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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 11
Report of the Security Council

1. The PRESIDENT: If no one wishes to speak on this item, I shall consider that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution submitted by the United Arab Republic and Venezuela [A/L.411] and, therefore, takes note of the report of the Security Council.

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 26
Question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5823)

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

2. Mr. CzATORDAY (Hungary) (Rapporteur of the First Committee): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the First Committee [A/5823] dealing with the Secretary-General’s report entitled: Question of Convening a Conference for the Purpose of Signing a Convention on the Prohibition on the Use of Nuclear and Thermomuclear Weapons.

3. The Committee considered this item, proposed by Ethiopia, at its 1285th to 1288th meetings. In the discussion, the speakers emphasized the importance of prohibiting nuclear weapons, because, in their opinion, such prohibition would contribute to the reduction of international tension and would also help to solve the problem of general and complete disarmament.

4. I have the honour to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution set out in the report.

5. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report [A/5823].

The draft resolution was adopted by 33 votes to none, with 25 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 27
International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union

REPORTS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5343) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5350)

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

6. Mr. CzATORDAY (Hungary) (Rapporteur of the First Committee): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the First Committee [A/5343] on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union.

7. The discussion covered many problems of the wide field of outer space exploration and of human activities related to it. Different views have been explained. Many suggestions have been tabled. Nevertheless, as hitherto, unanimity characterized the activity of the Outer Space Committee this time, again, the discussion in the Political Committee resulted in the unanimously adopted twenty-four-Power draft resolution on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, dealing with the legal as well as with the scientific and technical aspects of outer space activity.

8. I feel it necessary to mention another sign of unanimity, namely, the excellent documents submitted jointly by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

A/PV.1192
Most of the tea is grown on European estates... Although the African is primarily an agricultural worker, in this own farm, many have taken part in earning on European estates or in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia...

In 1951 the number of Africans working outside the protectorate was estimated at 1,000,000.

These are the words of the Encyclopædia Britannica, not the Encyclopædia Russianica. I hope that the United Kingdom has not forgotten its promise of being so reckless as to denounce its own Encyclopædia.

26. The United Kingdom representative also spoke of "the shamelessly inaccurate accounts which have been given to the world by the African communist delegates and their associate, the spokesman of the South African delegation, on this important question."

As the United Kingdom representative as inaccurate, baseless and unfounded. Assuming the charge to be true, to give the Assembly incorrect accounts is not shameful. What is really shameful is to dominate millions of peoples for so many centuries, to exploit their wealth, to exploit their own wealth, to buy their raw materials at the cheapest price and to sell them finished goods at the highest. This is the shameful practice, behaviour and demeanour. This is what is really shameful, and this is what the British has been perpetrating throughout the world for so many centuries.

27. My accounts are neither shameless nor inaccurate, nor incorrect. I am a representative of the United Kingdom; I am the British representative in the United Nations. The British has supported the cause of freedom. If anyone in this hall should feel ashamed when the question of colonialism is discussed, it is not we who should be ashamed, it is the British who should speak of their shamelessly inaccurate account, of which I have the right to say that other delegations have been incorrect, and not vice versa.

28. That I am an associate of the communist delegations is a falsehood on the part of the United Kingdom delegation. It is on record that I was the first speaker who asked for a report on this matter, hence I am an associate to none. It would be more true for the representative of the British to say that other delegations have been associates, and not vice versa.

29. On the other hand, it is a matter of pride for me and my colleagues to associate ourselves with the cause of liberty. This is our record in the United Nations. We have supported liberty whenever a battle for liberty has been fought. I have associated myself with the Asian delegation on all issues of freedom. I have associated myself with the Chinese delegation on all matters of racial discrimination. I have never associated myself with the British on any issue, and I will never do so. That is why I oppose the British on every side of the colonialism, and never, ever, on the side of freedom. Should the British member delegate not stand up for the United Nations, the Assembly, uphold a cause of liberty, at least for once, I would not hesitate to associate myself with the British
delegate. Let them try for once, and they will find me awake.

30. But the United Kingdom representative seems to have forgotten that Great Britain was a devoted ally of the United Nations during the Second World War. It is not more than an association; it was a comradeship of arms. Now that their islands are safe and their peoples are assured of a peaceful existence, I suggest that the United Kingdom should now take its place among the nations and associate itself with the communist delegations on the issue of colonialism. For, the British, such an association is a viable and, at others times, a wise. This is British logic and British consistency.

