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Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed (Sudan).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Kanakarathne (Ceylon), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Territories not considered separately (continued) (A/6242, A/6261 and Add.1, A/6262 and Add.1, A/6277, A/6278, A/6300/Rev.1, chaps. XI and XIV-XXII; A/6568, A/C.4/680, A/C.4/682, A/C.4/683)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. Mr. CAMPORA (Argentina) drew attention to a letter dated 15 December 1966 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Argentina addressed to the Secretary-General (A/C.4/682), which transmitted the text of a joint communiqué providing information on the negotiations taking place between Argentina and the United Kingdom on the problem of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands). His delegation shared the view that the United Nations should be kept informed on the progress of the negotiations and recognized that the Organization had a legitimate interest in all colonial matters. Argentina would make every endeavour to provide a detailed report to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. His delegation was anxious to see the negotiations lead without delay to a solution of the problem in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX). The problem was not simple, however, and Argentina was having difficulty in obtaining the acceptance of a formula which would recognize its

rights, as was required by a correct application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to the case of the Malvinas.

2. Mr. CARRASQUERO (Venezuela) said that his delegation's position on the various Territories now under discussion was set out in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1). By way of general comment, he would say that, in some of the Territories, certain political progress had been made or was about to be made, but such advances fell far short of satisfying the people's aspirations or the wishes expressed by the General Assembly. His delegation was concerned at the slow rate at which self-determination was proceeding in those Territories and continued to insist that the administering Powers should apply the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) without delay. No political, economic or strategic reasons could be used as an argument for delay in the implementation of that resolution. At the same time, it was true that political viability could not be ensured without economic viability, and some small Territories with scanty resources, upon attaining independence, might be in danger of finding themselves so dependent on another Power that their self-determination would be a fiction. His delegation had often stressed the need for small Territories in one geographical area to consider the possibility of a form of self-determination which would ensure the highest degree of genuine independence. The integrationist trends in the world could point the way for them. It was unfortunate that the idea of a federation among some of the Territories concerned had met with difficulties; he hoped that those difficulties could be overcome.

3. He wished to comment on two Territories in respect of which General Assembly resolutions had called upon the parties concerned to enter into direct negotiations, namely the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) and Gibraltar. With regard to the Malvinas (Falkland Islands), the parties concerned were Argentina and the United Kingdom. It was logical to assume that the General Assembly, in calling for negotiations in resolution 2065 (XX), had meant it to be understood that the two parties were to seek the most appropriate formula for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and that any solution should be compatible with paragraph 6 of that resolution. It was to be regretted that, one year later, the parties had been unable to report any progress in the negotiations. It seemed clear from the statement of the representative of Argentina that the proposals made by the United Kingdom during the negotiations had not even partially satisfied Argentina's just claims. Argentina and the United Kingdom should be urged to make efforts to solve the problem without delay. The United Kingdom should

realize that the survival of colonialism on the American continent could no longer be tolerated. History could not be halted.

4. With regard to Gibraltar, the General Assembly, in resolution 2070 (XX), had invited Spain and the United Kingdom to begin negotiations on the problem. The statements of the representatives of Spain and the United Kingdom showed that the negotiations had been obstructed by certain acts on the part of the administering Power. Incidents such as the violation of Spanish air space could not contribute towards a solution of the problem. It was also hard to accept the assertion that Spain had an obligation to grant the colony the benefit of passage rights. Venezuela was particularly concerned at the fact that Gibraltar had been used in the recent talks between Ian Smith and the United Kingdom Government. That fact was evidence of the strategic role of Gibraltar in the United Kingdom's colonial policy in Africa, a role which explained that country's determination to keep possession of the Territory despite the valid claims of Spain.

5. His delegation had no doubt that resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable to Gibraltar and that it was a case covered by paragraph 6 of that resolution and the Charter principle of respect for the territorial integrity of Member States.

