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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) (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: It will be recalled that the General Assembly decided last Friday evening, 14 December [1194th meeting], to postpone the voting on the thirty-four Power draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1] until this afternoon. We shall, therefore, now proceed to the vote. I would remind Members of the Assembly that the financial implications of this draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5351].

2. Separate votes have been requested as follows: first, on the last paragraph of the preamble, requested by the United States; second, on operative paragraph 7, requested by Tunisia; third, on the last phrase of operative paragraph 8 (b), which reads: "... including recommendations concerning the fixing of an appropriate time-limit;". The latter was requested by the United States.

3. I now give the floor to representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

4. Mr. JOKOBSEN (Denmark): The Danish delegation has some reservations with regard to the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1] now before us. For instance, we doubt that the proposed enlargement of the Special Committee would be an advantage. In our experience, the efficiency of an administrative body has a tendency to diminish, the larger that body becomes.

5. Further, I had in mind the question raised in operative paragraph 8 (d). We do not consider it to be good constitutional practice for any sub-committee of this Assembly to take direct action vis-à-vis the Security Council. Such an important decision ought to be left to the full Assembly.

6. Those observations, however, are minor criticisms, but we have one decisive objection. There is one provision which we must directly oppose, and that is the idea of setting a time-limit on the full implementation of the Declaration on colonialism. I would not like to be misunderstood. It is the clearly expressed desire of my Government that whatever parts are still left of the colonial empires should be liquidated as speedily as possible, but we do not believe that the fixing of a specific time-limit is a realistic approach. Nobody is in a position today to tell us what that date should be. If the time is ripe, we should not wait for a specific date; if the time is not ripe, we should not plunge a territory into disturbance because of our date. Therefore, the Danish delegation will vote against the last preambular paragraph and against the corresponding operative paragraph 8 (b).

7. Therefore, we very much hope that the sponsors of the draft resolution will not oppose a separate vote on this, and perhaps on some other paragraphs, as indicated the other day [1193rd meeting] by our colleague from Guinea. We would very much regret such a procedure and we would, of course, vote against it. It would be a bad democratic procedure and, in my opinion, beneath the dignity of this Assembly to prevent any delegation which so wishes from expressing its stand on each part of an important resolution. The right democratic way is to give countries an opportunity to say "Yes" when they want to say "Yes", and "No" when they want to say "No".

8. I should like to appeal to our Asian and African friends not to abuse in this way the majority which they may have. I am sure they would lose in sympathy by such a procedure, more in the long run than they would win by a resolution forced through the Assembly in this way.

9. Having said this, I wish to make it clear that my delegation, in spite of reservations and objections, will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

10. The question of colonialism has been in the foreground during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. It is in the centre of world politics today, and it will remain in the centre until it has been finally solved. To Western countries, of which my country is one, we can have only one interest, that colonialism is brought to an end as quickly as possible. The largest part of the world today, where freedom is suppressed, is not in those places where the old colonialism is still left. It is clear that the colonial age has come to an end. We have come so far that no nation in Asia, in Africa or in Europe will be content until it has gained its independence, and arguments that, socially and economically, some countries will be better off as dependent territories do not carry much weight. Man does not live by bread alone.

11. We are often inclined to think of our age as the time of the struggle between communist dictatorship and democracy, and that that is the main aspect. But I am not sure that a future historian will not, above all, come to regard our age as the age in which the majority of the nations of the world living in Asia and Africa demanded their independence and won it. This has been acknowledged by the West. Look at what has happened in Asia and Africa during the last fifteen years. That is not a bad record. True, there are some dark spots left today, but not much more than the areas under Portuguese domination which we have been discussing so much.

12. We understand African impatience and we admire African solidarity, but they can rest assured that the remnants left of colonial rule are felt, by the great majority of the West, not as an asset to the West, but as a heavy liability. Until these last remnants have disappeared, we cannot with full moral strength turn against the lack of freedom in other, much larger parts of the world. The more speedily we can reach this point, the better.

13. My country does not believe that impatience however understandable, will help us towards that great goal, impatient though we may be to seek time-limits. Neither do we believe that intolerance will help us, since intolerance will prevent our nations from expressing their opinions in the Assembly about different parts of the resolution. But what is more important, there must be no doubt left as to the attitude of Denmark, that we shall oppose any attempt to preserve the last remnants of colonialism, that we feel a solidarity with any realistic endeavour to bring this unhappy state of affairs to an end; and, that therefore the Danish delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

14. Mr. CARDUCCI-ARTENISIO (Italy): The Italian delegation did not think it necessary to take part in the general debate on the report of the Special Committee, established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI). We believe, in fact, that our past record on colonial matters and our point of view on the problem of colonization are very well known to all members of this Organization.

15. May I be allowed to sum up the principles on which Italy based its participation in the work of the Committee of Seventeen,<sup>1/</sup> by quoting a relevant part of the speech of the Italian Foreign Minister from this rostrum on 28 September 1962:

"(a) Full acceptance of, and full support for, the 1960 Declaration;

"(b) The quest for all means likely to facilitate or accelerate the process towards independence in co-operation with the administering Powers. Our aim here is not only the attainment of the ultimate objective, but also the timely preparation of the necessary political, administrative and economic infrastructures;

"(c) Support for all measures likely to bring about independence by appropriate and peaceful means, the object being to ensure that the newly born States may constitute an element of stability and may be in a position to co-operate effectively with all other States". [1136th meeting, para. 189.]

