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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Diallo Telli (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 90

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

REPORTS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5303)
AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5304)

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

Mr. Csatorday (Hungary), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/5303) and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration the first part of the report of the First Committee (A/5303) on the item entitled "Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament".

2. The general debate in which fifty-two delegations participated, has given the possibility not only to those countries which are taking part in the Geneva Conference but also to all States, Members of the United Nations, to explain their views, to bring forward their ideas and suggestions. The deliberations clearly reflected the understanding and determination of the delegations to render help and to give a guide-line to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Conference. The speeches, almost without exception, recalled the events and tensions of the past few weeks that filled all the peoples of the world with anxiety. Fortunately enough, sound human reasons prevailed this time and the catastrophe menacing the survival of mankind could

be avoided—peace has been saved. At this moment every one of us felt more than ever the urgency of not only convening the Geneva Conference, but of doing everything towards reaching a concrete agreement soon on the vital issue of disarmament. I hope that the Committee's discussion has contributed to bringing this noble aim nearer to its realization. The same feeling was expressed by the members of the First Committee when they adopted the draft resolution contained in the report.

3. Another very important proposal, that is, declaring the territory of Latin America as a denuclearized zone, was contained in the four-Power revised draft resolution. This draft resolution was also extensively discussed in the Committee, but the sponsors considered it desirable not to submit it to a vote at this stage. The representative of Brazil proposed, and the Committee agreed, to defer further discussion on the vote on that draft resolution, on the understanding that it would remain before the Committee and would be put to the vote before the end of the present session at a date to be decided by the Chairman, after which part two of this report would be also submitted to the General Assembly.

4. At this stage, therefore, I have the honour to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution set out in paragraph 10 of the report [A/5303].

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to remind members of the Assembly that they have before them a report from the Fifth Committee [A/5304] concerning the financial implications of the draft resolution of the First Committee.

6. I now call on the Assembly to take a decision on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee and contained in its report [A/5303].

The draft resolution was adopted by 84 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

7. Mr. MELO FRANCO (Brazil) (translated from French): My delegation preferred not to speak during the procedural debate on the interpretation of item 25 which took place in plenary. It felt certain that the General Assembly would, in its wisdom, find the best formula to spare us repetitive discussions and superfluous or contradictory draft resolutions on the different items allocated in some cases, to plenary meetings and, in others, to the Fourth Committee, but

ail referring to the general subject of the fight to abolish colonialism throughout the world.

8. In taking the floor today on item 25, the Brazilian delegation is still anxious to avoid repetitive discussion. It will therefore now consider only the general aspects of this problem and of the report [A/5238] submitted to us by the Special Committee, ^{1/} leaving its representative on the First Committee to deal with points peculiar to individual territories. More precisely, the Brazilian delegation will here confine itself to a study of the first chapter of the Special Committee's report and to a very general review of the Committee's work since its inception less than a year ago.

9. The Special Committee's report is not only one of the most voluminous documents yet published by the United Nations, but it is also one of the most important on the problems of decolonization. In submitting it to us, the Rapporteur, Mr. Najmuddine Rifai of Syria, laid emphasis, quite rightly, on the immense amount of work done by each member in carrying out the task assigned to the Committee by the General Assembly.

10. When, last year, the Assembly adopted resolution 1654 (XVI) establishing the Special Committee, now commonly known as the Committee of Seventeen, it was not difficult to foresee what functions would be assumed by this United Nations body in the field of decolonization. As we know, in order to guide the progress of the dependent territories towards self-government or independence, the United Nations Charter established the Trusteeship Council and, in addition, empowered the General Assembly to establish the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

11. The most important result of the far-reaching revolution produced in the Organization by the unanimous adoption, on 14 December 1960, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was the establishment of the Committee of Seventeen. This Committee was directly attached to the General Assembly and was to accept or even take upon itself, by virtue of the wide powers conferred on it, the functions of a superior organ responsible for investigation and the implementation of decisions with respect to virtually all decolonization questions, never seeking to evade any problem in that field.