31. The truth of the matter is that I am really an associate of such leaders fighting for their and our political objectives. I am not a leader for nor am I in league with the dominion or the UNP for the struggle for unity and independence. As a free and independent people, we are in league only with the people of this one international organization for fighting for their freedom. We are associates of the leaders of Africa and Asia in their fight for freedom.

32. When the United Kingdom representative was bailing out this resolution from this rostrum, a great leader from Africa sent me this telegram:

"My party and I compliment you on your recent denunciation of British military bases in Kenya and Aden. Kenya African National Union (KANU) unreservedly supports the freeing of foreign military bases on our soil. On this question, there is no room for negotiation with the British, regardless of any talks of their claim for help or the size of their base in Kenya, it must go.

Jomo Kenyatta." I am an associate of such leaders fighting for a noble cause. I take pride in their association, as much as I take pride in British disassociation.

33. In a general way, the British representative, speaking in the three Commission Territories, said as follows:

[They] are...politically independent of the Republic of South Africa, and, despite the lack of freedom, are the Israelis of the United Nations, and thus British policy.

[117th meeting, para. 109.]

Let us see who makes these lack,...is it the United Kingdom delegation or the Israeli Arabis, who is the British policy?" Well, at the present time, is the success the result of the whole question. The expression used by Sir Winston Churchill to the editor of The Times, which I have seen the Dunn, is the only association that has come to a later time, at any time.

34. We have had another piece of evidence quite recently. In the report of the Special Committee, we find that the Government of the United Kingdom is given as an example of failure.

The facts of geography and of economic life made it inevitable that the Territories were closely linked with South Africa in many ways. Furthermore, there was a customs union between the Territories and South Africa for over fifty years. In addition, a large number of inhabitants of the Territories found employment in South Africa..." [A/5628, chapter V, para. 73.]

35. In his speech of the Assembly, the representative of the United Kingdom spoke about the Bantu land as "an enclave situated in the heart of South Africa" [A/5628, chapter V, para. 163]. These words are intended to prepare the minds of Members of the United Nations to accept annexation. I hope the representative of the United Kingdom will go back to his report of the United Nations for a portion of his statement before the Assembly as shameless and inaccuracy of speech.

36. But if the denial of the United Kingdom on annexation is true, why is it that the United Kingdom Government, unlike other governments, which declared the territorial integrity of these territories [A/5628, chapter V, paras. 124-127] the least it could have done was to be true to all the paragraphs of the Committee's resolution when denounced annexation and supported freedom and independence. The United Kingdom did the reverse; it voted against the resolution, and it comes to the rostrum here to establish a alibi for its guilt.

37. British distortion, however, was not confined to the question of independence. In [embodying the so-called constitutional reform in the area. In the report of the Committee, the position of the United Kingdom representative is..."

...one of the most important [problems is the question of the place of the chiefs in the emerging patterns of African society." [Bth, para. 139.]

38. Anyone reading these words might explain how progressive is the United Kingdom. But in the present situation, I can do no better than refer to the Encyclopaedia Britannica again on the fact that the Encyclopaedia Britannica says of the British administration and its intentions as far as progress to conflict and the chief of the tribe should have in African society:

"In 1945, Seretse, son of Khama's son Sekgoma B and wife Laura, an Englishwoman, Ruth Williams, come to the British administration and the Government to handle the situation of this gentleman, the leader of his tribe, because he had married an Englishwoman,...the British Government refused to recognize him as chief and excluded him from Bochaueland." He was excluded from his homeland, in pursuance of a White Paper of the British Government. The quotation from the Encyclopaedia Britannica continues:

"This provoked resentment in the tribe, which culminated in a tribal strike in 1947. Most of the Ramangwato asserted their continued adherence to Seretse and refused to accept or to dominate him as chief. In 1946---and this is the sad outcome---after he had renounced all claim to the chieftainship and had been allowed to return to Bochaueland."

He was allowed to go back to his homeland only after he had renounced all his rights---and this happened simply because he had married an Englishwoman, I make no comments and I draw no conclusions. This is a well-deserved condemnation of the British by the British Encyclopaedia Britannica.

39. Lastly, there is the question of the military bases in Aden. In his statement to the Assembly, the representative of the United Kingdom said:

"it is perfectly true that the British Government has no military bases in that general area." [117th meeting, para. 119].