<sup>1/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

These principles, as well as the deep conviction that the decolonization process must go on in the speediest possible way and that the General Assembly must concern itself with the particular responsibility of the Special Committee, will prompt our vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1]. The same principles and the same convictions will govern our attitude in this matter.

16. We wish, however, to place on record our disagreement with one major point of the draft resolution, namely, on the provisions for a time-limit for the implementation of the Declaration of Independence of colonial countries and peoples. We also have strong doubts on the advisability of enlarging the membership of the Special Committee. We are not, in fact, altogether sure that the admission of other members, no matter how qualified for the task, will make the work of the Committee necessarily more speedy and more efficient. The achievements of the Committee are not necessarily, linked, in our opinion, to the number of its members.

17. For the same reasons of efficiency, the Italian delegation feels that the idea that a time-limit, at some stage, should be set for the full implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, is likely to be more of a hindrance than an advantage in the activities of the Special Committee. We must not forget that our future work will be extremely difficult and that the Special Committee will be confronted with a number of outstanding problems which have already been considered, although without concrete results, by our Organization.

18. We shall have to devise all sorts of measures, not only in order to deal with those Powers that have so far appeared reluctant to co-operate with the United Nations, but also to prepare the political and administrative instruments necessary to bring the people still under colonial régimes to independence. I wish to refer, in this connexion, to the very interesting suggestions made by the delegate of Indonesia [1194th meeting], concerning the possible role that the United Nations and the Special Committee could play in this regard. These problems and many others will occupy our time, energy and imagination in future months. That is why we feel it would not be wise to burden the Special Committee with controversial tasks that will immeasurably slow down our work. For these reasons, the Italian delegation, while supporting the draft resolution as a whole, will vote against the present paragraph containing the provisions for a time-limit, if it be put to a separate vote.

19. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation inscribed its name on Friday evening [1194th meeting] for an explanation of its vote after the vote, but as a result of the diplomatic and conciliatory remarks of the delegate of Indonesia at the same meeting we find it necessary to inscribe our name, instead, to give our point of view before the vote is taken.

20. What I have to say refers, in particular, to the seventh preambular paragraph and to operative paragraph 8 (b) of the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1]. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago is in favour that the Special Committee should recommend a time-limit for each Non-Self-Governing Territory to achieve independence. We feel that discussions on the state of development of Non-Self-Governing Territories,

arising, for example, out of the reports of the Special Committee and of the Committee of Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, has had the effect of imperceptibly diverting the scrutiny of the Assembly, and of the world, to the irrelevant question of the state of development of the Territories concerned. I say "irrelevant", because the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples explicitly excludes these considerations as criteria for independence.

21. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago feels that the Special Committee, were it to recommend target dates for the granting of independence, would redress the situation and reaffirm the overriding moral obligation of administering nations to grant independence as soon as possible; for, although there is a moral obligation on the part of administering nations to promote the economic and social developments of the territories in their charge, both before and after independence, this obligation is separate and distinct from the obligation to grant independence. What my delegation does consider unrealistic, however, is the proposal that the Special Committee should set one day for all Non-Self-Governing Territories to achieve independence. There are as many different sets of conditions, in this aspect, as there are territories. Each territory has its own peculiar problems. For example, there are those territories where the achievement of independence awaits only the agreement of the representatives of the peoples themselves as to the constitutional forms under which they will live.

22. Therefore, my delegation feels that it would be advisable indeed for the Special Committee, after exhaustive consideration of the political situation in each Non-Self-Governing Territory, to include in its report recommendations on the date by which each of these territories ought to achieve independence. But a date set for all such territories, together, would of necessity have to be the date at which the last territory would be able to achieve independence; the effect of this would be to set for all the others a date which would be later than necessary and might, therefore, provide a pretext for delaying the progress of those territories to self-government. Thus, if the representative of Indonesia said that the paragraphs in question suggest that the Committee will recommend, not a blanket date, but individual time-limits, then my delegation would like to see these paragraphs say so explicitly. Otherwise, my delegation intends to abstain from the vote on the seventh paragraph of the preamble, and on operative paragraph 8 (b).

23. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Guinea on a point of order in connexion with the procedure of voting.

24. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): On 14 December [1194th meeting] the Guinean delegation had occasion to make two appeals from this rostrum requesting the sponsors of proposals for separate votes on the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1] to withdraw their proposals for the reasons which we explained at length at that time. We deeply regret that these appeals have not been heeded, and in view of the time at which they were made, the tremendous importance of this question and the great hopes that colonized Africa places in the debates of the Assembly, we considered it our duty to come to this rostrum once more, not only to oppose those

separate votes but, before doing so, to make a supreme appeal to those concerned.

25. We must say once more to our brothers from Asia and Africa that the document submitted today for the approval of the Assembly is the outcome of a compromise which has entailed tremendous efforts and for some delegations, like my own, tremendous sacrifices.

26. The fact is that our intentions are being questioned. We have listened to all the speakers who have come to this rostrum to speak against the fixing of a time-limit. The painful impression which we have gained is that practically none of these speakers have taken the trouble to read carefully the text submitted to them.

