noble aims.

19. For these reasons, the delegation of Costa Rica requests that the mandate of the Special Committee be extended for as long as may be required to enable it to perform its task, but with a new membership which will prevent the injection of the "cold war" into its work. It is essential to exclude the Power which created the situation previously mentioned by us, since a study of the Special Committee's report reveals that the "cold war" was introduced by that Power, not accidentally but as a part of an already prepared plan and in pursuance of a general policy. It is improbable that this policy will voluntarily be altered in the further stages of the Committee's work. If it should prove necessary to proceed to other exclusions in order for our suggestions to be made workable, we believe that the General Assembly should take that action, in the interests of the decolonization process.

20. The time has come to end the tendency to approach the question of the subjugated peoples with devious political motives, to view it through glasses which distort its reality and its noble aims. Eastern and Western labels must not be placed on the movements to free the colonial peoples or on the supporting action of the United Nations. They have their own value and meaning, and their very nature places them above the miseries and sufferings of the "cold war".

21. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Uruguay wishes first of all to state that it is both pleased and proud to be a member of the Special Committee. One of the concerns of this International Organization, one of its most noble objectives and one of its most reliable areas of achievement is the struggle for the elimination of colonialism; and there can be no doubt that, in this struggle and at its present stage, the Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI) to see to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) is the best instrument and the most suitable remedy we have applied thus far to restore health—the health of freedom and dignity in their political context—to those living in the vast territories covered by the concept of colonialism.

22. We have listened most carefully to the comments and suggestions made from this rostrum on the subject of the Committee's work and the report in which that work is described [A/5238]. As a member of the Committee, we think we are well advised to listen first to the views of those who are not members and who, with understandable hopes, have awaited action by the Committee, lending valuable support and wise counsel. Given the tone of those comments and their eminently constructive character, which we welcome, we now feel authorized to express our own views, based on experience of the Committee's seven months of work.

23. We wish first to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Jha of India, who proved himself fully deserving of Sir Hugh Foot's witty comment that he had succeeded in the difficult task of bringing about coexistence of the lion and the lamb, by which, as he explained, he meant the Afro-Asian lion and the administering lamb.

24. We would also like to pay a tribute to the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, who always proved worthy of his task, and to the Rapporteur, Ambassador Rifal of Syria, who performed with tact and common sense one of the most delicate tasks that a United Nations rapporteur has ever faced. We wish to include in this tribute all the Secretariat officials who, with Mr. Protitch and Mr. Chacko, supplied the essential basis for the Committee's work.

25. With regard to the work itself, we would say that the Committee, in its first seven months of operations, was most successful in giving to this new, experimental and formative instrument a positive sense of achievement, combining what was necessary in regard to form and procedure with the substance of something worked out on the essential basis of its terms of reference. Guided by what we have observed and the opinions to which we have subscribed, we should like to comment on both of these aspects, namely, the experimental aspect of form and procedure—mentioning, in this connexion, the approach which we consider appropriate in relation to the organization of the work of the General Assembly—and the manner in which the Committee has faced its basic task.

26. The Committee resorted to the method of establishing sub-committees with a view to special attention being given to particular situations. We consider this method of dividing up the work to be, not only practical and useful, but essential for time-saving and maximum effectiveness.

27. Acting in accordance with its mandate, the Committee travelled to Africa and held meetings in several capitals of that continent. We believe that this action was entirely appropriate; it certainly had a considerable impact on African public opinion, strengthening the Committee's authority and making activities more tangible. The Committee heard petitioners and thus obtained direct information which was always of value; even with its inevitable limitations, this source of information provided a means of obtaining an over-all view of issues and the opinions thereon, as well as of achieving a better understanding of conditions. The Committee sent delegations or sub-committees to discuss specific problems directly with the administering Power, a potentially very effective method of achieving its objectives. All this work, involving both a search for information and positive action, supplied the basis for a series of conclusions and recommendations, under various heads, which have been submitted to the General Assembly for consideration with a view to the adoption of resolutions thereon.

28. I now come to our specific comments. On reading the report before us, we are struck by the variety of forms adopted by the Committee for its decisions regarding the various territories it considered.

29. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, as described in document A/5124, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the report of the Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia and submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution, with a request for its immediate consideration as a matter of urgency, which it transmits to Member States through the Secretary-General; but this request is based on circumstances which do not generally arise in our normal methods of work.

30. In the case of Northern Rhodesia, the Committee approved conclusions and recommendations including a draft resolution for submission to the General Assembly, all of which were transmitted to the Government of the United Kingdom by the Secretary-General.

31. In the case of Nyasaland, the Committee approved conclusions and recommendations which did not include a draft resolution but which, as in the previous case, were transmitted by the Secretary-General to the Government of the United Kingdom.

32. In the case of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the Committee approved a series of consideranda and at the same time recommended a series of measures to the General Assembly.

33. In the case of Zanzibar the Committee, in view of a specific situation which it regarded as involving urgency, itself adopted an appeal to the administering Power, which the Secretary-General transmitted to that Power. On the substance of the matter, it proposes a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly.

34. In the case of British Guiana, the Committee adopted a resolution addressed to the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of British Guiana, which it requested the Secretary-General to transmit to the Administering Authority.

35. In the case of Mozambique, the Committee approved a draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly, in which it requests the Security Council, in certain circumstances, to take appropriate measures.

36. In the case of South West Africa, the Committee approved a series of conclusions and recommendations not including a draft resolution.

37. In the case of Kenya, it proposed a draft resolution for consideration by the General Assembly.

38. In the case of Angola, it proposed for the General Assembly a draft resolution containing a request for appropriate action by the Security Council in certain circumstances.

39. As all these decisions are so different in form, it is clear that we are at an experimental stage in which ways and means are being explored wherefrom we may draw some very interesting conclusions for our future work, including changes in the Committee's terms of reference, consideration of its activities by the General Assembly, and co-ordination with other bodies.

40. In the opinion of the Uruguayan delegation, the studies and deliberations of the Special Committee should culminate in a series of conclusions and recommendations for submission to the General Assembly. These conclusions and recommendations should be considered in the General Assembly, through the Fourth Committee, and draft resolutions should be formulated for final adoption by the General Assembly in plenary meeting. This procedure would ensure co-operation between the different bodies, which would be advantageous from the standpoint of time, efficiency and co-ordination of effort.

41. We must also bear in mind the possibility of emergency situations arising when we could not wait for the opening of an Assembly session but when the Committee would seek to solve the problem by approving resolutions directly and asking the Secretary-General to transmit its conclusions and appeals to the administering Power. In such cases—which must be left to the appreciation of the Special Committee—we feel that the competence expressly conferred on the Committee might include that of bringing them to the attention of the Secretary-General and requesting him to assist, either by lending his good offices directly or by making a request to the Security Council, according to the nature and urgency of the situation.

42. I should like to point out that the Committee has already used the means of communication through the Secretary-General at the present session: the Assembly has adopted a resolution on Southern Rhodesia [1760 (XVII)] and the Fourth Committee has approved a draft resolution on South West Africa [A/5310, draft resolution II], in both of which the Secretary-General is requested to take various steps. The resolution on Southern Rhodesia requests the Secretary-General to lend his good offices to promote conciliation with a view to achieving the objectives set out in resolutions of the General Assembly. The draft resolution on South West Africa requests the Secretary-General to appoint a Technical Assistance representative for that Territory, and also to take all necessary steps in order to establish an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa.

43. In our view, the first-named resolution provides for the type of action required in all such cases. When it considers it to be necessary, the Special Committee should request the Secretary-General to take prompt and urgent action. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, this type of action was necessary because of the imminence of the elections and the entry into force of the controversial Constitution of December 1961. On

the other hand, in the case of South West Africa, where the task is a continuing one, my delegation has already stated in the Fourth Committee [1386th meeting] that this kind of request for action should preferably be made to the Special Committee rather than to the Secretary-General.

44. We are now trying to reorganize the system in order to prevent overlapping between different bodies, and duplication of effort. We feel that, if we asked the Secretary-General to take direct action in a continuing situation of that kind, we should again produce duplication and overlapping and possibly, in addition, make another mistake which we should try to correct later, such as placing excessive burdens on the Secretary-General, with the risk of reducing effectiveness. We should like to stress that we feel such action, or a request for such action, to be desirable and even indispensable in cases of emergency, but we do not think that it should be resorted to as a regular method of dealing with situations which are developing normally.

45. All this leads to an examination of how to adjust the future work of the Special Committee to that of the other special bodies having specific tasks in the struggle against colonialism. In our view it would be practical, economical and efficient to concentrate these efforts in the Special Committee. Although we appreciate at its true value the work done by the special bodies dealing with South West Africa, the territories under Portuguese administration and Angola, we agree with the Secretary-General and the majority of speakers who have preceded us that it would be wise to concentrate this work in a single body, the most obvious organ for this purpose being the Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI), whose report we are now considering. In the case of the Special Committee on Angola, we shall have to bear in mind its relationship to the Security Council.

46. Like the delegations of Argentina and Brazil, we do not feel that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be abolished, since its specific task has not come to an end and cannot be confused with the tasks of the Special Committee, to which indeed it can give, and has already given, most valuable help. As the representative of Iraq has said, its work is technical in character and is of great assistance to the Special Committee. If we bear in mind the number of territories which the Special Committee still has to consider before its mandate can be regarded as discharged, we shall see that it would be impossible for this body alone to deal with all situations, at every stage. For that reason, the help of the Committee on Information in the technical preparation of the material on which the Special Committee has to adopt conclusions continues to be most necessary; like the relationship—which we have already described—between the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, it constitutes a basic factor of great value, supplementary to the efforts of the other bodies.

47. We have referred to the experimental nature of this aspect of methods and procedures, in order to indicate the future course which we feel to be most appropriate; but while we have supported the Committee's preparation of conclusions and recommendations, we think that in the present circumstances, when the course taken has been to refer the report

for direct consideration by the Assembly in plenary meeting, the introduction of draft resolutions is what facilitates our present work on the report.