40. This pretext of the United Kingdom, by which it propounds to defend itself, is more criminal than the propakistan itself. Britain is a republic, it is not a monarch, it is said. They are certainly sacred---but only the leaders of Britain and its colonies. But these defense obligations discharged on our lands are, by definition, aggression. We do not wish our lands to be taken over by any type of military operation. Neither do we wish to subject our homes to a war to which we are not a party. These British defense obligations have no place in the Arab countries. Arab lands are for Arab defense, and the British isles are for British defense. After all, we might ask: who has vested in the United Kingdom these defense obligations on Arab territory? The Arab homeland? Such obligations are entitled by the British and for the British. Let the British defend themselves in the British Isles, if they choose---not in our lands and not at the cost of the lives of our peoples.

41. In conclusion, let me express the hope that the United Kingdom will know in the future how to treat the problem of the peoples in Kenya and Aden. The United Nations we may disagree on interpretations, we may disagree on facts, but in that case, it is disgraceful and most degrading for any delegation to misrepresent the facts, look at the facts, as the British has not stood this test. In Asia and Africa the British volume of influence, and here in the United Nations, on the question of the practice of the United Kingdom, if it cannot make a contribution by emanating and of the place of the United Kingdom, it must give no contributions of distortion in this Organization.

42. I trust that the United Kingdom representative will not again come to this rostrum with a distortion, with a falsehood. It is the nature of the British Government to handle the situation of this gentleman, the leader of his tribe, because he had married an Englishwoman, and the British Government refused to recognize him as chief and excluded him from Bochaueland.

43. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): We have before us, among others, the draft resolutions of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee, Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 on the paragraph of the draft resolutions of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee, Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 on the draft resolutions of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee, Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 on the draft resolutions of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee, Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 on the draft resolutions of certain administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee. Informal resolution 15 (XIV) [A/410]. Indonesia has the honour to be one of the co-sponsors and actively participated in the drafting. It therefore gives me great pleasure to be able to elaborate in some detail on the facts presented in the proposal of the Special Committee.

44. I shall begin by briefly summarizing its three salient points: first, there is the salient reaffirmation of the United Nations, principles and objectives embodied in the two primary United Nations resolutions, resolution 15 (XIV) and resolution 15 (XIV) of 1964 of the Special Committee by the adoption of seven members, and, finally, the request to the Special Committee to make recommendations to the General Assembly for the complete application of the Declaration on Independence.
constitution of the Committee, because we wish to keep the knowledge already accumulated by the existing members.

48. In choosing seven as the proposed number of new members, account was taken of the need to ensure an adequate geographical distribution of seats. These seats are deeply interested in decolonization, combined with the need to maintain a proper geographical distribution of seats.

49. The draft resolution contains no specific recommendations with regard to the creation of new territories. However, my delegation believes—and here I wish to emphasize that I am now speaking only for Indonesia—that at least four of the seven seats should be allocated to Asian and African nations. The second point is that the report of the Committee on the decolonization process still has to report to are located in the area of Asia and the Pacific, Indonesia considers that it would be appropriate to consider the allocation of two of the new seats. My delegation's own idea of the best distribution of the seven seats proposed is: two for Asia, two for Africa, one for Eastern Europe, one for Western Europe, and one for Latin America. But again I wish to emphasize that this is a purely my delegation's own idea.

50. The rest of my introduction to our draft resolution will be largely taken up with the need to fix a time-limit for the complete decolonization process. I refer to the fourth paragraph of the draft resolution. Reference to it in the draft will be found in the final preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 5.

51. We may recall that operative paragraph 4 of the Declaration on decolonization calls for immediate action to implement the decisions of the General Assembly related to the transfer of all power to the peoples of the dependent territories. It really should not surprise anyone to learn that when we inspected the word "immediately" (in front of the word "step") we actually did mean to include a time-limit in the wording of those steps. One might have thought that "immediate steps" is a simple enough phrase, not the least bit obscure in its meaning nor open to too many interpretations. But apparently such is not the case, for in the wearisome and tiring discussions on the wording of the Declaration it has become all too obvious that "immediate steps" has not necessarily been interpreted by all Members to mean literally the same thing. From looking both words up in the dictionary, namely, as direct action to be taken instantly, at once, without any delay. I believe that there is no need to repeat the need to specify time-limits for the implementation.

52. The way in which the Committee works is well known to us all. Its recommendations are based on thorough study and discussion of the needs and desires of the peoples and on its appraisal of the political situation in the colonies. Powers of corollary, if, as may conceivably occur, the people of a particular territory specifically ask the Committee to fix a time-limit or to delay fixing a time-limit, the Committee of the wisdom of this request, the Special Committee will naturally give the request serious consideration. For example, some of the smaller territories may have to wait for the completion of plebiscites or referendums. And in this case it may be that we could not only accept the principle but extend the time-limit in the event that the Special Committee considers that the request is reasonable.