27. What are we actually requesting? It is that the Committee of Seventeen, or that Committee reshaped, should study the question and report to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session. For this reason we think that all the representatives who have put forward arguments at this rostrum against the fixing of a time-limit would do well to await the Committee's report, so that a debate may take place normally at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

28. To the speaker who preceded me at this rostrum, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, I should like to say that the representative of Indonesia [1194th meeting] interpreted the idea in the minds of the sponsors of the draft resolution perfectly. There is no question, and there never was any question, in our minds of fixing one single date for the attainment of independence by all countries. That is perfectly clear. In this respect the position of the sponsors of the draft resolution is that set forth in paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV), namely, the need for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples. We are, I must say, truly taken aback. Two years ago the General Assembly decided, through that resolution, that the colonial Powers—the Administering Powers—should take immediate steps to transfer all powers to the colonial peoples. In view of the obvious fact, not only that in certain cases these steps have not been taken, but that certain colonial Powers even go so far as to question the applicability of that resolution to the territories under their administration, we are asking the Committee responsible for ensuring its implementation to examine the question and report to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session. I want to make it quite clear that it is a question of making recommendations. I therefore fail to see what rational arguments there can be against assigning this task to a committee which has the full confidence of the Assembly. If there are delegations which are afraid of what the Committee might do, I would tell them that we ourselves are not afraid because, in any case, the General Assembly has already decided that inadequacy of political, economic or social preparedness should not normally justify any delay in granting independence and, furthermore, that the Administering Powers should take immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories. Moreover, not one speaker has told us why he finds the idea of setting a term to the shillyshallying of the Administering Powers alarming.

29. Consequently, we say once more to our brothers from Africa and Asia that the document that is now before the Assembly for its approval does not really

represent the specific ideas of anybody, that it is the outcome of an extremely arduous compromise and that, on the basis of the solidarity formulated in concrete form at Bandung in 1955 and at all subsequent meetings in Africa and Asia, we would appeal to them, pointing out that this is the minimum acceptable. We have achieved such a delicate balance, so far removed from the doctrinal positions of each delegation, that we feel it our duty to ask our brothers from Africa and Asia to support a document whose sole objective is to serve the cause of the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

30. But we shall not limit our appeal to our brothers in Africa and Asia. To our friends in Latin America, who, when Asia and Africa were almost unrepresented here, played the historic role that everyone recognizes, we would say: have confidence in the Committee of Seventeen; do not prevent the Committee from making an objective study which may enable the General Assembly to take a decision in full knowledge of the facts. Indeed, to those who argue here that it would be dangerous to impose on the colonial Powers a time-limit for the fulfilment of the obligations arising from the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), we would say: wait until our Committee is able to supply, in all objectivity, data which will enable you to take a decision in full knowledge of the facts, for any decision taken beforehand would be an emotional decision and as such unworthy of the Assembly.

31. Nor shall we confine our appeal to our friends in Latin America, who before we appeared on the international scene played—as we are happy to note and to confirm—a role which we have never ceased to praise in favour of decolonization of Africa and Asia. We shall make the same appeal to the socialist countries. There is no need for us to dwell on this, for supported this rostrum elsewhere they have consistently supported all the arguments put forward by the living forces of Africa, be they African Governments, political parties, youth or women's movements or trade unions. Nonetheless, we appeal to them to reaffirm their previous stand by their vote and to make it possible for the great hope of the colonized peoples to be fulfilled at the end of the seventeenth session.

32. Better still, we would appeal to the Powers of Western Europe, colonial Europe and their allies, and say to them: you realize that colonialism is dead, but now there are all the problems of co-operation. We would say to you in all frankness and loyalty: help us to forget a past so fraught with humiliations and difficulties! Help us to cut short the sufferings of the people who are still under the colonial yoke! Help us to be ourselves, for the time has come to cease practising a policy which is so obviously against your interests.

33. We therefore say to all the spiritual families of the Assembly that the document which is submitted to them for adoption does not really deal with any substantive problem. We ask that the problem of the time-limit—the time-limit on which all the living forces of Africa have once again given their opinion—should be referred to the Committee of Seventeen so that that Committee may study it with all possible care and report to the eighteenth session. It will be time enough to discuss it then. And to those who adduce considerations of democracy here we would say: do not prevent the Assembly from studying a question which is of vital concern to an entire continent, and perhaps to even more than one continent.

34. If the sponsors of the proposals for separate votes persist, the delegation of Guinea will be obliged formally to oppose separate voting on the seventh preambular paragraph and on operative paragraph 8 (b) regarding the question of a time-limit. There are actually two proposals for separate votes, coming from two delegations and relating, altogether, to three paragraphs. My delegation asks for a separate vote to be taken on each of these proposals, including those relating to the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 8 (b).

35. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): The representative of Guinea has just made a further appeal to representatives here, and especially to those which have proposed separate votes on the seventh paragraph of the preamble and on operative paragraph 8 (b) of the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1]. He has said that if his appeal is not answered affirmatively, he will invoke rule 91 of the rules of procedure and oppose separate votes on those paragraphs. We support the position taken by the representative of Guinea.

36. I have asked to speak, however, to oppose another request for a separate vote—namely, the one made last Friday night [1194th meeting] by the representative of Tunisia. That representative proposed that a separate vote should be taken on operative paragraph 7, relating to the enlargement of the membership of the Special Committee on the question of colonialism.

37. It will be recalled that, during the general debate, an overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization expressed the view that an enlargement of the membership of the Special Committee was advisable in the present circumstances, owing to many factors. My delegation was among the first to propose [1170th meeting] such an enlargement. We gave our reasons for that proposal. We said that for the Special Committee to be able to accomplish its task in the shortest possible time it would have to divide itself into smaller sub-committees. That would not be possible with the present somewhat limited membership of seventeen. We also said that in view of the importance of the Committee's work it would be advisable for other Members of the Organization, drawn from the various geographical regions of the world, to be given the same opportunity to contribute to this vital task of the United Nations as the seventeen which were chosen by the last President of the Assembly. We said that an enlargement of seven was perhaps preferable to an enlargement of four because it would enable a more proper division of work in the Committee and would give the President of the Assembly more flexibility in choosing Members from the various geographical regions of the world.