48. Because of the nature of its task, the General Assembly in plenary meeting is not the best place in which to elaborate draft resolutions, whose basic text should be drawn up and approved by study groups, such as committees and special committees, for subsequent consideration in plenary meeting. The form in which the Special Committee has presented the results of its work has enabled us, in the present instance, to consider the report directly in plenary meeting, as was originally decided at the time when the agenda items were allocated.

49. I turn now to the way in which the Committee has dealt with the substance of the task assigned to it by resolution 1654 (XVI) under which it was established. We feel that the Committee has taken the right path and kept its eyes fixed on the supreme objectives of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Although we cannot yet boast of having achieved our objectives in the territories that have been considered, there has been substantial progress, serious and authoritative approaches have been made to the Administering Authorities, and we are encouraged by the hope that before long the membership of our Organization will be increased by the admission of many new and independent countries and peoples. We cannot say that we have no reservations about any of the steps taken by the Committee, but we do feel that the action it has taken was prompted and guided by a noble desire to fulfil its mission.

50. Among the points on which we should like to repeat our previous comments are our doubts regarding the fact that the Committee considered itself authorized to adopt resolutions on the substance of the matters before it. It should of course make recommendations and submit draft resolutions; but it is the Assembly, in which all Member States are represented, that must give force and authority to the resolutions. For that reason, bearing in mind the possibility of situations which demand urgent action, we pointed earlier to the method of having recourse to the Secretary-General or bringing the situation to his attention.

51. Another factor which gave rise to difficulties in the Committee's work was the internal political situation which, in some of the territories, is delaying the achievement of independence. We feel that the essential goal towards which the Committee should bend its efforts is, precisely, independence. The Committee cannot solve or define internal political problems, either under its terms of reference or in practice. Therefore, let us keep our eyes firmly fixed on the primary objective of independence, and the other problems will solve themselves in time, as the countries come to exercise that independence.

52. Although this applies in the majority of cases, we do not feel that it applies to the peculiar circumstances prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, where the basic question is—as we have already pointed out—to whom the transfer of powers is to be made. The authority upon which those powers devolve cannot be other than the full political society, the entire population and the authorities, the people and the Government. There cannot be full sovereignty—or sovereignty at all, properly speaking—if the society comprising the mass of the people is not supreme, in the very

precise sense that it must be the people, and not a fraction thereof, which legitimately holds power. For this reason we supported the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in which the Secretary-General is requested to take steps to prevent the undesirable and anti-democratic transfer of powers to a fraction of the people, to a minority which can then impose its will on the majority, to a fraction largely consisting of foreigners who could then impose their will on the people of the country.

53. As to the draft resolution on Northern Rhodesia, my delegation feels that in the light of new developments since the middle of the year, when the Committee approved this text, we might now amend the draft resolution somewhat in order to bring it more into line with the present situation. This further strengthens our view that there should be heads of conclusions and recommendations on the basis of which the General Assembly should evolve resolutions in due course.

54. As for the draft resolutions submitted by the Committee to the General Assembly on Mozambique and Angola, my delegation maintains the reservations it made on constitutional grounds and regarding the relationship between the language of the Charter and operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of both texts, which led it to abstain on the draft resolution on Mozambique—although they did not prevent it from voting for the resolution on Angola, because of the greater explosiveness of the situation there.

55. We must apologize for dwelling so long on this question, owing to the importance attached by my delegation to the task that the Committee whose report we are considering was created to accomplish; however, we are nearing the end of our remarks.

56. We have heard quoted from this rostrum, in this debate, the comment of a petitioner who appeared before the Fourth Committee: "Will the free peoples never be able to understand what it means to be born in slavery, to live hopelessly in slavery, and to die in that same slavery?" We do not believe that those words, this exclamation, are applicable in our time, here in the United Nations, to the areas in traditional colonial status. We do not think it is possible to speak of living hopelessly in slavery. Hope, which perhaps did not die even in the darkest moments, has been rekindled by the work of the international Organization; it has drawn strength and firm prospects from the efforts of the Committee, which is now the Organization's instrument in its crusade for the final abolition of colonialism. The fact that there are now 110 Member States bears eloquent and unchallengeable witness to a steady and certain upward movement which will stop only when it reaches its culmination. We prefer to avoid setting fixed dates. We believe that it is equally or more effective, and certainly more realistic and more in keeping with inevitably varying circumstances, to continue to act according to the concept of immediate compliance with each assigned obligation, to be carried out as rapidly as possible. To this end, we are prepared to appeal again and again, forcefully and authoritatively, to the responsibility of the administering Powers. Portugal and South Africa seem to remain indifferent to the strength and direction of a movement which nothing can restrain. They are the principal countries which disregard the trends and hopes that constitute the motive force in the world today. May Providence so guide our effort that they are brought to understand

and accept the dictates of humanitarianism and goodwill among men.

57. France opened the way for many millions of men and many square kilometres of land to become politically free, and contributed its valued co-operation to the efforts to obtain the same status for their brothers. The United Kingdom has shown understanding commensurate with the best British tradition. We may recall the words of Chatham, spoken during the war over the independence of what is now the United States:

[The speaker continued in English.]

"We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us restrain while we can, not when we must."

[The speaker continued in Spanish.]

We may say that this wise and worthy warning has been properly heeded by those who have directed the United Kingdom's policy in regard to its colonies during the past seventeen years. But we also know that everything has not yet been accomplished. This magnanimous and comprehending attitude cannot be held back at the borders of Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Zanzibar and so many other territories which still await the sacred baptism of independence.

58. There is much to be done; but in those areas of the world—the areas over which the Special Committee's jurisdiction extends—it is not justifiable to speak, today, of living hopelessly in slavery or dying in that same slavery. In contrast, by a shameful paradox, there are other areas and peoples, barred from our agenda, for which instead of hope there are cement walls; instead of self-determination, military tanks; instead of the ability to express and hold free opinions, an implacable political repression which stifles them at birth. It is in these areas that, as a reproach to our Organization, hope seems to have died and man lives dumbly on, shorn of his noblest attributes.

59. Our last observation, in conclusion, is that in view of the contents of the report, the terms of reference of the Special Committee, the encouraging support which that Committee has received in this debate from every delegation, and the great undertaking contracted by our Organization with the world, the General Assembly should at its next session welcome here, with joy, a considerable number of new independent States.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) took the Chair.

60. Mr. DADET (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): I am fully conscious of the fact that, in speaking on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples, and in doing so on behalf of an African nation, I am obliged to repeat what has already been said by representatives of other delegations, and of my own, during previous sessions of the General Assembly, and also at the present session. It is only too clear that the problem of the liberation of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in the world must continue to have high priority on our agenda. That is a task with which we must continue to cope indefatigably. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has done admirable work, for which my delegation warmly

congratulates its members and offers them its profound gratitude.

61. That body's discussions have led it to deal with a number of problems which are also on the agenda of other working groups set up by the Assembly. The Special Committee of Seventeen has, however, covered the whole field of our concern regarding the future liberation of our brothers who are still enslaved or subjugated. The report of the Special Committee of Seventeen [A/5238] faithfully and accurately reflects our anxiety. I believe that that anxiety is shared by an overwhelming majority of the free peoples, since it is almost universally recognized that the perpetuation in certain parts of the world of a status of inferiority which, under one name or another, deprives millions of men and women of the democratic exercise of their rights as citizens is an anachronism.

62. In a desperate attempt to avoid or delay the granting of independence and of total and universal freedom, notwithstanding the fact that it is clearly and categorically called for by the Charter, legal systems of extraordinary ingenuity and sometimes of baffling complexity have been invented, ranging from the doctrine of apartheid to a policy of ostensible assimilation, and including complicated electoral systems whose purpose is invariably to defraud some people for the benefit of others.

63. I cannot believe that the authors of the United Nations Charter, to whom liberated Africa pays continual tribute, entertained such subtle mental reservations when they wrote that they were determined to reaffirm their faith "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

64. How can anyone sincerely endorse those principles and at the same time advocate an alleged parallel development which is nothing but the enslavement of one race by another, or an alleged multiracial society in which only some 1 per cent of privileged persons exercise their full rights, or even certain more elaborate constitutional formulae which enable a minority to claim to speak in the name of the majority?

65. I am straying from my subject and reverting to arguments which have been so often repeated during our debates that the archives of our Organization are overflowing with them. But our weariness with this task should not be mistaken for weakness or resignation. The free peoples of Africa are daily more closely associated with the growing impatience of their still enslaved brothers, and there is a danger that their increasing consciousness of solidarity may burst the bonds of wisdom and moderation.

66. The African and Malagasy Union has always been moderate, and indeed we have sometimes been criticized on that score. But our moderation does not extend beyond the limits imposed on us by fidelity to our democratic convictions and our faith in freedom. During the Conference of African and Malagasy Heads of State held at Bangui, in the Central African Republic, from 25 to 27 March 1962, our group reached clear-cut decisions on the practical assistance to be given to the countries of our continent which are not yet independent. At the diplomatic level, this assistance will be manifested by approval of any steps taken by the United Nations to bring the hardened colonialists to reason; at the financial level, by such help as our modest resources can provide for our

African brothers; at the military level, by our cooperation in the technical training of fighters for the armies of liberation; and at the intellectual and social level, by assistance in the training of public servants for the new nations.

67. A perusal of the report of the Special Committee confirms us in our resolution. It indicates the various fields in which our efforts should be deployed. We have faith in the United Kingdom, since we know that this country has created a form of democracy which is among the most liberal in the world. We know, too, that it has extended these principles throughout its former Empire. In Southern Rhodesia, however, the United Kingdom is in conflict with a coalition of European settlers, who are ready to go to any lengths in order to retain their privileges. This problem cannot be evaded by affirmations that the Territory is already self-governing and that its internal régime can no longer be changed by the former Administering Power.

68. Algeria was paralysed for years by a similar coalition of settlers; the consequence was a long war between France and the Algerian people.