12. Admittedly, an assessment of the results of its work during the first year of its life shows that the Committee of Seventeen has dealt with only a few territories, but that is because, despite the wishes of most of its members, it was manifestly impossible for it to study all the dependent territories still in existence in the modern world.

13. This immediately raises two related questions. Firstly, is the scope of its mandate, as interpreted by the Committee of Seventeen, compatible with the Charter? Secondly, is the Committee not in danger of overlapping not only with the various special committees, but also with the Fourth Committee itself? The Brazilian delegation believes that the answer to both these questions is no. Judged in the light of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the Committee of Seventeen has not in fact gone beyond its terms of reference but has, on the

contrary, succeeded in acting within the boundaries set by the Charter and the important resolutions interpreting and supplementing the Charter on that subject. A case in point is resolution 1541 (XV), which has given Member States objective criteria for the correct interpretation of one of the basic concepts underlying our activities in colonial matters: the concept of a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

14. It has also been alleged that the Fourth Committee will cease to serve any useful purpose if the Committee of Seventeen continues to submit draft resolutions directly to the General Assembly. The Brazilian delegation has no objection to this procedure, provided that each delegation retains the right to state its opinion on all subjects, propose amendments and vote freely. We also consider it desirable that complex questions should first be studied by a specialized body and then be reexamined without restriction, by one of the Main Committees, before the final decision is taken by the General Assembly.

15. To revert to the functions of the Committee of Seventeen, we note that in practice it has encroached upon the work not only of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories but also on that of various committees which are responsible for specific colonial questions and whose activities have become no more than a means of enabling the Committee of Seventeen to accomplish its task. It should further be remembered that the importance of the Trusteeship Council is dwindling as each step is taken towards the goal for which it was established.

16. The Committee of Seventeen does, in fact, cover the whole field of decolonization for the following reasons. First of all, it has assumed responsibility for classifying as Non-Self-Governing Territories territories which were previously outside the scope of United Nations action—a task expressly assigned to it by the General Assembly and one wholly in keeping with the spirit of the Charter. This is a function of the greatest importance, given its possible implications for the exercise of the principle of self-determination. Secondly, the Committee has taken up the problem of territories administered by Portugal, thus transforming the Committee of Seven^{2/} into a subsidiary body responsible for detailed studies on the conditions prevailing in those territories. Finally, it has been entrusted with the question of the territory of South West Africa, here again transforming the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa into one of its subsidiary bodies.

17. Seen in this light, the task already carried out by the Committee of Seventeen during the current year is enormous, even though incomplete, for, as has already been pointed out, the field of decolonization is far too wide for the Committee to encompass completely.

18. The Brazilian delegation remains convinced that, in the fight for peace, the solution found for the colonial problem will be a factor of the first importance. It has already said and says again that the era of colonialism is historically over and the only task left is to sweep away the vestiges. But precisely because they are vestiges, they must be treated with the greatest care and efficiency, lest colonialism add new evils to those it has already engendered. Nowadays, colonialism is an historical and sociological anachronism, whose peaceful disappearance can only be beneficial

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

^{2/} Special Committee on territories under Portuguese Administration.

to nations and peoples. Its eradication will free contemporary society of political, economic, social and emotional factors which are endangering international peace and security.

19. It is incontrovertible that the United Nations, by promoting more efficient methods for abolishing colonialism, has greatly helped to speed up the process. Whereas, before the First World War, decolonization was generally a warlike process, by the time the Second World War came, it had already, in many ways, sometimes become a relatively peaceful process, and since the Second World War, the United Nations has made the process really peaceful, with some painful and sanguinary exceptions. It must not, however, be forgotten that this was due partly to the realization by certain colonial Powers that they could no longer hold back the rising tide of the dependent peoples' national demands.