53. It should be noticed that operative paragraph 4 of the Declaration on decolonization calls for the fixing of a time-limit, not of a "suggestion." This was quite deliberate; the use of the plural leaves this point ambiguous, and we much prefer to make it clear by saying that the possibility of adopting alternative types of recommendations, rather than appropriate time-limits. The Committee will have as an alternative of recommending: (1) a blanket time-limit within which all dependent territories are to have attained their independence; or (2) a specific time-limit for each territory examined; or (3) a combination of (1) and (2), that is a combination of a blanket time-limit and individual time-limits for each dependent territory.

54. It is clear that, contrary to what many peoples have thought, our draft resolution does not empower the Committee itself actually to fix the time-limit. This would be the function of the General Assembly, to which the Organizers may either accept or reject the target-date, or target-dates, recommended. It is in this context that I hope the Special Committee will include in its report on each of the dependent territories to which it is transferred, specific recommendations as to the form of independence most appropriate to the circumstances of that territory.

55. One colonial peoples, however small, have gained or have been given their sovereignty, it is up to them to decide whether they want to join with other sovereign countries to form a unit with other newly sovereign States in order to attain greater political and economic viability, or whether they wish to continue on the road of their own development. Whether in this context it may be necessary to reappoint Members of the Commission of Pakistan, or whether in that of the estimation of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, that is more than a thousand miles apart, and that the distance cannot be considered as any kind of a barrier to form a unit with other newly sovereign States in order to attain greater political and economic viability, or whether they wish to continue on the road of their own development.

56. It may be that, for a while at least, some of the newly independent territories will prefer to remain entirely sovereign, despite the difficulties entailed by their smallness, and that many of these small nations will in fact quickly come to realize the advantages of forming larger political units more quickly than some of us think likely now. Moreover, I feel that most of the dependent territories do not need to have a blanket time-limit recommended by the Special Committee, or that the Special Committee may have to take this in order to form a unit with other newly sovereign States.

57. Let me now briefly indicate some of the practical aspects of the new role, with regard to decolonization, which my delegation envisages for the United Nations. In essence, we are proposing that the Special Committee be requested and authorized to make recommendations on two additional matters: on the form of independence that would be appropriate for any given territory, along the lines just described; and on the advisability of the United Nations itself playing an active part in the decolonization of a given territory for a certain period of time.

60. To carry out this new task, we think that the Special Committee should submit a special preparatory report, compiled by experts of the Secretariat, which would analyze the various possibilities of approaching the territories concerned. The preparatory report should also particularly concern itself with the question whether, for a certain period of time, a territory should consider actually sharing its sovereignty with the United Nations, and not with the question of decolonization. The Special Committee should merely assist in the administration of a territory until it has reached a final stage of secure political and economic viability, either on its own or by joining with a larger political unit.

61. On the basis of the findings of the preparatory report and its own deliberations, the Special Committee should then be in a position to make sound recommendations for the consideration of the Assembly, which will then be able to decide upon the necessary course of action for each territory. Should it be decided—with the agreement of the territory and its inhabitants—that the United Nations, through the organs of its Secretariat, should participate in the administration of a territory, that will be the Special Committee itself. To that end, I would suggest that a considerable adjustment of the Department and Trusteeship of Decolonization, with a Self-Governing Territories, is required. I feel that each such territory would benefit from the proposed time-limit to be recommended by the Special Committee should not exceed two or three years.

62. The task of the enlarged Special Committee, as outlined in operative paragraph 8 (d), (f), (g) and (h) of the draft resolution is self-explanatory. The Committee is to be enlarged to include, among other means, and to propose specific measures for the speedy and total application of the Declaration, and to report on its work. It will take up the work of the General Assembly. Furthermore—and this is very important for the Committee as will be the Security Council of any developments in the dependent territories which may threaten international peace and security.