69. The mistake committed in North Africa must not be repeated in the South. A white minority cannot be allowed, through the device of a restricted suffrage, to govern the country in defiance of the rights of the black majority. Restricted electoral rights based on income and education are an anachronism which has long been abandoned by Western Europe. It is true that there are still a few more or less absolute monarchies in the world; but they are based, or at least we hope they are based, on the people's traditional consent and their confidence in their king or their prince. There is no monarchy in Rhodesia; there is simply an oligarchy consisting of a privileged class and race, and this oligarchy is rejected by the African people. We are proud, in the English-speaking and French-speaking independent African countries, to have brought our sometimes still illiterate parents and our frequently ill-educated wives to the polling booths. Very few of them have made mistakes. They have elected the leaders they deserved and needed. Accordingly, a great European country must not try to persuade us to return to constitutional formulae which even a dictatorship, either of the right or of the left, would not dare to introduce.

70. Paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) lays down that: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". That which is true at the national level is also true at the individual level. Lack of education, or poverty, should not be used as an excuse for restricting the exercise of a citizen's most elementary political rights.

71. A similar problem exists in Northern Rhodesia, where the white minority enjoys the same excessive privileges as in Southern Rhodesia and where it is sought to protect and reinforce those privileges by the maintenance of a Federation which has never been accepted by the Rhodesian people and which has been the principal obstacle to the speedy admission of Nyasaland to the United Nations. We earnestly hope that the United Kingdom will adopt a courageous policy in that area, worthy of its traditions and subject to no pressure from individual interests. We also ask the United Kingdom to apply the principle of self-determination in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swazi-

land and to protect them from the annexation with which we know they are threatened and from the terrible consequences that would ensue for these small countries and their unfortunate peoples.

72. We do not think there are any major difficulties in Zanzibar, and we confidently hope that this country will join our Organization in a very short time. If the party leaders cannot agree, why should we not adopt the proposal made to the Special Committee by the representative of Madagascar [see A/5238, chapter VI, para. 137], that the question of independence should be put to the people in a referendum under international supervision? France held popular votes of that kind in its colonial territories, and the outcome gave general satisfaction.

73. Guiana appears to be still further advanced along the road to independence, and its admission to the Organization should not be further delayed. Lastly, Kenya should overcome the final efforts of the European settlers to delay its evolution and should achieve sovereignty within a very short time. We have already said that we have faith in the United Kingdom; we count on its enlightened Government to overcome the last vestiges of resistance. We cannot say the same with regard to Portugal. Here the anachronistic situation is not defended only by a handful of settlers; it is established in the palaces of Lisbon, and will not be terminated until the people of Portugal have the strength to change or abolish the régime of Mr. Salazar.

74. We are not a priori hostile to assimilation or to the establishment of a multiracial society, but it should be based on equality and the same legal, political and social status should be enjoyed by all. After five centuries, Portugal has granted the title of "assimilados" to only 2 per cent of its African subjects; moreover we know that the term must be accepted with reservations, since it covers many discriminatory practices. In any event, a simple arithmetical calculation shows how many hundreds of years would be needed before all the inhabitants of Angola, Cabinda and Mozambique became full Portuguese citizens. We wonder whether the world would last long enough to allow the completion of so slow and conscientious a so-called civilizing policy. Hence we prefer to think that our brothers who are under the domination of the Lisbon Government are not Portuguese citizens but that they have already acquired enough civilization to become free men and that they will obtain the rest through their own efforts, with the assistance of the other African peoples and of Europeans of goodwill.

75. My delegation reserves the right to deal in more detail with the question of the Portuguese colonies in connexion with that particular item of the agenda. Nevertheless, since we are now discussing the problem of independence as a whole, we should like to state that Portugal must henceforth be faced not with words but with acts; and since it believes that it is defending some of its interests by its policy, we should show it that that policy can be detrimental to it in other respects.

76. We must teach a similar lesson to the Union of South Africa—first on account of its policy of segregation, of which I shall not speak since it has been the subject of a special debate, and secondly on account of its illegal annexation of South West Africa. Here again we find an African nation relegative to "native reserves", the pass system, political silence

and economic stagnation, for the convenience of a minority of foreign settlers.

77. Central and Southern Africa has now become the bastion of a privileged caste whose members have in desperation formed a coalition to resist, to the end, any policy of development. This resistance is irrevocably doomed. It is for the administering Powers, and failing them the United Nations, to pronounce judgement on it by peaceful means before it is destroyed by violence. Today there is murderous war in Angola. Tomorrow that may happen in Rhodesia. When people resort to violence, it is always accompanied by hatred and it destroys every chance of brotherhood and friendship between individuals of different races and classes. It breeds fear and resentment—vengeance on the one hand, and defeat and despair on the other. It irrevocably ruins every chance of establishing that multiracial society of which Portugal has made a caricature but which many of us are proud to have instituted in actual fact.

78. We are sure that today there would be many more French settlers in independent Algeria if the barricades of Algiers had fallen some years earlier. In the best interests of all, we must abolish the barricades of every type which still, with labels chosen by Mr. Salazar, Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Verwoerd, litter our continent.

79. Our country will therefore endorse every practical step decided upon by the United Nations to bring to reason those who have learnt nothing. If necessary, we shall support their expulsion from the United Nations in order that the line may be clearly drawn between those who sincerely endeavour to sow the seeds of peace and human brotherhood, as recommended by the Charter, and those who despise them and will reap nothing but war and hatred.

80. In conclusion, my delegation entirely approves the recommendations 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. It hopes that the great majority in the General Assembly will share its views, and that the punitive measures decided upon and progressively imposed will help the die-hards to take the road of wisdom and our African brothers to be present, with their heads high, at the rendezvous of freedom.

81. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): My delegation has carefully studied the Special Committee's report contained in document A/5238, and wishes to congratulate the Committee on the objectivity, clarity and comprehensiveness of its work with regard to several territories. There are however certain facts common to all or most of them, which I should like to summarize.

82. In the first place, the report deals mainly with territories situated south of the Sahara, or, to be more precise, in sub-Equatorial Africa. With the exception of British Guiana, the small territory of Aden and the diminutive colony of Singapore, they are all African lands. These territories include the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Zanzibar and Pemba, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Kenya—a total area of 5,253,999 square kilometres containing, according to the United Nations statistical yearbook for 1961, a population of 18,236,550.

83. In the second place, we find that the majority of the population is indigenous, while political and eco-

conomic power over it is wielded by a small group of white settlers who have instituted a policy of racial discrimination and segregation.

84. In the third place, it is well known that the economic structure of those territories is based on exploitation of the soil and sub-soil for the benefit of a white minority which carries out that exploitation with cheap indigenous labour.

85. In the fourth place, it is clear that there are in those territories national liberation movements taking the form of political parties and, in some cases, of armed resistance.

86. These facts can be summarized in this way: colonialism is at its most extensive in sub-Equatorial Africa, where it is based on the principle of racial discrimination and consists in the exploitation of those territories' natural wealth with cheap indigenous labour, giving rise to liberation movements whose goal is complete independence. It is obvious that we cannot regard Africa as an ethnic, cultural or even purely geographical unit. Even when we consider sub-Saharan Africa alone, we find it to be a conglomeration of ethnic and cultural types, an interlacing of languages and dialects, a vast region of geographically contrasting areas, with forests, mountains, plains and arid zones. This diversity was accentuated by the European colonization which followed the Treaty of Berlin, since it overlaid the already diversified indigenous groups with various other ethnic and cultural entities and added new, foreign languages to the many already existing vernacular tongues.

87. However, it is evident that Africa can be spoken of as a unit in the sense that there is a coherent and unified movement, on the part of all the African peoples, to put an end to the reprehensible colonial system. This has led to two circumstances which should not pass unnoticed: first, the African political movements for national liberation are assuming the characteristics of a unified, cohesive general Pan-African movement; secondly, the colonial dominators are also banding together internationally in a sort of secret Holy Alliance taking the form, in the military sphere, of an unusual arms race and, in the political sphere, of the creation of fronts which also are united. The first circumstance derives from the very manner in which Africa's colonial society was established, based as it was, from the outset, on the notion of the ethnic and cultural superiority of Europe, as conceived at the time by the Count de Gobineau. This racialist doctrine was exaggerated in Africa to the point where a supposed theology was created by Daniel Malan, and a rigid political doctrine by administrators like the Ministers Verwoerd and Welensky.

88. In addition to racialism as a social system, however, there was unanimity on the economic use of indigenous labour, which it was sought to confine to a low level of existence. As long ago as 1896, in a note to the Foreign Office, Sir Harry Johnson said: "The abundance of labour will serve to maintain the Protectorate's financial security". Two methods were followed by the colonizers to achieve that end: first, they imposed heavy taxes which kept the indigenous workers in debt; secondly, they apportioned the lands in such a way that the indigenous inhabitants were left with the most barren and unhealthy tracts, while the best ones remained in the hands of the colonizers. The impoverishment of the masses made and still makes it necessary for labour to be sold on a saturated

market, so that wage levels remain low. Man, as an instrument of labour, still constitutes an important export commodity in many of the colonial territories. Nyasaland, with a density of sixty inhabitants per square kilometre, cannot support its own population, and great migrations of persons seeking work periodically occur.

89. With regard to Basutoland, the Special Committee's report states that:

"Basutos seek work in the Republic of South Africa, mostly in the gold mines. The 1956 census showed 154,782 absentees (in addition to the 638,857 enumerated in the Territory)." [A/5238, chapter V, para. 8.]

With regard to Bechuanaland, the following is pointed out:

"Many adult males emigrate to work in neighbouring territories, particularly in the mines of the Republic of South Africa . . ." [*ibid.*, para. 37].

Concerning Swaziland, the report states that 11,728 Swazi were employed in the Republic of South Africa in 1956 [*ibid.*, para. 58].

90. These movements of the impoverished African masses have contributed to the formation of an awareness which imparts an international character to the African liberation movements. It must not be overlooked that these national liberation movements come into being on a continent where the building of national States is in full progress. When the United Nations was created in 1945, only three African States were founding Members: Egypt north of the Sahara, and Liberia and Ethiopia south of the Sahara. No African State was admitted to the Organization during the first ten years, until Libya received membership in 1955. In the five following years, only four African States were admitted—the Sudan and Tunisia in 1956, Ghana in 1957 and Guinea in 1958. The year 1960 has been called that of colonial liberation, for sixteen African States were admitted to membership. Three more entered in 1961, and this year we have welcomed the admission of another four. Thus in the past seven years twenty-eight African States have become Members; they constitute almost one third of the total number of Member States.