6. His delegation had always defended the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and regarded the procedure of negotiations as the correct one; it considered, however, that the General Assembly had an obligation to keep itself informed of the progress of such negotiations within the context of the process of decolonization. The General Assembly should be ready, if necessary, to adopt measures to guarantee the speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

7. He hoped that the General Assembly would continue to consider the questions of Gibraltar and the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) until the relevant negotiations led to satisfactory results, and would express its desire to see the implementation of resolutions 2065 (XX) and 2070 (XX).

8. Mr. JANEVSKI (Yugoslavia) said that the Fourth Committee's custom of leaving the small Territories until the end of the session should not be taken to imply that their problems were less important or that self-determination and independence were less vital in their case than in the case of other Territories. His delegation considered that the United Nations had a particular obligation towards such Territories since it was not easy for a small population to obtain its rights without assistance.

9. In some of the small Territories there were military bases and installations, some of which were being used in attacks on the independent State of North Viet-Nam. There were also plans to build new bases in some of the Territories. The small Territories could give rise to major problems for the whole world, since the maintenance of bases was linked with the preservation of colonial rule and privileges in various regions of the world. Bearing that in mind, as also the fact that military bases had been installed in Non-Self-Governing Territories without the consent of the people, his delegation wished to point out

that their existence was contrary to the interests of the people of the Territories concerned and to the interests of peace. It was essential that such bases should be dismantled and that no new bases should be built. In recent days the General Assembly had once more pronounced itself on the issue of bases in Non-Self-Governing Territories (resolution 2189 (XXI)).

10. In resolution 2069 (XX) the General Assembly had decided that the United Nations should render all help to the people of the Territories concerned in their efforts freely to decide their future status. The United Nations would not be able to fulfil its task unless it had the co-operation of the administering Powers, and particularly their permission for visiting missions to visit the Territories. The reports of such missions would give the United Nations an insight into the situation in the Territories and the wishes of the people. If the administering Powers really intended to grant the peoples of the Territories concerned the right to self-determination, there seemed to be no reason why they should find difficulty in permitting visiting missions.

11. Mr. ALJUBOURI (Iraq) said that, in considering the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Committee should remember, first, that it was a problem concerning two countries which had long enjoyed friendly relations. Secondly, a dialogue between those two countries had been initiated. Information in that regard had been provided by the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom in letters dated 15 December 1966 (A/C.4/682 and A/C.4/683). The most important feature in those letters was the statement that the two Governments would proceed with the talks in order to try to resolve the problem and that in due course a more detailed report would be submitted to the Special Committee and to the General Assembly.

12. It was true that little progress had been made in the negotiations so far. He felt that the United Nations was entitled to be informed of the progress of the negotiations. His delegation urged both Governments to continue to seek a solution to the problem in a friendly manner and hoped that the negotiations would lead to fruitful results in the near future.

13. Mr. SICLAIT (Haiti) said that the struggle of the people of the small Territories for freedom had the full support of his country and that his delegation hoped to see General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) implemented speedily. He would like to discuss, in particular, the case of two Territories: the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and Gibraltar. The negotiations initiated on those two Territories in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions were proceeding in a climate of understanding. As far as the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) were concerned, he noted the promise given by the representative of Argentina that the United Nations would be informed of the progress of the relevant negotiations in due course. With regard to the negotiations concerning Gibraltar, it was clear from the statement by the representative of Spain (1671st meeting) that they had encountered certain obstacles. His delegation shared the view of the Spanish delegation that recourse to the International Court of Justice would not be appropriate in the case of Gibraltar, for it would

simply represent a means of postponing a solution sine die. Haiti was also convinced that the fact of long occupation could not be regarded as giving the United Kingdom rights over a portion of Spanish territory. The Spanish Government had shown goodwill in agreeing to discuss arrangements to protect United Kingdom interests in the Territory. In any event, the colonial situation in Gibraltar could not be allowed to continue indefinitely.

14. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America) said that she wished to give an account of developments in American Samoa, Guam and the Virgin Islands; it would be a brief account, since the United States had submitted detailed information during the discussions which had taken place in Sub-Committees II and III of the Special Committee (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XVIII, annex, and chap. XXII, annex). At the outset, she would like to express her Government's continuing belief that resolutions and reports concerning such small Territories should include references not only to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) but also to resolution 1541 (XV). Her delegation regretted the deletion by the Special Committee of the references to the latter resolution in the Sub-Committee reports; a reference to resolution 1541 (XV) was essential in order to reflect realistically the options before the Territories. Those options had been widely recognized in United Nations debates as applicable, as for example in the case of proposed federation arrangements in the Caribbean.

15. There had been some significant recent political developments in American Samoa. It would be recalled that the 1960 Constitution of American Samoa provided for its automatic review at the end of five years. A Samoan Constitutional Review Committee had recently completed its work. Many of its proposals had been directed towards expanding the powers of the Samoan Legislature—a fact that she stressed because there had been assertions during the debate that the Samoan Legislature had strictly limited powers. It had been proposed, inter alia, that the Legislature should be given the right to review that portion of the proposed budget to be financed from Washington, before recommendations were sent to the Federal Government. It had also been proposed that, where no financing from the United States was involved, except for funds normally available to all States and Territories under general United States legislation, the Governor would present the Samoan budget to the Legislature, which would have the full authority to make the appropriations. There had also been proposals to change the qualifications of members of the Legislature in order to render it more fully representative, and to expand the maximum length of its sessions. Other recommendations concerned further limitations on the prerogatives of the Governor with regard to legislative proposals. Those and other proposals had been considered at a constitutional convention convened in Samoa in October 1966. The Samoan electorate had just approved the recommendations of the Constitutional Review Committee. The proposed new Constitution would be transmitted to Washington for review in the near future.

16. In the economic field, efforts had been directed mainly towards diversifying the economy of the

Territory and increasing its viability. Those efforts had taken the form not only of the development of tourist facilities but also of industrial investments—in fish-processing and coconut-processing plants, for example.

17. The most recent development of interest in the educational field had been the introduction of educational television on a broad basis, as a means of enabling children in the remotest areas to benefit from the best instruction.

18. With regard to Guam, that island already enjoyed a large measure of self-government through its fully representative unicameral legislature, which had wide authority, particularly with respect to taxation and appropriations for the operation of the local government. At the last session of the United States Congress, the Federal Government had introduced a bill which would give Guam an elected Chief Executive. Although the present Governor of Guam was a native and life-long resident of the island, it was felt that that was not enough; moreover, with the introduction of the system of an elected Chief Executive, all veto powers held by the Federal Government would be terminated. Legislation to effect that change had passed both Houses of Congress but had not been formally enacted owing to lack of time to settle procedural details. The Executive Branch had every intention of resubmitting the proposals to Congress at its forthcoming sessions.

19. In Guam also, the emphasis in economic policy had been on diversification. A joint Federal-Territorial Commission had just completed certain recommendations for economic development, including recommendations concerning the construction of processing and assembling plants for high-tariff items such as watches, the diversification of agricultural production and the extension of tourism. An economic development authority had been set up with broad powers to attract outside investment and thereby to expand the Territory's commerce, agriculture and industry. It was hoped that those efforts, together with the projected construction of a new commercial port, would enable the island to progress towards an important role as a warehousing, servicing and processing centre.

20. In referring to Guam, the Soviet Union representative had stressed the existence of a military base there, although he had not commented on progress towards self-government and self-determination. The Guamanians did not consider the base to be a barrier to their political progress. She herself had visited Guam in 1965 and had had discussions with many members of the Guamanian Legislature, who had assured her that that Legislature—elected on the basis of "one man, one vote"—had expressed its full support for the maintenance of the base. The base had been in Guam for many years, yet progress towards self-determination had been continuous. She would add that the United Nations Charter in no way abridged the right of a country to maintain installations for defence against aggression, and that was the purpose which the base in question had served.