20. As a result of United Nations action and the understanding shown by certain colonial Powers, hundreds of millions of people have won their independence in different countries and under different types of governments. The United Nations has co-operated, directly or indirectly, in the achievement of political independence by over 700 million human beings.

21. The last three territories under United Nations trusteeship are now moving irrevocably towards the new status they will gain through self-determination.

22. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa, Brazil is confident that a fair and peaceful solution will be found for this problem, which has already been the subject of sixty-three resolutions in the United Nations, during more than sixteen years of discussion. The Mandatory Power must understand that all the facts recorded concerning its administration of the territory—whether they are good, as it maintains, or bad, as the United Nations asserts—can lead only to one conclusion: that the people must choose their fate by a free expression of their will. The Mandatory Power must also understand that its position on this point, from the international point of view, is a source of grave friction which can only poison the atmosphere and seriously jeopardize the balance, rightly sought after by the sovereign African States, most of which gained their sovereignty only recently, but have already shown remarkable maturity in dealing with their national and international problems.

23. As regards the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the picture is even more impressive. There are over fifty of these Territories on the map of the world and their total population is about 80 million. In this case, the main Power involved, the United Kingdom, has shown that it appreciates the urgency of the problem and the anachronistic character of the colonial system.

24. The population of these Non-Self-Governing Territories varies. Some have a relatively high percentage of settlers' descendants, and certain Territories have, over the last few years, been the scene of fearful strife such as that which raged for seven years in Algeria, a country which we are now gratified to see here in our midst as a Member State. There can, however, be no doubt that a solution for Territories with this population-pattern has already been found and effectively applied long ago. My country, Brazil, is a striking example of a multi-racial society in which the rights of man are upheld and applied, without prejudice or discrimination as to race, colour

or creed. These lands for settlement can, as their name implies, be peopled by men of all races and classes, if the "national" characteristics they derive from their true backgrounds are respected, for they are vast enough and rich enough to welcome in their midst all men of goodwill whether born or admitted there.

25. In that connexion, a basic distinction should be drawn between the colonizers and their descendants on the one hand, and the economic power generally located in the metropolitan country on the other hand. The latter seeks to identify its own selfish interests with the needs of the colonizers and their descendants, thus creating inter-racial tension which can only be prejudicial to the true interests of the people.

26. In the opinion of the Brazilian delegation, it is in this light that these problems might be examined by the General Assembly. In this particular instance, the United Kingdom is the main colonial Power concerned. We trust to the traditional political wisdom of the British to find the solution which is best and most consistent with the United Nations Charter.

27. The Brazilian delegation is, for various reasons well known to the majority of the Member States, in a special position in regard to the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration. In that connexion, Brazil would like, once again, to express two fervent wishes: first of all, that the debate held in the Fourth Committee should be free of all passion, and secondly, that some formula should be found whereby Portugal can agree to constructive discussion with the United Nations for the real benefit of the people of the territories it administers, as the trend of modern history demands. This trend is, incidentally, exemplified in Portugal's own history, for when Brazil advanced towards independence, Portugal was able to accept this process without detriment to the close links between the two countries.

28. Many States are most anxious—in general justifiably so—to achieve concrete, immediate solutions envisaged in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Brazil shares this desire, but at the same time wishes to point out that we must all take care to eschew measures which, instead of leading to a peaceful, final solution of colonial conflicts, might cause new friction, further complications and threats to peace, which is already precarious enough, when our main concern should be to strengthen it.

29. The Brazilian delegation thus feels bound to point out once again, that while sanctions are admittedly an integral part of the Charter and are explicitly provided for that document, we should, if we contemplate applying them, consider objectively how far they are desirable and appropriate. Sanctions should be applied, firstly, when they can be effectively enforced and, secondly, when they are calculated to safeguard the peace and security of the area in question. In the opinion of the Brazilian delegation, whenever sanctions, instead of correcting a given situation or peacefully settling a question, might endanger the very existence of the United Nations as an essential instrument for peace, then it is better to wait until they can be used effectively for restoring peace.