91. It would be intellectual blindness of the worst sort to think that these States, which have suffered and lived under the burden of colonialism, can remain indifferent to the fate of their brothers who have not yet achieved independence. We therefore fully understand the vehemence and passion with which they speak on colonial problems. Whatever differences there may be in political and religious systems, levels of development and forms of language, there is African anti-colonialist unity. The danger to peace and security which the continuation of colonialism and the arms race of the great Powers represent is, therefore, something more than mere words.

92. Nor can we forget that this struggle goes on in a world divided by contrasting ways of life, with all the perils which this entails. We therefore believe it necessary to reaffirm that, not only in words but also in deeds, those who profess the democratic philosophy of the West—which is based on respect for men's freedom and dignity and on self-determination for the peoples—must do everything in their power to bring about the concrete and effective elimination of colonialism, racialism and the exploitation of man for reasons of race.

93. We should like to draw a few conclusions from all this. First, we do not believe that the problem of liquidating colonialism should remain linked with the "cold war", whether in the Special Committee or outside it. Secondly, the Special Committee whose report we are considering should be maintained and strengthened, and the dispersing of the problems among many committees should be avoided. Thirdly, we believe that the Special Committee should be given specific terms of reference, in order to prevent confusion with the powers and functions of the main committees of the General Assembly. Fourthly, we would recommend that the Special Committee be asked to make an urgent study of the social and economic systems of the territories still under colonial rule, especially in regard to land tenure, wage fluctuations, consumption and production indices, migration, methods and conditions of work and, in general, all socio-economic conditions in those territories, with a view to ensuring that political emancipation takes place within the framework of an economic development plan suited to the territories liberated.

94. In conclusion, I should like to say that my delegation considers that the granting of emancipation to British Guiana, which meets all the conditions necessary for the exercise of self-government, is an urgent and unavoidable requirement that must be fulfilled immediately.

95. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): When in December 1960 the General Assembly adopted the now historic resolution 1514 (XV), it gave full voice to the new acceptance by the international community of the fact that colonialism is an evil that should be finally eradicated from civilized society. And it was about time, too. The world, shocked and shamed by the horrors and brutalities of the Second World War, nobly conceived at San Francisco a Charter dedicated to the achievement of international peace and security. To that end the United Nations has continued to persevere in its determination to remove the causes of world tension. The emergence of many nations to independence and the continued dependence of many colonial countries and peoples have been properly regarded by this Organization as creating an explosive international situation from which tension and conflict are bound to ensue, quite apart from the fact that the notion of the subjugation of one people by another, with the implied doctrine of race superiority, has been held to be completely repugnant to civilized behaviour.

96. And so it was in expression of this universal concept that the resolution calling for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples was adopted. But in spite of this resolution, the General Assembly, in its sixteenth session, found that, as a matter of fact, many territories still remained under colonial rule and exploitation, and that it was necessary to pay special attention to this situation. Thus the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples came into being, as a result of resolution 1654 (XVI).

97. I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to this Special Committee for its excellent and voluminous report [A/5238], and the determination and dedication with which it has been able to discharge its duties, often in the face of

grave difficulties and obstructionist tactics on the part of some of the colonialist Powers.

98. It is significant evidence of the stranglehold with which colonialism still holds Africa in its death-grip that the Special Committee considered it necessary to consider as a matter of priority the situation in eleven African countries: Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Zanzibar, Mozambique, South West Africa, Kenya and Angola. The findings of the Special Committee constitute a revelation of what my delegation considers to be a most alarming situation in some of these territories. In many of them no serious attempt has been made by the colonial Powers to implement the terms of resolution 1514 (XV). Rather, we have seen exposed the most flagrant violation of many resolutions of the Assembly.

99. South Africa and Portugal have again stood out as the worst offenders. The South African Government, not content with its perpetration of the most wicked atrocities against the defenceless indigenous inhabitants of that country, is now seeking to extend its hold over South West Africa in open defiance of international opinion. Must this world body sit idly by while the evil machinations of the cowardly and inhuman white South African Government achieve fruition? And what of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland where the indigenous majority continue to be denied the right of self-determination? As though that were not enough, we see in these territories the abominable spectre of apartheid looming menacingly in the shadows.

100. My delegation is in full accord with the Special Committee when it expresses alarm over the military build-up in some of these territories. We are of the view that a military build-up is objectionable and offensive wherever it may occur. We cannot bring ourselves to criticize it when it occurs in certain areas of the world and to condone it when it is done in other areas, least of all, in Africa. And this is a scandal to international morality when it is done, as it is, in order to trample upon the natural rights of the vast majority of indigenous peoples and to stem the tide of legitimate national liberation movements by force of arms. This same South African Government which has increased its budget for defence from £12 million before 1961 to £60 million in 1962, did this not because of any imminent threats from outside, but because it wants to subjugate and, if need be, exterminate the indigenous peoples in their legitimate demands for self-determination. Nor is South Africa alone in this. It is a lamentable fact to reflect upon that in Africa we see situations in which the Portuguese have had the nerve to perpetrate against our people some of the worst horrors of the Nazi tyranny. Portugal has military units in Mozambique of more than 50,000 soldiers, including paratroop and commando units. We have also been told that in Mozambique alone fifteen new airfields have been built.

101. You may well wonder how a country like Portugal has been able to make such military showing. The answer is not far to seek: the NATO alliance. The report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration [A/5160] has informed us that the greater part of the military and other equipment available to Portugal has been supplied by the NATO countries. The Special Committee went further to state that regardless of any assurances to the contrary which may be given, Portugal will

continue to use these arms for repressive purposes against the people of Africa. This is why my delegation does not attach much importance to those pious and often hypocritical remarks by some countries in condemnation of Portuguese conduct in Africa—not after they have thus been parties to the regrettable and barbarous policy of Portugal.

102. This attitude of criminal acquiescence and sometimes of open connivance, which has characterized the policies of certain nations toward colonialism in Africa, has been in evidence not only in connexion with Angola and Mozambique, but also with other territories like Southern Rhodesia where the British have persisted in their unconvincing attempt at abdication of their responsibilities with spurious arguments.

103. These imperialist nations with the overt and covert support of their friends have been doing their best to resist the dictates of our age. They are making a desperate attempt to halt the march of the liberation movement. But neither their odious conspiracies to defeat the legitimate aspirations of our people nor their tactics and manoeuvres to confound and defeat our efforts in the Assembly, will arrest this irresistible movement which continues to gain momentum from year to year. Destiny is on our side and we will triumph in the end. We will yet put to naught and disarray the unholy alliances ganged up against us to frustrate the evolution of history.

104. My delegation will therefore support any draft resolution which recognizes the explosive situation in these areas where colonialism still abounds and which recommends drastic and decisive steps not only against those countries which perpetuate this system, but also against those who by their complicity allow the situation to thrive.

105. My delegation is in full sympathy with the suggestion of the Acting Secretary-General that all work on colonialism now done by four other separate United Nations committees should be concentrated in this Special Committee of seventeen members. Quite apart from the fact that such concentration will result in a useful saving of time and money, it seems to us that it will prevent the duplication of work and make for better efficiency.

106. One last thought. It is the view of my delegation that the Special Committee has done a remarkable job in highlighting the intransigence of policy of the Portuguese in Africa. Both in Angola and in Mozambique they continue to deny civil and political rights to the indigenous population and relentlessly pursue their policies of forced labour, racial discrimination and oppression. And yet in spite of this well-known catalogue of atrocities, the steady flow of arms to Portugal from its NATO allies continues. And some of these Governments are those which are so fond of preaching homilies about international morality and which have publicly pledged their support for the speedy process of decolonization and the restoration of the rights of peoples everywhere to self-determination and independence. But how can there ever be a speedy end to the colonial problem if some Governments continue to supply to the colonial Powers offensive arms that they know and ought to know would be used to maintain nefarious policies and enforce an iron grip on the struggling and courageous peoples in these territories. My delegation would like to believe that Member States with vital interests of large capital investments in these countries would not allow

these interests to becloud the issues that threaten world peace and security. We would prefer to see brave words matched by brave deeds.

107. The world has endured long enough this evil cankerworm of man's desire to subjugate his fellow man in all sorts of guises. We in Africa have suffered particularly from the colonialist and racist expression of this vice. We have at last arrived at an era where civilized man is affronted by this practice and is not prepared to tolerate its manifestations much longer. Let us here at the United Nations reflect in our action this universal desire of all decent men. If we continue the task so nobly started by the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and continued by resolution 1654 (XVI), culminating in the finework of this Special Committee, the sixties would truly earn the acclaim of history and posterity as the decade of development.

108. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): It is now nearly two years since the Declaration on colonialism was adopted by the Assembly. As we meet to consider the implementation of that Declaration, it seems appropriate that this should be a time of stocktaking and reappraisal. The United Nations role in the ending of colonialism has been defined in a statement of broad principles. In this debate we look back at what has already been achieved, and forward at what remains to be done.

109. Looking back, we note that eight countries—five of them in Africa—have achieved their independence within the last year, a pace exceeded only during the climactic year of the Declaration itself. Looking forward, we can see at least five territories—and four of them are in Africa—which will probably attain independence within the next year. In these territories the goal of nationhood is clear and close, and could now be delayed only by internal disunity.

110. This record is worth contrasting with progress on other great international issues over the last two years. During that time disarmament negotiations have inched painfully forward, a treaty to ban nuclear tests has come a littler closer. The amount of progress on these questions is pitifully small compared with what is at stake for mankind in their solution. But in these other fields—in the field of disarmament or of development—as we face up to the realities, we realize that dramatic solutions are unlikely. Most of the world's inveterate problems have continued their inevitably slow progress towards solution—except, that is, in the case of colonialism. Judged by any international standard, this is no small measure of success for the Declaration, and striking evidence of the change that has been wrought in the thinking of mankind. It is also a measure of our own progress toward freedom. For, as the representative of Algeria reminded us, none of us can be truly free until all our fellow human beings stand equal with us in freedom and dignity.