63. I have now all but completed my introduction to the draft resolution, for I assume that it is hardly necessary to forecast the arguments that will be advanced in operative paragraph 1 appreciation of the work accomplished by the Special Committee, Nor, by the way, do I want to make one or two comments on paragraph 2, which notes with approval the methods of the Committee in the course of its work, and the discharge of its functions as outlined in Chapter I (of the report [A/5258], paragraph 112, part (g), (h), (i) of the report [A/5258]. (d), (f), (g), (h), (i)). In the same paragraph (d), (f), (g), (h), (i) of the report [A/5258]. (d), (f), (g), (h), (i)).
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66. The drafting of this draft resolution took more than three weeks. It represents a difficult but happy occasion. It represents a procedural difference of view. It is the fervent hope of the co-sponsors that the General Assembly will give it the support which it so generously gave its predecessors 1915 (XV) and 1916 (XVI) on decolonization.

67. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Haiti to speak for a moment on the draft resolution in reply.

Sir PATRICK DEAN (United Kingdom): The General Assembly is by now well accustomed to the oratorial methods adopted by the representative of Senegal. In these proceedings, I do not propose to waste the time of this Assembly in con- troversy with him. The case of the Assembly will, I am sure, treat his remarks with the contempt which they deserve.

68. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (translated from French): My delegation refrained from taking part in the drafting of the general terms of the draft resolutions because of the deliberations of the General Assembly that facilitate the task of the President, who is trying to ensure that the draft will be of the same character. Nevertheless, as my delegation is always in favor of the decolonization of the territories of Haiti and has ever been in the forefront of the struggle against colonialism, it would like to recall briefly its support of the draft resolution of the General Assembly that amended the resolution of 5 November 1964, in order to bring the draft to a vote. The Assembly will then take the necessary action to ensure that the United Nations have a part in any decision that will be taken by other states for the independence of the territories. We can scarcely be said to have missions at the time. One need only consult the record of the Assembly to find that fact and to see how desperately the colonial Powers fought to safeguard their interests. The satisfaction with the conciliatory suggestions that we made in the General Assembly may be summed up in the opinion expressed by the courageous President of the United States, which, together with many others, supported the resolution. It is true, of course, that it was one of the most constructive proposals which had been adopted up to that time. My delegation is therefore happy to make known its position with regard to the draft resolution [A/11440] which is now before us.

69. When the United Nations Charter was drafted, its authors concentrated on the idea that the self- determination and independence of peoples would be fostered primarily by the establishment of functioning administrations of the Trusteeship System. That was the Trusteeship System as set up by the General Assembly. The United Nations, as shown in the past and as shown in this debate, do not intend to abandon the policy of the Trusteeship System. It is, therefore, difficult to explain the evolution of all the colonial territories did not materialize as it was simulated, although it is not announced that it would go. The United Nations then try to foster the separation and liberation of the territories of the United Nations, but they are not the United States of America. The United States of America have made of this Committee a useful instrument for keeping the United Nations in the field of the non-self-governing territories. The Self-Governing Territories and exercising a certain pressure on the administering Powers. Nevertheless, the influence of this Committee has been considerable to the extent that it was not authorized to consider political developments or able to give its attention to the colonial territories where some of the most delicate problems have arisen, such as the Portuguese colonies and the status of the Belgian colonies.

70. Here I should like to express our appreciation of the work of the Committee. The delegation of Haiti would be willing to support another resolution on the same subject. We would like to submit a draft resolution in order that the Assembly, with the General Assembly's next session, might take the right place in the Organization. This motion naturally brought about a resolution in Congress it con- cluded its work, that the draft resolution in the committee on which the territories are concerned. The days of drawing up dele- tions to the Trusteeship System or of the territories in which we live are over. The question of self-governing Members in the Trusteeship System to the Committee on Information, ceased to have any significance.

71. It was now a question of completing the work of decolonization as quickly as possible in those cases where it still remained to be done. That was the meaning of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, embodying the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which is a turning point in the evolution of the philosophy of colonialism, and of resolution 1545 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, now adopted by the United Nations. We are now at this final stage, and our role is to bring to a successful conclusion as rapidly as possible the new task laid down in the Declaration of 1960 concerning the abolition of colonialism. The goal being clearly defined, we must now perfect our methods of action.