21. Turning to the United States Virgin Islands, she said that there, too, an interesting constitutional

development had taken place recently. The Virgin Islands had recently gone through a process of full constitutional review. A constitutional convention had made a report during 1965, and had suggested amendments to the present Organic Act to provide the people of the Islands with increased control over local political and fiscal affairs. The Virgin Islands already possessed a legislature based on universal suffrage, with broad authority. The Islands were able to rely almost entirely on locally generated financial resources, and the Virgin Islands Legislature had full autonomy with regard to the raising and disposal of moneys. The Constitutional Convention had also recommended that the Islands should be granted the right to elect their own Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and that the veto authority of the Federal Government should be eliminated. That proposal had been strongly endorsed by the present Governor, who had urged that the Constitutional Convention's recommendations should be given careful consideration by the United States Congress. The measure had received the full support of the Federal Government and the general approval of both Houses of Congress, but unfortunately action had not been completed before the recent adjournment of Congress. The Executive Branch planned to press for adoption at the next session of Congress. Certain other recommendations of the Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention, including steps to reapportion the legislature, had already been adopted and become law.

22. Most of the members of the Committee were aware of the Territory's economic prosperity, which was due in large measure to the expansion of the tourist trade. In 1965 over half a million persons had visited the Virgin Islands, spending \$54 million. As a result of that and other increased revenues, the per capita income of the Territory, which had a population of about 50,000, had risen above \$2,000. Per capita expenditure on education, housing, health and public works was high; for instance, \$5 million was earmarked for educational improvements alone and 5,000 low-income rental units were under construction, with 1,000 new units a year scheduled for construction.

23. Two other recent developments in the economic field reflected some of the basic directions of present policy. Construction was nearing completion on a large aluminium plant to be operated in a complex with a petroleum refinery. That undertaking symbolized a movement towards diversification of the Islands' economy in order to avoid excessive dependence on tourism and to break away from the old economic basis of cane growing and sugar milling. Secondly, the Government of the Virgin Islands had purchased all but a small portion of the facilities of the Virgin Islands Corporation, a Federal Government agency set up in the 1930's to help to stabilize the Islands' economy. That step reflected the view that, wherever possible, public utilities should be ensured through the Islands' own economy rather than through off-island financing.

24. Her delegation welcomed the fact that talks were under way between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom with a view to settling the long-standing dispute concerning the Falkland Islands

(Malvinas), and wished them the fullest measure of success in that worth-while endeavour.

25. Mr. NUTI (Italy) said that the fact that, six years after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), many small Territories were still under colonial administration or trusteeship had been depicted as though it was the result of an international conspiracy to deprive a large section of the colonial population of their right to self-determination and independence. Having served on the Special Committee for five years, the Italian delegation knew that that was not an entirely true picture and that, irrespective of the administering Powers' wishes, the process of decolonization had been slowed down by such circumstances as the limited size of the Territories, their small population, poor economic conditions, conflicting claims of sovereignty, internal difficulties, problems arising as a result of the different ethnic origins of the population and so forth. In his delegation's view, the United Nations should give those Territories guidance in their progress towards self-determination with respect to the best ways and means of attaining genuine freedom and economic viability and should refrain from sterile denunciation. It would be unjust not to recognize the fact that every year the United Nations had been able to welcome the attainment of independence by a number of former colonial Territories, including small Territories such as Barbados.

26. His delegation welcomed the fact that the future of other small Territories was the subject of continuing and friendly negotiations between the Governments particularly concerned. It noted that the negotiations which had taken place between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom concerning the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) would shortly be resumed, and it hoped that those two countries, with which Italy maintained friendly relations, would in due course find a just and reasonable solution to the problem, in keeping with the provisions and objectives of the Charter.

27. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) said that the report of the Special Committee showed that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applied fully to the Territories under discussion and that the United Nations should therefore help them to regain their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Although those Territories were situated in various parts of the world, the problems and difficulties facing them were very similar. Many of them had a small population and were of limited size, and the fact that they had always served the interests of the colonizers made it difficult for them to organize a sound economic structure. As the petitioner from Bermuda had pointed out at the 1672nd meeting, the economy was entirely controlled by the former colonizers and slave-owners. That oligarchy had close ties with the metropolitan countries, defended the interests of the colonial Powers and sought to maintain political and constitutional systems that deprived the indigenous inhabitants of their most elementary democratic rights. The system at present in effect in Bermuda dated from 1821; no one below the age of thirty had the right to vote and those who owned property had a second vote.

28. Another feature of those Territories was the fact that they served the military and strategic plans of the metropolitan countries. The colonial Powers established military bases there, or allowed other Powers to do so, without consulting the population; thus they involved the countries under their administration in political and military commitments which were contrary to the interests both of the inhabitants and of the nations in the surrounding area. One of the most striking examples of the fact that such bases were used by the imperialist Powers for strategic purposes was the United States base at Guam, from which United States bombers took off day after day on savage bombing raids on the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

29. In the Caribbean area, too, the United States had established military bases on colonial Territories under United Kingdom administration, such as the United States base in the Bahamas, known as the Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Centre (AUTEK). According to the report of the Special Committee, when the base became fully operational, it would consist of three ranges: a weapons range, an acoustics range and a sonar range. It would be the final testing ground for all new detection systems (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, para. 259). That showed that the military bases of the colonial Powers in the small colonial Territories were no less detrimental to the independence and security of peoples than bases in large Territories and the United Nations should exercise the utmost vigilance in that regard. It had undoubtedly become more difficult for the colonial and imperialist Powers to install military bases in sovereign States. As the peoples opposed their aggressive designs, those Powers were being increasingly compelled to seek new sites for their military installations; thus the small Territories and isolated islands played an important role in their imperialist plans. The current debate on Gibraltar was an excellent example of the fact that the existence of military bases not only was detrimental to the interests of the peoples under colonial domination but made it more difficult to achieve a just solution to colonial problems. There was no doubt that the evacuation by the United Kingdom of its military base at Gibraltar would greatly facilitate the solution of the problem of that colonial Territory.

30. The Special Committee had repeatedly called upon the colonial Powers to comply with the General Assembly decision and to accept visiting missions in the small Territories. By refusing to do so, the United Kingdom, the United States and other colonial Powers showed that they had no desire to cooperate with the United Nations in promoting the progress of those Territories towards independence.

31. As a member of the Special Committee and of Sub-Committee III, which dealt with Territories in the Atlantic and Caribbean areas, his delegation wished to express its concern at the fact that those bodies had been unable to give detailed consideration to a number of Territories in that region, and that the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) had not been discussed in detail since 1964. It was true that negotiations on the subject were under way between Argentina and the United Kingdom, but he considered that the time had

come for the United Nations and the Special Committee to be given detailed information on those talks.

32. His delegation considered that the Committee should recommend, for adoption by the General Assembly, a resolution which would reflect the special problems facing the small Territories. The General Assembly should once again address an urgent appeal to the colonial Powers to accept visiting missions in Territories under their administration. That would be the best evidence those Powers could give of their readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

33. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that his delegation wished to address itself to the question of small Territories and to the problem of Territories involving sovereign rights. It was to be noted that in the case of Territories which had been separated from a metropolitan country the General Assembly had always recommended negotiations between the administering Power and the metropolitan country concerned. In the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and Gibraltar, the General Assembly had invited the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations with the countries whose sovereign rights were involved, namely, Argentina and Spain. In so doing, the Assembly had correctly interpreted and applied resolution 1514 (XV). To those who contended that the views of the peoples involved should constitute the paramount factor in the process of decolonization, he would point out that negotiation was still the best means of protecting the interests of those peoples. When those Territories had been separated from the metropolitan countries as a result of colonialism, the inhabitants had not been consulted. Now that the situation had been reversed and the process of decolonization was under way, justice dictated that the views of the people who had suffered a loss must be considered. Accordingly, in the case of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) it was essential that the views not only of the people of the Territories but of the people of the metropolitan countries, i.e., Spain and Argentina, should be taken into consideration. The views of the people of independent States could be taken into account only through negotiation with the officials of those countries. He paid a tribute to the United Kingdom for its willingness to enter into negotiations with both Spain and Argentina and expressed the hope that important progress would be made during the coming year, so that the process of decolonization might be completed as soon as possible.