111. So we in New Zealand find it hard to agree with those who claim that the Declaration has not yet produced results. The cramped seating in this building is only one refutation of such a statement. Impatience to see the work of decolonization completed is natural. The imperative of completing the process of liberation lies heavy on the conscience of many representatives here, especially on the conscience of those whose countries have recently acquired their own independence. But impatience should urge us to greater efforts, not mislead us into overlooking the tasks which lie ahead.

112. The truth is that, in a human world where progress can be made only by agreement and the patient surmounting of problems, the cry for instant decolonization makes about as much practical sense as instant disarmament, instant development, or any other instant achievement. Decolonization is not merely a state of mind, though that is essential; it is also a process. In the majority of territories, where the administering Power is honest in discharging its trust, the problem is to lay the foundations of a modern State as rapidly as possible. The pace can always be accelerated—and this is a valuable role for the United Nations, as we ourselves can testify—but it is clear that the process itself cannot be instantaneous.

113. Colonialism, as a system of alien rule by one people or race over another, cannot and should not survive under modern conditions. That this should be so widely recognized is a profound achievement, though not necessarily of the Declaration alone. That historic document summarized, affirmed and solemnly proclaimed a body of principles which in themselves were not new. But today, for the first time in history, we have both a collective international will and the means, through this Organization, of bringing colonialism to an end and ensuring that it does not arise again. This was the view of New Zealand, and was argued by us in 1945, when the then Prime Minister of New Zealand affirmed that the doctrine of trusteeship was applicable in broad principle to all colonial territories. It is a view which is not, so far as I am aware, disputed by any colonial power which acknowledges its obligations under the Charter.

114. The questions confronting us at this stage, therefore seem mainly to be practical ones: to examine the best means of translating the Declaration's principles into effect, and in doing so to overhaul the United Nations' own machinery of decolonization. I realize that there is another school of thought which argues that we should merely declare that within a matter of months—say, by October 1963—the entire process of decolonization should be completed. If we accept this way of thinking, there is nothing further to be said: there is no need for further thought or discussion of means or of practical conditions. There is no need to discuss the structure and work of committees; for if the decision in every case is automatic and stereotyped—*independence within a few months—what is there left to discuss?* I am assuming, however, that most of us are interested in giving the best possible start to the people now living in the remaining colonies and that we are therefore interested in practicalities.

115. It is understandable that the Special Committee on colonialism should have concentrated its energies in the first place on the continent of Africa. The liberation of large areas of Africa in recent years is, in the field of human rights, the major and the most stirring event of our times. It is not surprising that the glow of freedom shining in so many new countries should have given new and sudden hope to the people of the remaining dependent territories. The determination of the leaders of the independent States of Africa to hasten the achievement of self-determination throughout the continent is both noble and encouraging.

116. Thus the Special Committee in its first year has dealt with twelve territories, eleven of which are African. Of these eleven territories, the United

Kingdom Government holds responsibility, in varying degrees, for eight: Portugal administers two, and South Africa one. We encounter at once a fundamental difference in the administration of these groups of territories. On the one hand, the United Kingdom Government has adopted a policy of actively promoting self-government and independence in its various territories; the Governments of Portugal and South Africa have not. The United Kingdom has from the earliest days of the United Nations co-operated with this Organization in the pursuit of its policy; the Governments of Portugal and South Africa have, on the contrary, refused co-operation and have indeed chosen defiance. Is it necessary to add that these differing policies and attitudes call for differing responses from the United Nations?

117. On the conduct of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, we are awaiting an opinion from the International Court of Justice, and in the meantime the Fourth Committee has approved draft resolution II, contained in its report [A/5310], a constructive text which offers the Government of South Africa what is perhaps its final chance to co-operate with the United Nations over the territory of South West Africa.

118. It is New Zealand's hope that the slight signs of a willingness by the South African Government to co-operate, which we have observed in the last two years, will develop further before it is too late.

119. Progress towards self-determination for Portugal's territories in Africa is stifled by the myth, in which only the Portuguese Government believes, that these parts of Africa are parts of Portugal itself. Such an attitude is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Declaration on colonialism. It threatens to damage beyond repair the history, much of it glorious, of the Portuguese people and to wreck the solid progress which Portugal has made in some other fields in modern times. Despite the uniformity of Portuguese administration in Africa, we have nevertheless to take note of the varying conditions in the territories. Angola has erupted into violence; Mozambique so far has not. The enclave of Cabinda is very small and is more naturally associated with either of the Congolese Republics than with Angola, from which it is at present administered.

120. Where Portugal and South Africa have been reluctant to meet the realities and the needs of the time, the United Kingdom had, long before the adoption of the Declaration on colonialism, given proof, practical proof, through the creation of independent States in Asia and Africa of its own determination to implement its declared policy and its declared goal of self-determination for its dependent territories. The majority of the States Members of the Assembly have acknowledged and paid tribute to the wisdom of that policy and the effectiveness with which it has been practiced. For the remaining British territories in Africa, the goal is not in dispute. Were there no complicating factors, they would undoubtedly already have been independent, as are Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Tanganyika within the Commonwealth, and as are Sudan and Somaliland outside it.

121. Complications which stand in the way of the implementation of the Declaration are irritating. They are irritating to the people of the dependent territory, irritating to the Members of the United Nations, and, I am sure, no less irritating in this case to the responsible Power. Each of the three parties—the political leaders in the territory concerned, the ad-

administering Power and the Members of the United Nations—has its separate responsibility to recognize and then to play its part in the process of removing the obstacles to final self-determination. In some of the remaining British territories, the complications are not severe and independence is clearly very near. In Zanzibar and Kenya national unity is the chief preoccupation. Nyasaland, which has an African Government, and Northern Rhodesia, which is likely soon to have one, have to determine their relations with one another and with Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia, which is self-governing with, so far, an all-white Government, has to speed up the Africanization of its Government and its administration. Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are located within or adjacent to the Republic of South Africa. The complexities of all these territories must be recognized and the responsibilities which we all have towards them cannot be ignored. Our problem—the problem shared by us with the administering Power and with the peoples of the territories—is to achieve the goal we all acknowledge as soon as we can. Our special responsibility as Members of the United Nations is to ensure that the objective is achieved by peaceful means, for that is the great imperative prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations.

122. Every country approaches the problems of colonialism from the standpoint of its own experience. No doubt, in stressing the diversity of dependent territories and the consequent need for flexibility, we in New Zealand are influenced by our own position as a Pacific country. The Declaration on colonialism applies to the Pacific no less than to other areas, but we are inclined to agree with some earlier speakers who have suggested that the Pacific may require special solutions.

123. The problems of the Pacific, unlike those of Africa, are posed more by geography than by history. They are the result of a thin scattering of islands and peoples strewn over vast distances of ocean, handicapped by isolation—from each other as well as from the outside world—and by a lack of mineral or other resources. Application of the Declaration on colonialism, therefore, must cope with these particular conditions, as well as with politics.

124. As an administering Power in this area, albeit a small one, New Zealand has continued to put into practice the principles which it has supported in this hall. At the beginning of the present year, our former Trust Territory of Western Samoa became independent, although it is perhaps only fair to add that progress towards independence there had begun many years before. New Zealand still remains responsible for a loosely-related group of South Pacific islands—the Cook Islands and Niue. These islands are hard to fit into any of the classic concepts of colonialism or imperialism. Their inhabitants, 24,000 in all, are of Polynesian origin, as are many New Zealanders. Their land area totals 200 square miles in almost a million square miles of ocean. Their resources, which are purely agricultural, are limited, and, indeed, a large financial contribution from New Zealand is needed each year to provide for social and other services.

125. New Zealand has transmitted political and other information on these territories since the United Nations was founded. Now, the pattern of constitutional development, built up over the last ten years, is being extended in ways which we believe are in full ac-

cordance with the principles of the Declaration on colonialism. This is not the occasion to go into details, which we will make available to the Fourth Committee under the appropriate item, but a brief outline is perhaps worthwhile.

126. In the course of this year, the legislative assemblies of the Cook Islands and Niue—elected, of course, universal suffrage and by the islanders themselves—have already assumed full control over their budgets, having power to appropriate and spend not only their local revenue but also the budgetary subsidies contributed by New Zealand. Next year the executive council in each territory will be chosen by the legislative assembly, with the single exception of the Resident Commissioner appointed by New Zealand. The following year the resident commissioners will withdraw from the councils. These councils will thus be converted into fully-fledged cabinets and the attainment of internal self-government will be complete.

127. By then the island peoples will have reached the point in their constitutional development where they can meaningfully decide their future status, whether alone, in association with New Zealand, or in some other South Pacific association, if that is practicable. Hence, when this stage is reached, we envisage some form of consultation in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration to ascertain the freely-expressed wishes of the people.

128. The scale of this is small, but not, I think, too small to be of any value as an illustration. At the risk of seeming to waste the Assembly's time on very small issues when much greater ones are in the forefront of our minds, I have outlined these plans for New Zealand's Pacific territories to give an example, drawn from our particular experience, of one way in which the principles of the Declaration are being applied. They are being applied in a setting probably very different from that normally envisaged, and one unlikely to have played much part in the thinking of those who drafted the Declaration. In an area as large and diverse as the Pacific, many other solutions will be possible. But we have no doubt that, given a pragmatic approach by all concerned, the peculiarities of geography and of individual territories can be fully reconciled with the goals of the United Nations.

129. In the Pacific, as in Africa, these goals and the obligations assumed by administering Powers under the Charter are generally acknowledged and conscientiously discharged. But just as South Africa and Portugal have attempted to ignore their obligations, so there is a Power in the Pacific which does likewise. Five Powers acquired Pacific territory as a result of two world wars. Four, including New Zealand, placed these acquisitions under international trusteeship. The fifth, the Soviet Union, acquired South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands whose indigenous inhabitants total almost half a million, a large number when we recall that the other non-self-governing territories of the Pacific between them total only about three million inhabitants. The Soviet Union not merely refused to place its acquisitions under international trusteeship; it has never even acknowledged them as non-self-governing territories. As administering Power, the Soviet Union has declined to submit any information on their progress, political or otherwise. It does not admit any possibility of independence and acknowledges no right to self-determination.