38. The representative of Tunisia referred to the "balance" of the Special Committee. I do not know what he meant by that. The representative of Indonesia made it quite clear when he introduced the draft resolution [1194th meeting] that the enlarged membership, far from destroying the present balance in the Committee of Seventeen, would maintain the balance, and perhaps even improve it. Another argument was that an enlargement of the membership would impair the effectiveness of the Committee's work. I have yet to hear a convincing argument as to why and how the effectiveness of the Committee's work would be impaired if seven members were added.

39. The number twenty-four out of a total membership of 110 is not too large. It will be recalled that,

when the Charter came into being, there were only fifty-one Members of the United Nations, and still there were councils which had eighteen members, for example the Economic and Social Council. Eighteen members out of a total membership of fifty-one was more than one-third of the total membership of the Organization in 1945. Our proposal for a membership of twenty-four out of a total membership of 110 is less than one-fourth—it is closer to one-fifth of the total membership of the Organization. It is therefore a much smaller percentage than that which was provided for the Economic and Social Council at the inception of this Organization.

40. The representative of Tunisia then mentioned something about the fact that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories will continue and therefore there is no reason to increase the membership of the Special Committee. It is quite true that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories will be maintained, but its terms of reference derive from Chapter XI of the Charter and relate to the transmission of information under Article 73 e, and those terms of reference, I am quite sure the representative of Tunisia will agree, are somewhat different from the terms of reference of the Special Committee, which was established by resolution 1654 (XVI). In any case, the resolution [1700 (XVI)] which requests the continuation of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories contains a paragraph which asks that Committee to submit relevant reports, technical or otherwise, to the Special Committee. Therefore, the fact that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories will be maintained in no way reduces the responsibilities of the Special Committee of seventeen members. This is so for two reasons, first, they have different terms of reference, and second, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has been asked to transmit relevant reports and technical information to the Special Committee.

41. The representative of Tunisia said:

"If there is no amendment submitted for this purpose,"—namely that the number should be four instead of seven—"we request a separate vote on paragraph 7, and we shall vote against this paragraph. If, however, this paragraph is retained, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole." [1194th meeting, para. 82.]\*

This means that the representative of Tunisia does not really feel too strongly about the retention of this paragraph, because it will not in any way affect the outcome of his vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

42. The representative of Tunisia proposes the addition of four members instead of seven. I ask the Assembly: is there really such a great difference between the addition of four members and that of seven? Will the addition of three more members make all the difference in the world in the effectiveness of the Special Committee's work and in its balance? Surely not.

43. Therefore, I must say that we were not convinced by the arguments advanced by the representative of Tunisia. If he accepts four new members, surely he can accept seven. Three more members will not turn the world upside down.

44. What is the effect of the separate vote on operative paragraph 7? The effect may be to allow a minority of the Members of this Organization to defeat the will of the majority, and the views of the majority which have been expressed time and again in the general debate and by the fact that thirty-four Asian and African delegations have co-sponsored the draft resolution and have asked that the Special Committee be increased by seven members. This represents the overwhelming majority of the Asian-African group, which after all makes up half of the membership of this Organization. I think the Assembly would agree that they are vitally concerned with the question of colonialism.

45. I am sure that there are other groups that also support our draft resolution. In fact, we hope it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the Assembly. However, if we have a separate vote, there is the danger that a minority in the Assembly may be able to have its view predominate over those of the overwhelming majority. The effect may be the complete deletion of this paragraph, which would mean no increase in the membership of the Special Committee.

46. This draft resolution, as the representative of Guinea stated, was the result of painstaking and laborious consultations and work. It was as a result of compromise that we were able to co-sponsor it with the majority of the African-Asian group. Therefore, I must renew my appeal to the representative of Tunisia—who is a member of the Special Committee and who certainly does not want to give the impression that there are members of that Committee who do not wish other members to join it, I am sure that never entered his mind—not to press his vote on a separate vote. We shall then be able to vote on this draft resolution in its entirety, and I hope that it will be adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization.

47. Mr. Taieb SLIM (Tunisia): Since there have been no fresh developments and the draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1] has remained as it was before, the Tunisian delegation sees no reason to abandon its initial attitude. As we have said, our reasons are reasons of principle. The representative of Iraq, referring to my speech on 14 December [1194th meeting], has asked me what Tunisia means by "balance". I should like to remind him of what I said on that occasion:

"We should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the danger that this amendment represents to the delicate balance established by the present membership. The present distribution of seats is certainly not ideal"—and I repeat, the present distribution of seats is not ideal—"but in practice it has proved to be fairly representative of the trends of opinion in the Organization on the problems of colonialism and decolonization. We understand, of course, that in view of the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations it may be necessary to make some small change in the composition of the Special Committee. In that connexion, it may be recalled that of the six newest Members of the United Nations four belong to Africa and two to Central and South America. We think that within the present balance the addition of two members"—I never said that I agreed to four members—"might have been possible and useful". [1194th meeting, para. 790.]

\* Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

48. I have no intention of giving a discourse on a matter in regard to which we have already explained our position very fully. We are very touched by all the appeals which have been made to us, by both the representative of Guinea and the representative of Iraq, in the name of African and Afro-Asian solidarity. We too stand by that solidarity and, as we have said, it is for the sake of that solidarity that we are prepared to vote in any case in favour of a draft resolution which in our view is capable of several improvements. For the sake of solidarity we are not submitting any amendments to the draft resolution. But I do not think that there is anyone here who can dispute our right—and our desire—to voice our opposition to a specific point in the draft resolution. For that reason we are pressing our request for a separate vote on paragraph 7, and if this is opposed we shall insist upon the motion for division being voted upon by the Assembly.