34. As a rule, independence was the only objective of the process of decolonization, but in view of the special circumstances of small Territories—their economic situation, small population and size— independence might not be the appropriate solution, and it was essential that the people of such Territories should be able to express themselves freely on their future status in full knowledge of the forms open to them, such as integration, free association and federation. United Nations supervision was essential in such cases, since those Territories were vulnerable to outside pressure. As a member of Sub-Committee III, his delegation had always supported the view that

visiting missions should be sent to the Territories in order to ascertain the views of the people and that there should be a United Nations presence during the exercise of the right of self-determination.

35. Mr. ARAVENA (Chile) said that at the previous session the General Assembly, in resolution 2105 (XX), had requested the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the Assembly the most appropriate ways to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence. While a certain degree of progress had been achieved in many of those Territories, in others there had been little or no change. In Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, progress had been slow. Furthermore, the creation of the British Indian Ocean Territory was contrary to the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2066 (XX). The delegation of Chile could only deplore that act and the fact that, in the middle of the twentieth century, the people of the Seychelles were still denied the right of universal suffrage.

36. His delegation noted that greater progress had been achieved in the Territories under United Kingdom administration in the Pacific. There had been many constitutional changes, which would undoubtedly benefit the indigenous inhabitants, but economic progress had been slow.

37. The islands of Niue and Tokelau, which were under New Zealand administration, were small isolated Territories with limited natural resources. It was undeniable that the administering Power had contributed greatly to the progress of those islands and he noted the statement by the representative of New Zealand that his Government was prepared to accept a visiting mission, provided that it formed part of a broader visit to the area. The Chilean delegation hoped that a United Nations mission would soon be sent to that part of the world to examine the situation of the indigenous inhabitants.

38. While the economic progress of the Territories under United States administration had been remarkable, political progress had been slow. The political development of the Territories should be accelerated, so that the peoples of American Samoa, Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands would be able to enjoy their inalienable rights.

39. There was still a large number of colonies in the American continent and the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean would not be at rest so long as there were Territories under foreign domination. He reaffirmed his delegation's view that the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) should be decolonized. He welcomed the fact that Argentina and the United Kingdom had entered into negotiations, in accordance with the invitation in General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX), with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem. Chile once again expressed its solidarity with the Argentine people in their just struggle to regain their legitimate rights over the Malvinas (Falkland Islands).

40. The provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had not been implemented in some Caribbean islands which were still under foreign domination and

whose peoples should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The United Nations was in a position to adopt appropriate measures to ensure that those peoples were granted the opportunity of deciding freely on their future status.

41. In some Territories, such as the British Virgin Islands, there had been remarkable constitutional progress. Insufficient information had been submitted with regard to other islands, such as Bermuda, Bahamas, Antigua, Dominica and Grenada; that was one reason which led his delegation to think that a visiting mission to the Caribbean would be useful.

42. His delegation was pleased to note that some constitutional progress had been made in the United States Virgin Islands; the administering Power, however, had not yet implemented resolution 1514 (XV). In his view, a visiting mission should be sent to the Territory to be present during the procedure for the exercise of the right of self-determination.