72. Here I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the Committee will turn to rule 101 of the rules of procedure, they will see that among the Main Committees of the General Assembly the Fourth Committee and the Committee for Non-Aligned Nations, including Non-Self-Governing Territories, which title appears to have come out of the Committee on Information, was the corner-stone of the Organization's activities relating to colonial matters. This title includes the entire field of activity of the Committee, which was expressed concerning the scope and effectiveness of the work of the Committee. We are, therefore, quite firmly of the belief that the Committee on Information and the Non-Self-Governing Territories were added to the name of the Fourth Committee, even though the addition as it was rendered in French which was not immediately clear to everyone. Today the Fourth Committee concerns itself with the issue of the territories, and is also considered to be the report of the Trusteeship Council. Is it concerned with decolonization? I should therefore like to express our appreciation of the work of the Committee. The delegation of Haiti would be willing to support another resolution on the same subject. We would like to submit a draft resolution in order that the Assembly, with the General Assembly's next session, might take the right place in the Organization. This motion naturally brought about a resolution in Congress it concluded its work, that the draft resolution in the committee on which the territories are concerned. The days of drawing up deletions to the Trusteeship System or of the territories in which we live are over. The question of self-governing Members in the Trusteeship System to the Committee on Information, ceased to have any significance.
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The draft resolution does not say so expressly, but the activities of the Special Committee in the territories contiguous to Angola are clearly designed as a means of providing the Angolans with opportunities for self-government. The Committee is composed of representatives from the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and other international organizations. Its aim is to facilitate the process of decolonization and prepare for Angola's eventual independence.

The resolution also calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory and for the establishment of a provisional government. These measures are intended to ensure that the Angolans are able to determine their own future in a free and democratic manner. The draft resolution notes that the Angolans have long been seeking independence and that the United Nations has a responsibility to assist in this process.

The resolution further emphasizes the importance of respecting the rights of the Angolans and ensuring that they are able to participate fully in the process of decolonization. The United Nations has a role to play in this process, and the resolution calls for international support to be given to the Angolan people in their struggle for independence.

In conclusion, the draft resolution is a significant step towards the decolonization of Angola and the promotion of self-determination for the Angolan people. It is hoped that this resolution will be adopted by the United Nations and that it will provide a solid foundation for the future of Angola.
of the political parties in the territories. The draft resolution in its operative paragraph 5 calls upon the administering Powers to show respect for the rightful interests of the people of these territories and their political aspirations and activities. Would it then really be wise for the United Nations, by fixing an over-all time-limit, to circumscribe the political activities of these leaders to select the moment which, to them, seems most advantageous to open negotiations leading to the setting up of these territories of the awareness of world opinion among all the administering Powers as to the implementation of the Declaration.

106. It is possible for the eighteenth General Assembly to be fully assured that in fixing, now and for all, such a time-limit for the full implementation of the Declaration, no dependent territory is being given unreasonable hopes of early self-determination?

107. I say, on the other hand, be sure that no territory is by-passed? The draft resolution speaks of all territories mentioned in operative paragraph 5 of resolution 818 (VIII) as yet to be a definitive list of such territories? The wisdom of the General Assembly is certainly great, but I would insist that it is great enough for such a task.

108. The methods of work of the Special Committee have been a controversial matter in the general debate on this item. Nevertheless, the sponsors of the draft resolution have decided to express in the resolution not only our appreciation to the Special Committee, but also the usefulness of the methods and procedures developed in the course of the work within the scope of the agenda item. It is hoped that this possibility for us in the Assembly, having studied the report and listened to the general debate on this item, to work towards a better understanding of such a question, which is controversial among the members of the Committee.

109. According to one of the prismatic paragraphs of the draft resolution, the General Assembly would reaffirm its conviction that any delay in the execution of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence has created or would create—language is somewhat ambiguous—desires in the minds of peoples which threaten international peace and security*. Under operative paragraph 8, the General Assembly would, furthermore, under the influence of the ideas and proposals of the Committee, assure the Security Council of any developments in the territories which may threaten international peace and security.

110. My Government cannot but approve the text of the resolutions which may or may be likely to be accepted in connection with the implementation of the Declaration. The granting of independence to the United Nations, which has been the attention of the Security Council as it is this body which has primarily responsibility—and in fact represents the primary power—to maintain peace and security. It must, on the other hand, be borne in mind that over a situation may be characterized by the General Assembly, or by a subsidiary organ of the Assembly, to determine that this situation is such that, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, it is necessary to act. The Special Committee on the Draft Declaration, which is the Special Committee of the General Assembly, is charged with the responsibility of drafting a declaration, which would then be proposed to the Committee of the General Assembly for final adoption.