49. The PRESIDENT: We shall proceed to ascertain the wishes of the Assembly with regard to requests for separate votes. There are two requests for separate votes: one on the last paragraph of the preamble and on the last phrase of operative paragraph 8 (b) which reads: "... including recommendations concerning the fixing of an appropriate time-limit;". The first vote will relate to the request for a separate vote on these two paragraphs: the last paragraph of the preamble and the concluding words of the operative paragraph 8 (b).

50. I recognize the representative of Guinea on a point of order.

51. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea): It may be that a proposal by Guinea has escaped the attention of the Members of the Assembly, but I expressly asked that separate votes should be taken on each of the motions for division, including those relating to the seventh preambular paragraph and to paragraph 8 (b), both of which are by the United States delegation.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the proposal that a separate vote should be taken on the last paragraph of the preamble. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Republic of South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico.

*Against:* Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon,

Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia.

*Abstaining:* Thailand, Tunisia, Cambodia, Iran, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon.

*The proposal was adopted by 50 votes to 47, with 7 abstentions.*

53. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the last request. And I do it advisedly because I have something to say with regard to the request for a separate vote on operative paragraph 7—not on its merits, of course, but as an observation.

54. The next matter to be put to the vote is that there should be separate vote on the last phrase of paragraph 8 (b), which reads: "including recommendations concerning the fixing of an appropriate time-limit". A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala.

*Against:* Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea.

*Abstaining:* Iran, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon, Thailand, Cambodia.

*The proposal was adopted by 51 votes to 47, with 6 abstentions.*

55. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the third request for a separate vote and, as I said, I have one or two observations to make before I put it to the vote. In the first place I wish to observe that the President, as is well recognized, is the servant of the Assembly. He must do his best to carry out any responsibility that the Assembly places on him. I conceive also that it is equally his duty, and his obligation, to uphold the position of the Presidency.

56. I can say with a clear conscience that I have not the slightest bias one way or the other with regard to what is proposed in operative paragraph 7. I would be perfectly happy if the Committee were to remain constituted as it is. I would have endeavoured to do my best to carry out the behest of the Assembly in that regard, whatever it might have chosen to decide. It was open to the sponsors of the draft resolution

to propose no addition to the Committee, and if they wished for an addition, to propose that the addition be made by election by the Assembly, or to nominate the additional States they wanted to serve on the Committee. But they chose to leave it to the President. During the discussion on the question of separate vote it has been clearly and forcefully urged that, in the view of one delegation or of some delegations, any addition would disturb the delicate balance of the present Committee. If that should be the view of any delegation, then it means that the laying of this duty or responsibility on the President places upon him a duty which it is impossible for him to fulfil. Should that continue to be the case, I might find it impossible to carry out the behest of the Assembly.

57. I shall now put to the vote the proposal for a separate vote on operative paragraph 7. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden.

*Against:* Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika.

*Abstaining:* Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Bolivia, Burma, Ceylon, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Nepal, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Sudan.

*The proposal was rejected by 46 votes to 38, with 21 abstentions.*

58. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution, and I shall put to the vote the last paragraph of the preamble. A roll-call vote has been asked for.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Central African Republic, Ceylon,\*\* Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia,

\*\* The representative of Ceylon subsequently asked the Secretariat that his vote should be recorded as abstaining.

Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

*Against:* Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil.

*Abstaining:* China, Cyprus, Federation of Malaya, India, Jamaica, Lebanon, Madagascar, Nepal, Trinidad and Tobago, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon.

*Portugal did not participate in the voting.*

*The result of the vote was 54 in favour, 40 against, and 12 abstentions.*

*The paragraph was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.*

59. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea): I see, Mr. President, that in your interpretation of Article 18 of the Charter you regarded this as an important question. I should not for a moment wish to question a ruling by the President, but nevertheless I wonder, on the basis of recent precedents, whether it is really, in terms of Article 18 of the Charter, a question which can be described as important and consequently requiring a two-thirds majority in accordance with Article 18 (2) of the Charter.

60. The PRESIDENT: My announcement of the result, of course, as interpreted by the representative of Guinea, means that the whole of this item, and certainly this draft resolution, is an important question within the meaning of Article 18. I would have thought that he would himself be the last to contend that it was not. But anyway, that is the way I have ruled. If any representative is disposed to challenge my ruling, I shall of course put it to the Assembly—and I remind the Assembly that my ruling can be overruled by a simple majority.

61. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea): I thought that I had made myself clear when I said that I had no intention of opposing a ruling by the President, especially one by a President like yourself. I will not therefore contest your ruling, but nevertheless I am glad to note that fifty-four delegations have declared themselves in favour of the case upheld by the African peoples.

62. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the last phrase of operative paragraph 8 (b). The phrase reads as follows: "... including recommendations concerning the fixing of an appropriate time-limit". A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*New Zealand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan,

Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco.

*Against:* New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands.

*Abstaining:* Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Cyprus, Federation of Malaya, Greece, India, Jamaica, Lebanon, Nepal.

*Portugal did not participate in the voting.*

*The result of the vote was 55 in favour, 38 against, and 13 abstentions.*

*The phrase was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.*

63. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on operative paragraph 8 (b) as amended.