43. Lastly, his delegation wished to refer to the problem of Gibraltar, a Territory which was Spanish and which should be returned to its rightful owners. Unfortunately, it was not for the Fourth Committee to examine the de facto situation in the Territory or to discuss the frontier incidents that had occurred. The United Nations should urge the parties concerned to make every effort to reach an agreement that would enable the administering Power to accelerate the process of decolonization and transfer power to the Spanish Government in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and the interests of the people of the Territory. Although the talks between Spain and the United Kingdom had thus far been difficult, his delegation hoped that with the goodwill of both parties it would be possible to avoid conflict and to bring about the decolonization of the Territory. His delegation called on both parties to reach a solution of the problem as rapidly as possible. In particular, it requested the administering Power to proceed with the transfer of powers, bearing in mind the interests of the people of the Territory and in pursuance of the United Nations resolutions, and to report to the Special Committee as soon as possible and in any case, not later than the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

44. Mr. EL MASRY (United Arab Republic) said that the people of small Territories, like any other people, had the right to self-determination and independence. Neither the United Nations Charter nor resolution 1514 (XV) made any distinction between the peoples of small Territories and those of larger Territories; in fact, the United Nations had a special responsibility towards the former and should do everything possible to help them to achieve freedom and independence. His delegation did not agree that some Territories could not achieve independence because of their economic conditions or geographical isolation; such problems should not be used as a pretext to delay their independence. The United Nations and its specialized agencies could play a significant role towards achieving economic progress in those Territories.

45. It was most regrettable that some administering Powers were maintaining or establishing new military

bases, mainly for aggressive purposes. Those bases should be dismantled immediately.

46. His delegation also noted with regret that there was a tendency among the administering Powers to annex small Territories through nominal elections. The United Nations should take all possible steps to ensure that the people of those Territories could freely express their wishes on their future status, in full knowledge of their rights. The United Nations should have a presence in the Territories during the exercise of self-determination and should be able to send visiting missions to them.

47. There had been no significant progress in the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In the case of Gibraltar, the United Kingdom Government was obstructing the negotiations with Spain in order to delay decolonization and maintain its military base there, a base which had often been used for aggression against sovereign States. The United Kingdom Government should be requested to dismantle the military base, in accordance with operative paragraph 12 of resolution 2105 (XX) and with resolution 2189 (XXI), and not to place obstacles in the way of the negotiations. The problem was a colonial, not a legal, one and the people concerned were the indigenous inhabitants, not the British civil servants and employees.

48. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) was also a colonial one and the United Nations should continue to deal with it as such. He hoped that the United Kingdom and Argentine Governments would continue negotiations and report back to the General Assembly.

49. With regard to Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly a resolution based on resolution 1514 (XV) to the effect that the people of those Territories had an inalienable right to self-determination and independence, that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples without any conditions, in accordance with their freely expressed wishes, and that foreign military bases should be dismantled. He deplored the attempts of the administering Power to violate the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles by creating the British Indian Ocean Territory, which it intended to use for its own military purposes and those of the United States. According to the Special Committee's report (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV, paras. 46 and 47), three Ministers had resigned from the Government of Mauritius in protest against the United Kingdom Government's scheme, and discontent among the Mauritians was growing. The administering Power should be warned to abandon its military schemes and to abide by the United Nations Charter and resolutions.

50. Mr. LAALA (Algeria) said that at the previous session (1556th meeting) his delegation had welcomed the fact that the United Kingdom and Argentine Governments had been prepared to enter into negotiations on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) with a view to finding a just and final settlement in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation's hopes had not, however, been fulfilled. Despite the appeal of the General Assembly in resolution 2065 (XX), the situation remained un-

changed. A dialogue had, indeed, been established between the United Kingdom and the Argentine Governments but no settlement had yet been achieved. He hoped that the two Governments would continue the negotiations and make known the results. The representative of Argentina had promised to do so and he hoped that the United Kingdom representative would do as much. On the question of Gibraltar, his delegation had been surprised and disappointed at the slow pace of the negotiations, which had so far achieved no positive result, and by the repeated vacillations of the United Kingdom in its efforts to retain control of Gibraltar. The only solution lay in the return of the Territory to the metropolitan country, namely, Spain. The administering Power was trying to defend what it called its rights over Gibraltar while expanding its military base and strengthening its hold over the Territory. It had made use of Gibraltar in arranging a meeting between the United Kingdom Prime Minister and Ian Smith. His delegation could not accept the latest United Kingdom idea that the question of Gibraltar should be referred to the International Court of Justice. It was a colonial question which should be settled by the application of resolution 1514 (XV). Gibraltar was a special case in that it was a question of its return to the metropolitan country in order to restore the latter's territorial integrity in that respect; it was comparable to the question of Ifni, where the wishes of the indigenous population should be met.

51. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), replying to the United States representative who had expressed disagreement with certain points in the statement he had made at the Committee's 1671st meeting concerning Guam, pointed out that she had produced no evidence to show that the people of Guam did not object to the existence of a United States military base in their Territory or to its being used against the people of Viet-Nam. Her statement to that effect had been based on her own visit to Guam the previous year, but as a representative of the administering Power she could not possibly have been as objective as a representative of the United Nations could have been. The colonial Powers, which had a stake in preserving their colonies, naturally saw things in a different light from other States. Furthermore, the United States representative had visited Guam at a time when the B-52 bombers based there had not yet been used against Viet-Nam, as was now happening, and she could not have had any idea of the attitude of the people of Guam to the military operations into which they had been drawn.

52. The United States representative had also taken issue with him for implying that the base in Guam was the most important aspect of the question. Her reference to his statement was unnecessary on that point, since it was not merely the USSR but the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations which had demanded, in resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2189 (XXI), that military bases in colonial Territories should be dismantled. It was the United Nations which considered that the removal of military bases was one of the most important elements in decolonization.

53. The United States representative had spoken of her country's concern for the people of Guam, but if

it really wanted to show that concern it should dismantle the military base, which was a direct threat to the security of the people of Guam.

54. He drew attention to paragraph 14 of the Organic Act of 1960, which stated that every member of the Legislature of Guam and all officers of the Government of Guam should pledge their support for the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the United States applicable to Guam and the laws of Guam. It was significant that the laws of Guam itself were mentioned last. The United States representative's mention of the colonial Power's concern for the people of Guam brought to mind the recent manoeuvre of another colonial Power, Spain, whose representative had assured the Committee that his country was working towards the decolonization of its colonies and was prepared to co-operate with the United Nations and had then voted against the resolution concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara which had been adopted at the Committee's previous meeting. That gave some idea of the colonial Powers' concern for the United Nations. His delegation supported the views which had been expressed by the representative of Chile. Resolution 1514 (XV) must be fully implemented in all colonies. There was an urgent need for a visiting mission to go to Guam to ascertain the situation in that Territory, especially after the statement which had just been made by the United States representative.

55. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out that she had mentioned her visit to Guam the previous year only as a passing interpolation in her statement. She had referred to the fact that throughout the years during which the base in Guam had been in existence duly elected members of the Legislature had expressed appreciation of the base, which they recognized to be an important element in the defence of their country against aggression. Expressions of support for the base had also appeared in the local Press,

which was entirely free. The United States would continue to carry out its obligations in defence of the freedom of the people of Guam and the Pacific area.

56. The USSR representative had also referred to the oath of office taken by Guamanian office-holders. She pointed out that the Guamanian office-holders were United States citizens, a fact of which they were proud, and that it was therefore perfectly natural and proper that they should pledge themselves to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States. The office-holders were elected on the basis of one man, one vote, and there was full political freedom in the Territory.

57. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain), replying to the USSR representative's reference to his delegation's negative vote on the resolution concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara adopted at the previous meeting, pointed out that a number of years ago the Committee had been discussing whether or not Spain would supply information on the Territories under its administration, as a preliminary step to decolonization. The manner in which decolonization should be carried out was being discussed at present, but since his delegation disagreed with the suggested procedure, it had therefore voted against the resolution in question, and for that reason alone. His country did indeed intend to decolonize the Territories under its administration.

58. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the last statement of the United States representative had only confirmed his delegation's views. Members of the Legislature of Guam pledged themselves to uphold the laws of the United States and since the base in Guam had been set up on the basis of United States laws, they were bound to speak in favour of it. In order to break the vicious circle, a United Nations mission should be sent to Guam to ascertain the true situation.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.