130. The policy of the Soviet Union has in fact been one of simple annexation. Annexation is not a practice which has any place in the new world order established by the United Nations Charter. As far as I am aware only two countries have failed to recognize this; South Africa which in 1945 wished to annex South West Africa, and the Soviet Union which did annex a whole range of non-Russian territories. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Finland and Japan are among the countries who can painfully testify to the loss of national territory and whole provinces and the forced transfer of millions of people.

131. I do not wish to dwell on this, nor on the Chinese invasion and annexation of Tibet, except to point out that colonialism is not simply confined to those who acknowledge their obligations, observe the Charter and welcome the interest of the international community. There are also delinquent colonialists, in Africa and elsewhere, who attempt to evade their responsibilities. As many representatives have already noted, the Special Committee of Seventeen still has ample work to do before the principles of open and free self-determination are vindicated in the world. We want the present phase of decolonization completed as quickly as possible. The United Nations may then be better placed to take a harder look at the whole question of human freedom. For, to repeat myself but in a different context, none of us can stand in full freedom and human dignity until all are free. The gods are never cheated.

132. After the experience of this year there can be no doubt that the Special Committee of Seventeen has assumed the principal role in examining the application of the Declaration. The great amount of work it has already completed is impressive; the amount which remains is, as I have suggested, still very large. At a time of stock-taking and reappraisal, therefore, it is necessary not merely to review the full range of colonial problems, but also to re-examine and where possible to improve the United Nations machinery established to grapple with them.

133. Earlier speakers have advanced proposals for the reorganization of the Special Committee of Seventeen. We have examined them with interest. We are inclined to feel that matters such as the exact number of the Committee's future membership—whether it should be expanded by four, seven, or not at all—are not of paramount importance. It would seem unwise to expand the numbers to the extent that the Committee becomes unwieldy and passes the point of efficient work. On the other hand, we see some merit in the suggestion by the representative of Brazil that the Committee could be given power to invite certain countries to its table on special occasions, when they may have a special contribution to make.

134. What does matter in our view is that there should be a more efficient distribution of work. The speed of decolonization and the growth of United Nations efforts have led to a multiplicity of *ad hoc* committees, each dealing with only one segment of the problem and often having terms of reference which overlapped. Now is the time to rationalize this haphazard growth, and to give the Special Committee—working through sub-committees if that should seem more satisfactory—the responsibility at present divided among several committees. If this rationalization is carried out then these latter committees will no longer have any separate functions and can be abolished. The only exception is the Trusteeship Council, not only because

it is a principal organ of the United Nations under the Charter, but also because it has its own proven procedures, and now its own special region, the remaining Trust Territories of the Pacific.

135. The Special Committee of Seventeen has shaped and proved its own procedures; now it should be enabled to get on with its work quietly and realistically. The principles have been established. Now achievements are of more importance than oratory. Where the administering Power is co-operative, then obviously the most practical and speediest results are achieved by co-operation. Where independence is the declared aim of the administering Power, the Committee's task is to assist, not to complicate this. Where the administering Power is not co-operative—and I have already referred to some of these instances—we feel that practical results are best sought by bringing graduated pressure to bear, within the agreed framework prescribed by the Charter, to advance the human rights and self-determination of subject peoples.

136. In both cases the United Nations role is an important and a responsible one. As we take stock of progress since the Declaration was adopted two years ago, we realize that the United Nations has become a power—a very definite power—in the work of decolonization. It is an achievement of immense and historic significance. The achievement that awaits us is of no less significance. It is to complete the process of harnessing this power to secure in a practical and responsible manner the most immediate benefit and the most lasting good of the peoples concerned.

137. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): The seventeenth session of the General Assembly is the third consecutive session which has taken up the general questions relating to the liquidation of the colonial system. On 14 December 1960 the General Assembly adopted, without opposition, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We were therefore entitled to expect that Member States, and above all naturally the colonial Powers, would give practical effect to the provisions of the Declaration—in other words, that they would immediately grant independence to their colonies.

138. Hence before considering the present situation in connexion with the problem of colonialism, and the tasks which it involves for us, we must answer the question why it was necessary to place the matter of the Declaration's implementation on the agenda of the present session.

139. Was it in order to celebrate the complete achievement of decolonization in the spirit of the Declaration? No. Was it in order to draw up a balance-sheet of the joint benefits obtained in the accelerated process of decolonization? No. Was it in order to take fresh collective steps, necessitated by a situation which had come into being as a result of the wholehearted and sincere co-operation of the colonizers? Again, the answer is no.

140. The inclusion of this question in the agenda for the second time was necessary, not because of joint benefits obtained by peaceful means, but because of the opposition of the colonial Powers to historic evolution and to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in the spirit of that evolution.

141. General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) categorically states that fact. The preamble recalls the most important provisions of the Declaration, and proceeds thus (I am quoting passages from the preamble):

"Noting with regret that, with a few exceptions, the provisions contained in the aforementioned paragraph [paragraph 5] of the Declaration have not been carried out,

"Noting that, contrary to the provisions of paragraph 4 of the Declaration . . . ,

"Deeply concerned that, contrary to the provisions of paragraph 6 of the Declaration . . . ,"

142. Most of the speeches we have so far heard have noted the same state of affairs. Accordingly, one of our principal tasks during the present discussion is to analyse the causes for and methods of the colonizers' resistance, and to draft a resolution embodying measures to break that resistance and ensure the immediate and unconditional implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

143. The previous speakers, and the debates at the two most recent sessions of the General Assembly, have stressed the importance of the question of the liquidation of colonialism at this juncture in the life of mankind. I shall therefore mention only a few of the final conclusions, chiefly in order to emphasize once again the importance of the present debate. The liquidation of colonialism is a question which is second in importance only to that of general and complete disarmament; it is therefore a problem which closely affects the interests of all humanity. The liquidation of colonialism is one of the most revolutionary processes of the middle of the twentieth century, a process which by its very nature brings about radical changes in the relationships between peoples; hence it is revolutionary also as a historical factor. It is closely linked with the question of disarmament; it is a prerequisite of disarmament in certain respects, and a consequence of it in others. Thus the position assumed by a State on the question of colonialism, not only in word but above all in deed, affects the whole of mankind and is at the same time the touchstone of the social system of the State in question.

144. In the debates on the liquidation of colonialism, the controversy in every case revolves around certain territories where political affairs and the national economy are controlled not by the indigenous population but by a foreign colonial Power. It is notorious that the colonial Powers occupied these territories by violence, on the pretext of "civilizing" them, at the stage of the development in human society known by the name of capitalism, from 100 to 400 years before the present era. The Declaration of 14 December 1960 simply calls upon these Powers to restore authority to the people of the territories which they have for so long been exploiting.

145. The implementation of the principles of the Declaration therefore serves to redress the historic injustices committed by capitalist society. These principles also indicate that, in the present state of development of human society, the maintenance of colonialism as a relationship between different human communities has henceforth no political, economic or moral basis. It is the indisputable historical merit of the Soviet Union to have been the first to recognize this fact and to suggest the anti-colonialist principles enshrined in the Declaration of 14 December 1960.

146. Since 1960 a large number of countries have become independent and have been admitted to membership of the United Nations. But we should be ignoring the facts, and the right conclusions drawn from those facts by the General Assembly, if the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations caused us to forget that this result has been the outcome of struggle—often of bloody struggle—and not, as the colonial Powers would have us believe, of peaceful evolution and of the common sense and generosity of those Powers. In order to ensure the complete liquidation of colonialism, and the liberation of the peoples that are still suffering under the colonial régime, we here in the United Nations must never lose sight of this fact.

147. It is interesting to follow the course of the debates in the General Assembly on the subject of colonialism. At first, when the question of the national independence of the colonies was raised, the colonizing Powers categorically stated that the matter had nothing to do with the United Nations. Even at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, in 1960, the United Kingdom representative, when explaining his vote after the adoption of the Declaration, quoted the United Nations Charter to prove that the Declaration was contrary to the Charter and did not apply to the British colonies. On 14 December 1960, Mr. Ormsby-Gore stated:

"Paragraph 1 of the Declaration is, I must assume, simply not applicable to the people in these territories for which we are responsible, since it refers to a system of alien domination which is contrary to the United Nations Charter, whereas the United Kingdom administration of dependent territories is conducted strictly in accord with the relevant provisions of the Charter" [947th meeting, para. 49].

148. This attitude was characteristic; it was the attitude of all the countries which abstained in the vote on the Declaration. Since then, however, no one has claimed that the United Nations was not entitled to set its face unreservedly and consistently against colonialism; and that was the first appreciable result of the Declaration within the Organization.

149. The two years which have elapsed since 1960 have seen a series of pretexts and diversionary manoeuvres which the colonizers had likewise adopted in the past, but which had become significant inasmuch as henceforth it was impossible for them to defy the Declaration outright. These manoeuvres take many forms, but they are all designed to serve the same purpose—the maintenance of the colonial system.

150. As for the arguments and attitudes of Spain and Portugal, these countries have taken refuge in conceptions more appropriate to the Middle Ages. They have declared that two and two make five, and that they will ignore any contrary opinion. If they are several centuries behind history, so much the worse for history; not a day passes without their violating the letter and spirit of the Declaration. Nevertheless, they did not vote against it; both countries abstained in the vote.

151. The attitude of the United Kingdom Government reminds us of the man who borrowed a jug and who, when returning it to the lender with its handle broken said: "I did not borrow a jug from you; anyhow the handle was already broken when I borrowed it".

152. On the one hand, Mr. Ormsby-Gore in his aforementioned statement told the Assembly that the basic principle of the Declaration, as set forth in paragraph 1, "is simply not applicable to the people in these territories for which we are responsible"; on the other hand, during the discussion of the question of Southern Rhodesia in the Special Committee of Seventeen, the United Kingdom representative stated that Southern Rhodesia had been self-governing in respect of its internal affairs since 1923 [A/5238, chap. II, para. 62]. In other words, there was no jug that the United Kingdom should return to the United Nations and in this particular case the jug had for a long time been in competent hands, not only before the United Nations asked for it, but long before the United Nations was established.

153. The arguments used by the colonial Powers can be divided into two categories.

154. In the first category are Portugal and Spain, which say: "We have no colonial possessions". This category might also include the United States, which maintains silence concerning its Trust Territories, as if they did not exist.