*Operative paragraph 8 (b), as amended, was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

64. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the thirty-four-Power draft resolution [A/L.410 and Add.1] as a whole, as amended. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France.

*Portugal did not participate in the voting.*

*The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 101 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.*

65. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after voting. I call first upon the representative of South Africa.

66. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): The South African delegation followed with interest the debate on the report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI). We had hoped that, in line with the statements made by various delegations during the course of the debate, attention would also have been given in the eventual draft resolution to the plight of hundreds of millions of persons who lost their independence by armed force and conquest and who have been subjected to colonialism since 1945. However, this has not happened. My delegation regrets such one-sided consideration of the question of colonialism, without regard for the hundreds of millions who live under the imperialist yoke of the biggest colonial Power of the present time.

67. Whilst the South African delegation appreciate the spirit in which the resolution was tabled, some of its paragraphs contained elements which my delegation was unable to endorse and there were certain provisions which, in the view of my delegation, exceeded the obligations provided for in the Charter. In consequence, it was not possible for my delegation to vote in favour of the draft resolution, and we abstained.

68. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, which is a member of the Special Committee set up under resolution 1654 (XVI), considers it necessary to explain the sense of the vote it has just cast.

69. Although it cannot claim to be in agreement with each and every one of the paragraphs of that resolution, or, to be more explicit, with each and every one of the terms used in the text, it does enthusiastically endorse the general sense, the object, of the resolution that we have just adopted.

70. In the separate votes we voted against the seventh preambular paragraph because we consider that its wording is not consonant with reality, with what can actually be done. In this paragraph it is stated that in order to accelerate the process of decolonization, it is necessary to fix an appropriate time-limit for the full implementation of the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation considers that this assertion regarding the necessity of a time-limit, in the singular, is unrealistic. We are not referring to the possibility or the desirability of the Committee's fixing a date in connexion with the consideration of a particular case. This possibility is implicitly embodied in the powers conferred on the Committee by the resolution establishing it, and the Committee may have recourse to it whenever it thinks fit.

71. Indeed, there are many factors—attitudes, endeavours, arrangements—which are necessary in order to accelerate the process of decolonization. We cannot, however, endorse with our vote a wording which attributes primary importance to the fixing of a time-limit as a necessary step for the purpose of accelerating the process of decolonization. This is not the time to enlarge on this point, but if such a necessity really existed the history of the last few years would have taken a different course.

72. The wording of operative paragraph 8 (b) deals with the same aspect in a form which we have found to be more realistic and in line with what is possible,



provided that the appropriate correction is made to the Spanish translation of that paragraph. Where the Spanish text of that passage reads "en particular", the English original uses the word "including" and the French text has "y compris". It seems clear to us that the Spanish translation of "including" and "y compris" is rather different from "en particular". No doubt this will be set right by the Secretariat. In our opinion, once the translation has been amended, the paragraph, with its reference to recommendations in the plural, admits of an interpretation which is substantially different from the only possible meaning of the seventh preambular paragraph. That is why we abstained in the vote on operative paragraph 8 (b).

73. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): My delegation abstained from voting on the resolution just adopted and I now wish to explain our reasons for doing so. The policy of my Government with regard to the dependent territories under our administration is that the peoples of these territories should proceed as rapidly as possible to self-government and independence. This is entirely in harmony with the record and spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter and we are sure that our policy is the right one.

74. As I said in my speech in the general debate on this item on 26 November 1962 [1175th meeting], we require no declarations, resolutions or committees to confirm the rightness of our policy. For this reason, my delegation abstained from voting on resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and on resolution 1654 (XVI), which established the Special Committee of seventeen members.

75. My delegation, on numerous occasions, has explained its position on these questions. We cannot accept intervention by this Assembly in the administration of the territories for which we remain responsible. We shall discharge our responsibility fully and fearlessly. We cannot shift or share that responsibility nor have we any intention of shirking it. The achievement of independence by so many of our territories, over the past fifteen years, is sufficient proof of the success of our policy in this regard. For these reasons, my delegation was unable to vote for the resolution which has just been adopted.

76. Nevertheless, with the reservations of my Government, which I have just stated, and subject also to the satisfactory composition of the enlarged Committee, my Government hopes to be able to continue as a member of the Special Committee of Twenty-four and to continue with it during the coming year. If my delegation, in fact, is able to continue as a member of the Special Committee, we shall expect the Special Committee, in due course, to consider, among other things, the question of those territories in Europe and Asia which have been occupied, some of them during the past thirty years, by a colonialist Power to which I referred at some length when I spoke earlier in this debate.

77. Mr. POLDERMAN (Netherlands): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to explain, very briefly, our vote on the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 8 (b) of the draft resolution which we have just voted upon. My delegation is not opposed to time-limits and target dates for self-determination, in general, provided however that such time-limits and target dates are not imposed upon the administering Powers, without taking into account the realities of each particular case and the wishes of the popu-

lation. Therefore, we have been in favour of a request to the administering Powers to set target dates or time-limits for self-determination or independence, in consultation with the populations.

78. The establishing by the United Nations of a blanket time-limit for all territories or the establishing of a time-limit for a particular territory seems, however, to my delegation, to be unrealistic and not conducive to indispensable co-operation between the administering Powers and the United Nations. For these reasons, we felt compelled to vote against the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 8 (b).

79. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica): The Jamaican delegation is particularly sensitive to the desire for independence since we ourselves are, for the first time, enjoying the privileges and responsibilities that go with sovereignty. We are particularly concerned with this matter of colonialism since most of the remaining colonies exist in Africa. The degradation of any African depresses every citizen of Jamaica, whatever his origin.