111. In spite of the questions, reservations, and comments now made, the Swedish delegation finds that the draft resolution contains a number of useful contributions to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The draft resolution has been involved in the drama of decolonization should be made aware of world opinion as expressed in the resolutions of the United Nations. This opinion of ours applies much to those territories, Powers, whose, though machinery is often criticized in the public debate, our country, on the ground of their political aspirations and activities. Would it then really be wise for the United Nations, by fixing an over-all time-limit, to circumscribe the political activities of these leaders to select the moment which, to them, seems most advantageous to open negotiations leading to the setting up of these territories of the awareness of world opinion among all the administering Powers as to the implementation of the Declaration.

112. The vote of the Swedish delegation will be in accordance with the opinions expressed in this statement.

113. Opposed to the resolution are those who demand the transfer of full powers to the territories in question, is it of utmost importance to emphasize that the draft resolution, while recognizing that the indigenous population will really have the opportunity to exercise all the rights which are mentioned in the paragraphs of the text, is fully aware of the task of the Assembly. In the light of the economic and political conditions in which the United Nations are represented among the new members. Taking this principle into account, we are ready to support the proposal of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the enlargement of the membership of the Special Committee.

114. In as well, resolution 154 (XV) adopted, in which the General Assembly, in a resolution adopted on the draft resolution, solemnly proclaimed the need for a speech of decolonization and colonialism in forms and manifestations.

115. Two years have passed since the last declaration was adopted. Last year, when resolution 154 (XV) was adopted, the General Assembly, in a resolution adopted on the draft resolution, solemnly proclaimed the need for a speech of decolonization and colonialism in forms and manifestations.

116. The delegation, in considering the draft resolution, attaches great importance to the question fixing a specific date for the liquidation of colonialism. In our view, the time-limit for the liquidation of colonialism should be six years. The Committee on the implementation of the Declaration would thus have a more definite directive. It would not be so close to the specific deadline for the final liquidation of the colonial system in the resolution itself than to entrust that task to the Committee of the General Assembly, which would then determine the moment when the process of decolonization should be completed.

117. My delegation considers it appropriate that the draft resolution should invite the Special Committee to consider the possibility of requesting the United Nations to provide advice in these territories which may threaten international peace and security.

118. The need to give the Special Committee power has long been apparent, for the situation in many of the territories is such that it is necessary to have a mechanism that would enable a number of resolutions which are under consideration or have been adopted by the General Assembly. As for the volume and complexity of the work of the Special Committee are increasing the draft resolution provides for the allocation of the quota by the Committee by the addition of seven new members. With regard to this paragraph of the resolution, we should wish to stress that we believe it to be decisive that the Committee on the Granting of Independence to the United Nations is based on the same basis as that on which the Special Committee of Seventeen was established. Many speakers here took part in the general debate and expressed a wish, and this position was widely supported.

119. We emphasize this circumstance because the Special Committee, as may be seen from the draft resolution, is approaching the end of its work of carrying out the tasks entrusted to it in resolution 154 (XV) and the Committee and to ensure that all the groups of countries in the United Nations are represented among the new members. Taking this principle into account, we are ready to support the proposal of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the enlargement of the membership of the Special Committee.

120. In the light of the foregoing observations we shall support the draft resolution submitted by twenty-two countries of the Afro-Asian Group and shall vote in favour of it.

Mr. Zafarulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Peru has on various occasions clearly and solemnly expressed its sympathy for any measure designed to accelerate the emancipation of the peoples that have been subjected to colonial domination. We have considered this movement towards emancipation to be one of the characteristics of the present era, one of the tasks which the United Nations should view most sympathetically and to which it should attach the highest degree of importance.

Our thinking could be expressed as follows: the greatest and most representative event of the nineteenth century was the European Conferences and Declarations for the emancipation of the peoples, and the most notable event of the twentieth century is the independence of the territories of Asia and Africa. For this reason, we view the independence of the African and Asian countries with profound feelings of sympathy and admiration.

122. There is even something more, there is a cultural tradition dating back to the very beginning of our spiritual life. With the discovery of America, there emerged the principle of self-determination, and the principle of cultural identity. The United States of America, and the most notable event of the twentieth century is the independence of the territories of Asia and Africa. For this reason, we view the independence of the African and Asian countries with profound feelings of sympathy and admiration.

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when England, which viewed our independence in a sympathetic light, found itself forced, according to the Napoleonic invasions, into an alliance with the Spanish Empire, and even the United States, which could also look on with some sympathy, with a platoic independence, was occupied with the negotiations for the purchase of the two Floridas. Thus, as Bolivar said, our independence was achieved virtually in defiance of the entire world.