155. In the second category, the United Kingdom representatives say: "Our colonies are proceeding in harmony and order towards independence and self-government". We are not told when they will attain either of these goals, but they will all attain them; all they need do is to wait patiently and improve themselves. Whoever disagrees on this point is an enemy of "peaceful development", or is bringing the "cold war" into the debate, or fails to understand that all the territories are not yet ripe for independence—for various reasons. So far as most of the colonial territories are concerned, it is claimed that it has not yet been possible to train enough indigenous civil servants to take over the management of the territories' affairs.

156. There are the arguments adduced by the colonizers and their friends. There is also another manoeuvre, which is to try to divert us to other subjects—to the socialist countries, for example. We quite understand that the delegation of the United States, and certain others, are in an unenviable situation when colonialism is on trial in this hall and that they will use any means to escape from it. What we do not understand, however, is that these countries fail to realize that in adopting this manoeuvre they are underestimating the political maturity of the Members of this Assembly. For example, my delegation has frequently had occasion to explain and to prove in this Assembly how the counter-revolution in Hungary was organized, financed, armed and directed by the Western Powers. Everyone knows therefore that these events can be related to one single aspect of the question, more particularly by the fact that these same Powers which are supporting and arming the forces of reaction in the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and other territories are supporting and arming reaction in all its forms and in every part of the world. But this attempt to distract the General Assembly from its real tasks will be vain, and in my opinion it is high time that these delegations realized that the political level in this Assembly is considerably higher than that of the meetings held during electoral campaigns in their own countries.

157. There is more than one reason why we should confute these allegations by the colonial Powers:

first, because all these affirmations are contradicted by the facts of the life of the colonized peoples, and are therefore based on false premises; secondly, because by arguing from those premises they lead other countries to draw false and mistaken conclusions. Moreover, the colonial Powers deliberately make use of false conclusions to mislead the United Nations and public opinion in the entire world, while claiming to be the defenders of the rights of peoples and of human rights. If the Portuguese allegation that Mozambique and Angola are not separate countries but provinces of Portugal was not intended merely to deceive the outside world, but if Portugal itself took it seriously, living conditions there would have to be at least equal to the Portuguese level of living, which in any event is extremely low by European standards. During the hearing of petitioners by the Special Committee of Seventeen, Mr. Simango, the representative of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, said that "his organization, . . . which represented the interests of the 6.5 million indigenous Africans in Mozambique, wished to inform the Committee that five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule over Mozambique had meant economic exploitation, political suppression and social degradation for the African people of that vast area" [A/5238, chap. VIII, para. 24].

158. The report of the Special Committee of Seventeen, in its chapter on Mozambique, [*ibid.*, chap. VIII], stresses the inhuman police terror imposed by the Portuguese authorities and states that the term "overseas province" is pure fiction used to deceive foreigners. As far as we know, the inhabitants other than those of the Portuguese overseas possessions are treated as Portuguese citizens. In Mozambique, however, after five centuries of Portuguese domination there are in all, according to official statistics, 4,353 non-Portuguese "assimilados" who have succeeded in obtaining Portuguese nationality of the first class. The other 6.5 million African inhabitants of Mozambique are not regarded by Portugal as its nationals from the standpoint of its conception of domestic policy. What right has it, therefore, to demand that we, Members of the United Nations, should regard them as Portuguese citizens?

159. The debates held last year and this year on the question of Southern Rhodesia make it unnecessary to analyse in detail the manner in which the United Kingdom is endeavouring to shirk the issue of self-government. My delegation has already spoken at length on the subject in the Fourth Committee. Now I shall merely emphasize the conclusion we have reached, i.e., that after the so-called referendum of 1923, which the United Kingdom treats as a legal, political and moral foundation, self-government was granted to the white settlers on the basis of just over 8,000 votes. Neither then nor later was the indigenous population consulted. Hence the United Kingdom cannot pose as the spokesman of the indigenous population.

160. Those Powers which are opposed to the liquidation of colonialism are still using a method which is well known and not always ineffective: in order to disguise the essence of the real problems, they accuse us of "cold war" propaganda. It is notorious that the United States has very large amounts of capital invested in South Africa and in South West Africa. A number of delegations and of petitioners have referred to this fact in the Fourth Committee and also at previous sessions of the General Assembly. The best

proof of the position taken up by the United States is provided by that country's abstention or adverse vote on draft resolutions on the question of South West Africa. Appreciation of this attitude was expressed by an adviser of the South African delegation to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, who, on returning to his country on 20 December 1961, made the following statement to the Windhoek Advertiser:

"The United Kingdom delegation fought valiantly for South Africa's cause ... we are obliged to Great Britain, since it is thanks to her that the resolution calling for economic sanctions did not obtain a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly. The United States also contributed to this result."

161. As in so many cases, the facts are diametrically opposed to what is asserted by the colonizing Powers in the United Nations, and facts cannot be gainsaid. It is well known, however, that a number of non-aligned countries endeavour to avoid so-called "cold war" questions. Therefore, instead of discussing the facts, the colonial Powers, when faced with a statement which they cannot refute, simply describe it as a "cold war" question; this argument serves to discourage the non-aligned countries from debating the problem and to disrupt the unity of the countries which are pressing for the liquidation of colonialism.

162. With regard to the general shortage of senior civil servants among the indigenous peoples, my delegation entirely agrees with the representative of Saudi Arabia, who when analysing the situation in Rhodesia declared that this reference to the shortage of civil servants was "a devastating argument, devastating to the position of the administering Power" [1168th meeting, para. 134].

163. The colonizing Powers have one further argument which I should like briefly to analyse. It is that, in addition to political and cultural assistance, colonized countries and Non-Self-Governing Territories receive large-scale assistance from the colonial Power—assistance on so large a scale that the colonial Power is "out of pocket". The most reasonable of the colonial Powers no longer dispute the historic fact that for the peoples of the subjugated countries colonialism meant not only extermination and slavery but economic spoliation. The new argument is that, although that was true in the past, it is no longer true today.

164. Let us look at a few concrete figures. Direct investment of American private capital in the dependent territories of the West European countries rose from \$427 million in 1949 to \$906 million in 1957. During those eight years the American "investors" exported new capital amounting to \$229 million and reimported to the United States \$1,159 million in profits. In other words, the American capitalists—who were probably less well placed than the capitalists of the metropolitan countries—obtained an increase in their capital of \$479 million, without running any risk, and at the same time reaped a profit of \$930 million. These \$930 million came from the pure and simple removal of part of the national income produced by the peoples of those colonized countries. The extent to which those countries were plundered also appears from the fact that the total investment for 1957 of \$906 million brought a net profit of \$239 million, or 26.3 per cent.

165. The statistics published by the European colonizers carefully avoid making equally genuine analyses. Nevertheless, we know the figures for certain private enterprises:

"Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, Ltd. ... Net profit in 1961 was £4,100,000 on £14,500,000 capital, most of which is British. ... Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., with only £7,750,000 capital; 1961 profits were £8,400,000 and dividends £4,900,000. ... The Union Minière du Haut Katanga ... has a capital of over £57 million, and 1959-60 dividends were approximately £19,500,000 ... Tanganyika Concessions, an old British company, ... has widespread interests in forestry, property and mines ... The £10 million capital is British and in 1959-60 dividends were £3 million".^{1/}

166. In view of the foregoing, it is too modest an estimate to say that perhaps four whole years are needed for the capital of a colonial Power to be amortized, today, in the colonies. Matters certainly moved more quickly "in the good old days". The present situation, however, clearly proves that from the economic and social standpoint:

(a) The colonial Powers, far from being "out of pocket", are even today reaping fabulous profits from the labour of the colonized peoples and from their national economy;

(b) The colonial Powers were living at the stage of development in social evolution which is known as capitalist, or at a stage of transition to capitalism, when the epoch of colonial plundering began, and they are living under a system of the same type in our day, when this plundering is being continued. Hence the social system of the capitalist type is characterized during its entire history, from the standpoint of the colonized countries, by its parasitical nature;

(c) The period in the evolution of mankind when the population of the world was divided into rich countries and poor countries was the period of the capitalist societies. It is a well-known fact that, before the era of colonialism, the level of living of the peoples of, generally speaking, the present members of NATO was not very different from that of countries in other continents.

167. The logical conclusion is that one of the reasons why the colonial Powers invariably cling to their possessions is a simple material reason—the pursuit of gain and not some transcendental civilizing mission.

168. We all agree—some gladly, others gloomily—that the era of colonialism, or more accurately of classic colonialism, is almost over.

169. The data I gave when speaking of the economic aspects of colonialism show, however, that today the wealth of the various colonized countries is being plundered, not only by one country or another or by the capitalists of a given country, but by financial groups whose members are large-scale taxpayers of the different colonial Powers. Whatever these men's nationality may be, they have one common characteristic; they intend to hold on to their privileges at all costs. Their influence is so great that in many cases, the defence of their interests becomes part of the official policy of their countries. Hence the formation, in the struggle against the liquidation of

^{1/}Rosalynde Ainslie, The Unholy Alliance, Salazar-Verwoerd-Welensky, pp. 22-24.

colonialism, of that Unholy Alliance whose members would like to reverse the course of history.

170. On the African continent itself, as Basil Davidson, the well-known English publicist, has written:

"... there undoubtedly exists today an unholy alliance for mutual aid and co-operation between all those baleful and blinkered men in Africa who believe that the future must be no better than the past, but the same. That colonialism must go on. That race hatred must persist.

"Portugal, the Union of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the separatist puppet State of the Katanga with its huge subsidies from Belgian-controlled mining interests; the Governments of all these, with their wealthy friends abroad, have joined in a conspiracy to hold back the spread of political and economic freedom in central and southern Africa. Powerful British political and economic interests are deeply involved in this attempt to kill the hopes of constructive change." 2/

171. The activities of this Unholy Alliance have led to the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, the pseudo-Constitution of 1961 which tramples under foot the right to national independence and elementary rights of the African inhabitants who form over 90 per cent of the population of Southern Rhodesia, the tens of thousands of murders in Angola, the starvation wages of the black workers in Northern Rhodesia, the slave labour in Mozambique, and many other outrages—too numerous for mention—to human, economic and political rights perpetrated by the members of the Unholy Alliance in central and southern Africa against the real owners of the land, the indigenous people.