80. Jamaica abstained during the vote on both of the paragraphs concerning references to a time-limit. This was because we realized that the concept is appealing and, in an age of planning, *prima facie*, logical. However, we believe that fluidity is of the essence in any political situation. During the course of this debate, one representative referred to situations which tend to hurt "us, the little ones". It is a crystallized situation such as would exist after time-limits had been fixed, which would be unfavourable to "us, the little ones". In such a situation, power would be the dominant factor, and the opportunity to consider the exigencies of each situation would disappear. Thereafter would come the opportunities for cynical withdrawals, without any attention being given to economic development, parliamentary institutions and political preparation.

81. My delegation shall continue to support any proposal in this Assembly which, in our considered view, definitely helps in the fight to bring all peoples to self-determination.

82. The PRESIDENT: Two of the sponsors of the resolution just voted upon have asked for the right of reply. I regret, I have no power to accord that right of reply to them, as the concluding portion of rule 90 forbids it.

83. I recognize the representative of Guinea, not in exercise of his right of reply, but as a sponsor of the resolution, for a statement he wishes to make.

84. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea): The majority of the members of the Assembly have just given their verdict, by 55 votes to 38, on the need to fix a time-limit for the implementation by the colonial Powers of the resolution [1514 (XV)] on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. As the President said just now, the Guinean delegation would be the last to think that this is not an important question. On the contrary, we have maintained and we still maintain that decolonization is by far the most important question with which the General Assembly has to deal.

85. My delegation would like to express its gratitude to all those who have supported this idea, which, whatever may be said, corresponds exactly to the profound aspirations of the African peoples still under the yoke and domination of foreign countries. We take

satisfaction and comfort from the fact that, by 55 votes to 38, the voice of suffering Africa, humiliated Africa, Africa under colonial domination, has been heard in the Assembly. Furthermore, we are glad to note that not one vote from the non-aligned countries appears among the thirty-eight, nor is there a single vote among them. We are glad to note that there are only two votes from Asia among the thirty-eight. That is certainly the best consolation for the African peoples.

86. At all events, these peoples are resolved to free themselves, whatever the opposing forces may be and free themselves they will. Our wish, now as always, is that the Assembly may be a factor for peace, to ensure that this liberation is brought about peacefully.

87. I should like to express our gratitude once again to all those who, despite pressure, despite anything which may have happened in camera and during the week-end, have given our case, the case of the peoples of Africa, such an overwhelming majority. I thank you on behalf of the peoples of Africa.

88. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon): My delegation took part in the general debate on decolonization when the report submitted by the Committee of Seventeen [A/5238] was examined. It has therefore expressed and explained its position as it thought fit.

89. We have just endorsed a very important text. As my colleague from Guinea has said, my delegation sponsored that text, together with other countries of Africa and Asia. Unfortunately, as he has so aptly put it, the text is the outcome of a particularly arduous compromise and in such a situation it is natural and usual that there should sometimes be differences of opinion.

90. A short while ago, in a vote on procedure, my delegation, together with many others sincerely felt that it was advisable to allow everyone (and not only those who do not share with us the honour of being African but who nevertheless are men with their own opinions, for my delegation has absolute respect for all opinions, no matter who holds them) to give full play to his scruples. That is why my delegation voted in favour of the motion for division. Actually, my delegation considers that there is no such thing as sacrosanct opinions, on the one hand, and, on the other, opinions which are not sacrosanct.

91. Subsequently, of course, my delegation, being a sponsor, voted in favour of the text submitted to the General Assembly in the conviction that, whatever might have been the attitudes of various people at the outset, an important text would be adopted by the Assembly. And, as in the case of everything here which is approved by the entire Assembly, I am sure that everyone, even those who did not support the text, will do everything in their power to conform to it and to apply it. That gives me reason to hope that before long all the peoples who are still under colonial domination will see the day of their liberation arrive.

92. The PRESIDENT: We are now ready to take up the remaining reports of the Special Committee of seventeen members.

93. Before doing so, I should like to call on the representative of Syria for a statement on the conduct of voting.

94. Mr. RIFAI (Syria): Now that the General Assembly has adopted the general resolution on the work of the Special Committee, I should like briefly to draw attention to the specific recommendations of

the Special Committee on individual territories contained in the Committee's report [A/5238].

95. Action on chapter II dealing with Southern Rhodesia has already been taken by the General Assembly when it adopted two draft resolutions: namely, draft resolutions 1755 (XVII), of 12 October 1962, and resolution 1760 (XVII), of 31 October 1962. Chapter III deals with Northern Rhodesia and contains a draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. Operative paragraph 4 of this draft resolution urged the United Kingdom Government to take certain steps concerning legislative elections. Since the proposed constitution has come into force and elections have already taken place,—even further developments, as we were told today by the Press—the draft resolution would require certain amendments to take into account these subsequent developments. This has already been done by a number of delegations which are preparing to submit a new draft resolution on the question of Northern Rhodesia, for consideration by the General Assembly.

96. Chapter IV deals with Nyasaland. It contains the conclusions of the Special Committee concerning this territory. Since the adoption of these conclusions and recommendations by the Special Committee, constitutional talks have taken place between the United Kingdom Government and Dr. Banda. The General Assembly, I believe, may wish, in this connexion also to adopt a resolution on this territory, taking note of the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee, as well as the recent developments. For that purpose, a draft resolution on this territory has also been prepared for examination by the General Assembly, and it will soon be submitted officially.