30. The principles by which the Brazilian delegation has been guided in its examination of item 25 of our

agenda should now be clear. They might be summarized as follows:

(1) We are in favour of prolonging the life of the Committee of Seventeen for another year, and possibly for longer, if this is justified by the report to be submitted to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session.

(2) We believe that the Committee's efforts should be concentrated by abolishing certain other committees and special sub-committees dealing with colonial questions. I hasten to add that by their very nature and by the character of their work, the Trusteeship Council, which was established under the Charter, and the Committee of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories would obviously not be affected by this measure.

(3) We consider that the question of the structure, composition, membership and procedure of the Special Committee should be left open, as this Committee could equally well be a Committee of Seventeen, of Twenty-one, or whatever the General Assembly in its wisdom decides.

(4) We believe that the Special Committee should operate in such a way that Member States not represented on it may be co-opted for special tasks in ad hoc sub-committees, according to some procedure to be devised.

(5) Finally, we believe that the positive results achieved by the Committee of Seventeen deserve the praise of Member States, however qualified their approval may be on specific points.

31. Before concluding, the Brazilian delegation would like once again to pay a tribute to the work of the Member States which served on the Committee of Seventeen, and especially to the two Latin-American Members, Uruguay and Venezuela, whose clear-headed and consistent participation has been a measure of the high level of Latin-American thinking throughout the Committee's work.

32. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): Australia is a Member of the Committee of Seventeen. We have participated actively throughout the year in the work of the Committee. I myself had the honour of being the Australian representative and the pleasure of visiting Africa during the tour of that country by the Committee of Seventeen.

33. Australia has participated in the discussion of all the items in the work of the Committee of Seventeen; we participated in the hearing and the questioning of petitioners, and this afternoon I should like to say something about Australia's assessment and approach, in the light of our experience.

34. At the outset I should like to pay tribute first to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. C. S. Jha of India, the former Permanent Representative to the United Nations who brought a constructive approach and, of course, a wealth of experience as to the way in which United Nations bodies operate and the potential they have for achievement. I should like to mention also the Vice-President, Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, who was the Chairman of the group when it visited Africa. I, for one, was most happy to serve under his leadership and to observe the dignity and integrity that he displayed during our visit. Our Rapporteur was Mr. Rifai of Syria who, in addition to the normal qualities of the Rapporteur, had special experience in that field. He had been a Member of the Visiting Mission to Aus-

tralian New Guinea and he had been the Special Plebiscite Administrator of the United Nations in Western Samoa. I should like to mention the Secretariat both here and during the visit to Africa.

35. It would be useful to state the spirit and principles which have been the basis of Australia's approach in the work of the Committee of Seventeen. Australia supports the goal of self-determination for all peoples in the world. That is an honest approach: it is the spirit that we brought to bear in the drafting of the Charter in San Francisco when Australia was responsible for the inclusion in the Charter of some of these vital provisions on colonial territories. We believe in self-determination. We believe also in the elimination of discrimination because of colour, in the colonies no less than in independent countries of the world. We know, quite apart from considerations of justice or efficiency, the feelings of humiliation and frustration which must be felt by any people who are suffering from discrimination whether because of colour, racial origin or on any other grounds.

36. And so, side by side, we should pursue two objectives to bring about the genuine exercise of the right of self-determination by all peoples, and also to secure an equal opportunity for everyone in a territory, regardless of race, colour or religion, to play an equal role in the political, economic or social life of that territory.

37. In the work of the Committee of Seventeen we have also believed in Australia that there should be a division between the Administering Authorities and the rest of the Committee. We have a common task laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and laid down also in the resolution [1654 (XVI)] that was given us by this Assembly. We believe that our task in the Committee is to work together to achieve the objectives of the Charter, and we have conceived of this Committee as a team, not a division into camps on the basis either of geographical origin or on the basis of being an administering or non-administering Power.