172. They could not, and would not dare to, commit all these crimes if they were not assisted by the Unholy Alliance. Little Portugal, with its few million inhabitants, could not carry on a murderous war against Angola without the help of NATO armaments. Even the mercenaries in Katanga are not fighting for nothing; they are paid and armed by the Unholy Alliance. The *New Statesman* has fairly and accurately described the activities of the United Kingdom in this connexion in an article which says, *inter alia*:

"Whitehead was given a substantial loan, a large slice of which is financing his police, whilst Dr. Verwoerd in South Africa is being supplied with military aircraft which can be used against his black masses. Even some Tory MPs are appalled by this cynical use of British resources." 3/

173. All this, however, is only one side of the question. The Unholy Alliance is not only protecting the privileges of the white settlers in Rhodesia; it is not only maintaining the fascist régime in South Africa at the bayonet point; it is not only defying the United Nations and world opinion by subsidizing the army of mercenaries in Katanga; in other words, it is not satisfied merely to "support" the white settlers and to impede the peaceful establishment of the "multiracial" society preached by its representatives here in the United Nations. The principal aims it pursues are the increase of profits and the amortization of capital more rapidly than is pos-

sible in the metropolitan country. Since its interests coincide with those of South Africa and of the White settlers in Southern Rhodesia, it allies itself with them. This accounts for the conclusion, for these purposes, of the secret agreements which are concealed from the African peoples.

174. Despite the denials of the Governments concerned, it is clear from statements by petitioners, and from articles in the Press, that this alliance does exist. But I must add that although the question is one of extreme importance from the standpoint of African local problems, this is only one of the means used to crush the African national liberation movements; it is not even the chief means. The principal opponents of the implementation of the Declaration's principles are those members of the Unholy Alliance that are not located in Africa, but that provide weapons and money for the needs of the Alliance in its retrograde activities on the African continent itself. Who are they? They are the countries which belong to the politico-military alliance, the countries which place weapons in the hands of the Portuguese colonizers, the Katanga mercenaries and the South African racialists. They are the countries which, without consulting the indigenous people, construct military bases with nuclear and other rockets at Aden, Beira (Mozambique), Kenya and so forth, for the purpose of their aggressive plans.

175. This military alliance includes all the countries possessing colonies in Africa and elsewhere or having in those areas, large-scale investments whose profit-earning capacity depends on the maintenance of the *status quo*—from the United States of America to Belgium, Portugal and the Federal Republic of Germany. That means, of course, NATO.

176. The policy pursued by NATO and its members towards the colonial and dependent peoples reveals, at the same time, the close connexion existing between general and complete disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism. On what is the power of the Katanga mercenaries, the settlers of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese who are keeping the African peoples under colonial domination based? It is based on NATO, on armaments obtained from members of NATO, and not on the assistance of the peoples. If these weapons were to be abolished under general and complete disarmament, obviously the colonial oppression based on violence would end and the will of the majority would prevail.

177. It is therefore equally clear that anyone who has an interest in the liquidation of colonialism also has an interest in general and complete disarmament—with a view not merely to ensuring the peaceful utilization of the technical resources and vast sums of money which would become available through the reduction of military expenditure, but also to rendering colonial oppression impossible.

178. Lastly, we see here the importance of a historically established link. The formation of the capitalist system is no mere coincidence—it also explains the birth of colonialism, that system under which countries with only slightly different levels of living must be divided into rich countries and poor countries. On the other hand, the complete political and economic elimination of colonialism and of its consequences can be carried out only at the same time as general and complete disarmament, which is a military, economic, political and technical condition for the elimination, within a short period of history, of this

2/ Quoted from: *The Unholy Alliance, Salazar-Verwoerd-Welensky*, by Rosalynde Ainslie. Foreword by Basil Davidson, p. 2.

3/ See *New Statesman*, 19 October 1962, p. 513.

difference between rich countries and poor countries. Despite all opposition, the complete political liquidation of colonialism will take place in a short time. The economic consequences of colonialism will, however, persist for a considerably longer period, largely because the colonizers, though deprived of their political privileges, in many areas still enjoy illegal economic privileges which they will obstinately defend. These privileges will increasingly become the chief obstacles to world-wide economic development.

179. In conclusion, I should like to state my delegation's views concerning the report of the Special Committee of Seventeen [A/5238].

180. Resolution 1654 (XVI) and the Special Committee of Seventeen have in many respects come up to our expectations. They have undoubtedly initiated a great step forward towards the liquidation of colonialism. Last year the activities of the Special Committee were complicated by the work of various committees of lesser importance which were dealing with similar problems. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's proposal designed to put an end to that situation. As other delegations have already pointed out, if all questions relating to colonialism are referred to the Special Committee of Seventeen, and if the various sub-committees are abolished, the Special Committee will have to be enlarged in order to be able to carry out its work.

181. The Special Committee of Seventeen has taken wise decisions concerning the twelve colonial territories with which it has dealt. My delegation favours the adoption of these decisions by the General Assembly.

182. After one year's experience, it is clear that the functions of the Special Committee should be more precisely defined, with a view particularly to avoiding a repetition of the procedural discussions which took up much of the Committee's time last year, especially at the beginning of its work. Such definition is also necessary because the Fourth Committee quite rightly instructed the Special Committee of Seventeen—and will probably do so again in the future—to deal with problems of this kind concerning the colonies, which must be handled by a body in permanent session. The welcome decrease in the number of colonial territories does not for the time being mean that the tasks of the Special Committee will be lessened, since there are a number of colonial territories whose problems have not yet been placed on its agenda.

183. Experience so far during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, and the debate on the question of colonialism—whether we are examining the question of Southern Rhodesia, that of South West Africa or that of the policy of apartheid—have once again confirmed the fact that the United Nations can help the colonial peoples only by adopting a constant and consistent attitude of anti-colonialism. In this connexion my delegation will support the proposal by President Sékou Touré [1148th meeting] that the United Nations should fix October 1963 as the time-limit for the liquidation of colonialism. It is well known that the socialist countries have from the outset stressed the need to fix such a time-limit.

184. The statements we have heard so far clearly show that most States Members of the United Nations feel deep anxiety regarding the speed at which events are unfolding in various places in the southern part of Africa, the war of extermination against the people of Angola, the situation in Southern Rhodesia and the

conditions, akin to genocide, in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa. My delegation shares the view that the situation in this region is compromising peace in Africa and throughout the world. At the same time, the question of the colonial territories in Asia, Oceania and the American continent must not be forgotten.

185. In view of all these considerations, my delegation thinks that the resolution to be adopted should contain the following provisions:

186. In the first place, the General Assembly should require the immediate abrogation of the measures of military and police oppression taken against the colonial peoples, and the liquidation of the forces of military and police oppression in the colonial countries.

187. Secondly, the General Assembly should declare that the economic, political and military privileges of the colonizers as compared with the indigenous population, and the military bases established against the will and without the consent of the indigenous population, should be liquidated immediately as being contrary to the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

188. Thirdly, the General Assembly should once again emphasize that any treaty concluded with a colonial territory before the granting of independence will not be binding on the country in question after the granting of independence, unless that country freely accepts it after having recovered its independence.

189. Fourthly, the General Assembly should invite each colonial Power, by name, to implement immediately the provisions of the Declaration, of resolution 1654 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 27 November 1961, and of the resolution which will be adopted.

190. Fifthly and lastly, the General Assembly should request the Special Committee of Seventeen to continue its work in the spirit of the Declaration, of resolution 1654 (XVI) and of the resolution to be adopted.

191. The Hungarian delegation is convinced that success in the struggle against the Unholy Alliance, and the final liquidation of colonialism, can be achieved only through the application of positive and unequivocal measures. My delegation is ready to support any draft resolution which would facilitate the attaining of that aim.

Organization of work

192. The PRESIDENT: This evening the Assembly concludes the seventieth day—the tenth week—of its seventeenth session. Tomorrow it will have spent three weeks on the consideration of the report of the Special Committee of Seventeen. This is the most important item allocated to plenary meetings and, though the period of three weeks might seem long, it is not quite as long as it sounds because there have not been as many plenary meetings during this period as could have been wished. Nevertheless, time is pressing. There are still thirty representatives who desire to speak in the general debate. I have been in touch with the chairman of the committee of the Afro-Asian group which has been entrusted to prepare the final drafts of our resolutions on this item. They might require some time to complete their task.

193. I would like to announce to the members the order of business for the greater part of this week. I trust it will suit their convenience but even if it should not I am sure that the Assembly, in the interest of making the best use of its own time, will be willing to go to some inconvenience to make its schedule yield full results.

194. Tomorrow at 10.30 a.m. there will be a pledging conference for extra-budgetary funds for the budget of the programmes of the High Commissioner for Refugees, so there will be no plenary meeting in the morning. Tomorrow afternoon, the Assembly will continue the consideration of the item under discussion. On Wednesday, there will be no plenary meeting in the morning, but in the afternoon the present discussion will be continued. On Thursday morning the Assembly will deal with item 14, the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and, if time permits, we should begin the consideration of the item on Angola. On Thursday there will also be an afternoon and an evening meeting to continue the consideration of the report of the Special Committee of Seventeen and, if the general debate on that item should have

concluded, to continue the consideration of the item on Angola, whichever might be convenient. On Friday, if we have proceeded according to our present expectations, I trust it will be possible to have two meetings—in the morning and in the afternoon—to be devoted to the item on Angola. I realize that the Assembly decided [1168th meeting] that it should be free to discuss the report of the Special Committee of Seventeen as a whole and that no part of the report should be excluded from consideration merely because some of the items are being dealt with, or will be dealt with, separately elsewhere. For instance, South West Africa is before the Fourth Committee and the item on Angola is before the plenary. Therefore, it may be reasonable to expect that a general debate on the item relating to Angola will not take very long and that it might be concluded by the end of the afternoon meeting on Friday, if one should be held. If it is not, then the list of speakers for the general debate on Angola will be closed at 6 p.m. on Friday. As I have said, I trust that this schedule will meet the convenience of the Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.