97. Chapter V deals with the so-called High Commission territories: namely, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. This chapter contains a draft resolution adopted by the Special Committee for the consideration of the General Assembly. This draft resolution also needs certain changes. The Fourth Committee recently heard certain petitioners from some of these territories. It may also be appropriate to take note of these statements in the resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly on these territories. This has also been done, and a draft resolution containing these slight modifications will soon be submitted to the General Assembly.

98. Chapter VI of the report deals with Zanzibar and contains a draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly. This draft resolution, as well as the one which has been recommended in connexion with Kenya, could perhaps be considered by the General Assembly without any change.

99. Chapter VII deals with British Guiana. This chapter contains a draft resolution on British Guiana adopted by the Special Committee on 30 July 1962. Since then a conference has taken place in London between the leaders of British Guiana and representatives of the United Kingdom Government. A report on this conference has been submitted by the United Kingdom Government [A/5315]. I understand that a draft resolution on this Territory which takes the most recent developments into account is being prepared by certain delegations and will soon be submitted to the Assembly for its consideration.

100. Chapter VIII deals with Mozambique, and Chapter XI with Angola. These chapters contain two draft resolutions, one on Mozambique and the other on

Angola, for the consideration of the General Assembly. Members are well aware that the General Assembly has already adopted [1194th meeting] a resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration. For that reason, and in view of the fact that the recommendations contained in the Assembly resolution on the Portuguese Territories reflect essentially the recommendations made with regard to Mozambique by the Special Committee, we believe that a vote on the draft resolution on Mozambique proposed by the Special Committee would be redundant; indeed, it is the general view that a vote on that draft resolution is now unnecessary. The question of Angola, however, falls within a different category. The situation in that Territory has been the subject of consideration not only in the Special Committee and the Committee on Portuguese Territories, but also in a separate committee—that is, the Sub-Committee on Angola. In this connexion we should also bear in mind that the question of Angola has been considered by the Security Council and that the Council remains seized of it. For all those reasons, there is a general feeling, again, that the question of Angola must be dealt with in a separate draft resolution, and a number of delegations are now preparing such a text for the consideration of the Assembly; I trust that it will soon be submitted.

101. Chapter IX deals with South West Africa. Since this chapter was taken into account by the Fourth Committee when it considered the report of the Special Committee on South West Africa and since a resolution on this subject has already been adopted [1194th meeting], it is the general feeling that a vote on the draft resolution proposed by the Special Committee for the Assembly's consideration may not be necessary at this stage.

102. This leaves us with only the draft resolutions on Kenya and Zanzibar [see A/L.413] recommended by the Special Committee of seventeen members for adoption by the General Assembly. As I said earlier, those draft resolutions require no alterations. For that reason it might be advisable for the General Assembly to proceed immediately to the consideration and adoption of the draft resolutions on Kenya and Zanzibar.

103. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly have heard the statement just made by the representative of Syria, the Rapporteur of the Committee of Seventeen. If there is no objection, I shall put to the vote the draft resolutions on Zanzibar and Kenya proposed by the Committee of Seventeen.

104. I put to the vote the draft resolution on Zanzibar [A/L.413].

*The draft resolution on Zanzibar was adopted by 84 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.*

105. I now put to the vote the draft resolution on Kenya [A/L.413].

*The draft resolution on Kenya was adopted by 88 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.*

106. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom in explanation of vote.

107. Sir Douglas GLOVER (United Kingdom): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation on the reso-

lutions just adopted dealing with Kenya and Zanzibar. In the first place, I shall repeat my Government's position with regard to the adoption by this Assembly of recommendations on individual Non-Self-Governing Territories.

108. In the view of my delegation, nothing in the Charter authorizes the Assembly to adopt such recommendations; indeed the Charter specifically recognizes the responsibility of the Administering Members for the administration of territories on which they have transmitted information. In our view, the Assembly has no power or right to seek to usurp a responsibility which clearly belongs to the Administering Power alone. My delegation is therefore opposed in principle to resolutions of this sort and can only consider them as attempts to intervene in the administration of our territories.

109. However, having restated its position of principle, my delegation acknowledges that a sincere attempt was made by a number of delegations in the Committee of Seventeen to recognize the steps my Government has taken and is taking in Kenya and Zanzibar to bring these two territories to independence. My Government is in fact making every effort to promote harmony and unity among the people of Kenya and Zanzibar to bring these two territories to independence at the earliest date. The spirit of this resolution is thus fully in accord with the policy actually being followed by my Government. Accordingly, without prejudice to the position of principle which I have stated above, my delegation has abstained in the vote on these two resolutions.

#### Statement by the President

110. The PRESIDENT: I wish to remind Members that the Fifth Committee will meet this evening at 8 o'clock.

111. We are now in the last week of the session as planned on the recommendation of the General Committee. I am unable to continue the proceedings of the plenary meeting this afternoon as there is no further item ready for the consideration of the Assembly. Though we are all working under pressure, it is regrettable that there should still be delays, particularly with regard to items that need only slight amendments or formulations. However that may be, I wish to assure the Assembly that I shall work diligently to stimulate the work of the session, whether in Committee or in plenary, so that the session may be concluded by 6 p.m. on Friday, 21 December. That will be my effort. However, I cannot guarantee the results, which will depend upon the diligence of those who still have to do some work, either in Committee or otherwise, with respect to drafting or voting on draft resolutions, and so forth. I have no doubt that they are trying their best.

112. I do, however, wish to say that if the work of the Assembly is not concluded by 6 p.m. on Friday, 21 December, the session will be adjourned and there will have to be a resumed session.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*