135. Fortunately for our brothers in Asia and Africa, their movement for emancipation—although it has in many cases been achieved by dint of a heroic struggle which we have admired and have followed with a strong interest—has benefited to a great extent from the co-operation of the great colonial Powers, which has resulted from a change in attitude that may be regretted on both sides, and that those Powers under a distinct obligation to pursue their efforts, and extend their full and disinterested co-operation to the new countries. However, there is an element still more favourable to the emancipation of the countries of Asia and Africa, and that is the existence of the United Nations.

136. At the time of our struggle, there was only the shadow of an understanding between the United States and England directed against what could be called the nucleus of reactionary or highly conservative European Powers. There was, however, no constitutions that could encourage and assist the emancipated countries and help speed up the emancipation of those which had not yet achieved independence.

137. The great advantage enjoyed today by our brothers in Africa and Asia who have just attained independence and whom we have welcomed so cordially as Members of this Organization, and by those who are on their way to independence and are destined one day to acquire such membership, lies in the existence of the United Nations. That is why, from the very beginning, the delegation of Peru has been so insistent that the United Nations in all its acts and in all circumstances should lay stress on universality as its essential characteristic. This universality enables us and has enabled us to incorporate the new countries of Africa and Asia into the international community with full authority, and we have every hope that we shall be able to conclude and round off this task of integration through the incorporation of the other countries whose independence we are fostering.

138. Since such is the position of the delegation of Peru, the Assembly will fully understand that—in reserving ourselves as we do the work of the two Peruvian representatives in the Committee of Seventeen, we make a sympathetic view of what has been done and generally approve of the draft resolution [A/L.410] that has been submitted to us.

139. Nevertheless, I must say quite frankly, with reference to certain words or terms in the draft resolution, that all of us who cherish the United Nations are very anxious that no resolution should be open to criticism on the grounds that the exact term or the precise and appropriate expression required has not been used. We believe that we should avoid anything that constitutes or implies exaggeration, inaccuracy or a step perhaps not in keeping with the dictates of prudence. It is in this sense, with all due respect, and although I am not submitting any kind of amendment, that I must say that my delegation would for example have preferred, with reference to the delay in granting independence, that it is "capable of creating" a situation, instead of describing it as "creating one, because the use of the indicative suggests a categorical affirmation regarding something that is actually occurring, whereas the word "capable" merely suggests that it might create a situation.

140. Similarly it has been felt by many Latin American countries, all of which are so very much at one with our brothers in Africa and Asia in their movement for emancipation, that perhaps the expression "an appropriate time-limit" should be used in the preamble and in the operative part is somewhat vague, and that it would have been better to refer to "appropriate time-limits" or perhaps not attempt to set any automatic, mechanical, or ironclad, date, since the processes with which we are concerned may need—so to speak—to be helped along to a greater or lesser extent and will require for their fulfillment and completion a period of time that cannot be fixed beforehand. However, these reservations which I make in my search for perfection and in a spirit of complete sincerity and constructive criticism do not in the slightest degree weaken our enthusiastic support both for the spirit and in general for the letter of the draft resolution, and this is why the Peruvian delegation intends to vote in favour of it.

141. It is our hope that the movement of emancipation will continue to take its inspiration from the provisions of the United Nations Charter and will remain absolutely faithful to the spirit inhaling and inspiring it, untouched by any cold-war issues, and retaining its disinterested and noble character as the most manifest expression of that spirit of liberty which in reality underlies all human progress. And I am sure that my words will be echoed in all the organs of the United Nations, for in fact it is not enough for these peoples to achieve freedom. They are embarking upon life as free nations in difficult economic circumstances; they are engaged in the work of emancipating the world, which is making progress, and I am sure that these words are being addressed to the President of the United Nations, and I say this most sincerely—has before it an admirable field of action in which it can contribute with its technical and economic assistance towards strengthening the independence of the countries that have already acquired it and towards the early emancipation of the countries that are still yearning for their freedom. This is the great task confronting the United Nations, to which we must all contribute with our votes and with our encouragement.

142. Mr. LOJMAN (Mauritania): I am addressing myself to document A/L.410, which we have before us at present.

143. We would be very unfavourable to our own convenience if we thought we could set the clock back with regard to the freedom of peoples and nations. Let us try to accept the challenge of the fact that we live in a changing world, absolutely different from that of yesterday.

144. In this context, I would like to refer to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (resolution 1314 (XV)). It appeared to the Special Committee [A/2535] that some of the Powers which still administer dependent territories have not yet been able to look at this global problem as such. We call upon the Security Council to take up this problem as soon as possible.