38. I hope that from a study of the report there will be a greater realization by all of us that dependent territories do not conform to a single pattern. The report, both in its general discussion and in its discussion of individual territories, illustrates that there are different problems presented by different territories. The different territories have different stages of development, and also, the administering Powers have approached their tasks and their obligations in a different spirit and by different methods. And this makes it unrealistic and artificial, I believe, to think in terms of a target date that will apply to all territories, irrespective of their present condition and irrespective of the policies being pursued by the administering Powers or the degree of co-operation that is existing between the administering Power and the United Nations.

39. I have said that Administering Authorities vary. Two of them, South Africa and Portugal, are following, either in their professed objectives or in their practice, a policy which most Members of the General Assembly regard as not fully carrying out their obligations under the Charter. Australia has voted at this session in the Fourth Committee for a draft resolution on South West Africa [see A/5310] which has not yet come before a plenary meeting but which represents the view of almost all Members of this Assembly, and

based on the basic principle of giving effect to the right of self-determination.

40. Australia has also said in previous sessions of the Assembly, and will say so again at this session, that we consider Portugal should recognize the obligation to give the peoples overseas the right of self-determination and that it should take effective measures to bring that about.

41. But in regard to the other administering Powers, I believe that there can be no doubt in this Assembly that they are moving in the right direction. There may be differences about the pace and there may be differences about the methods, but I believe that the sincerity of the other administering Powers in moving toward self-determination cannot be questioned by any honest observer. As I said, there will be differences as to the rate at which they are moving and as to the methods they are using, but countries like Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom are honestly trying to carry out the obligations of the Charter. We are bound to do so by our own traditions, our own traditional respect and belief in human rights. We are pressed forward by a vociferous public opinion; we are called upon to account to our own Parliaments for the way in which we are doing these things. And our own public and our Parliaments and our Governments are aware of what is going on here in the United Nations and of the statements that are made by representatives of all groups.

42. The United Nations' debates have a considerable influence in shaping opinion, not only among countries whose representatives are here, but also in our public opinion at home. I sometimes think that it is this intangible force represented in responsible action by the United Nations that is one of the most effective ways of influencing things in the world today—and not least in the colonial field.

43. Quite apart from the administering Powers, the problems in different territories themselves vary from territory to territory. There are, for example, different historical backgrounds. Some dependent territories have been communities or societies with a long history and a long and ancient cultural development of a unified sort, perhaps a group that has existed as a single community for a long period. Then again, in some parts of the world such as Australian New Guinea, you have a territory which has never in history existed as one community, where there has never been physical communication throughout the territory, where there has been a series of scattered tribes, each of them quite small and in very limited communication, if in any communication at all, with neighbouring tribes. Such territories cannot be treated in exactly the same way. A society in which there is only one race or only one religion or only one tribe presents quite a different situation from a society that might be an amalgam of many tribes, many races, many perhaps mutually antagonistic religions. Sometimes, in recent years, the task has been to build up a sense of unity where a sense of unity has not existed at all in the past. We cannot ignore the existence of some of these questions.

44. One can believe, as I believe and as the Australian Government believes, that there should be no discrimination among peoples of different colour or religion. But the belief that differences of that sort should not exist cannot blind us to the fact that in some cases discrimination does exist, which is based on factors that we have to overcome; we sometimes

have a task of reconciliation and of education, of removing the fears of the different groups inside a society—which sometimes come from outside—we must work for the elimination of these things. Sometimes this involves education in a very wide sense of the word. I have heard representatives talk about the problem of educating people for self-government. This is not just a problem of educating indigenous people; it is very often a task, if I might say so, of educating some of the dominant groups themselves in a society, accustoming them to the idea of working together, edging them into co-operative forms of enterprise, political and commercial.

45. The work of the Committee of Seventeen during the past year has shown that it is not always differences between the Administering Authority and the local population that delay independence. Sometimes the road-block arises from differences inside the dependent territory itself, from indigenous groups in a territory or from groups that have immigrated over a long period of years, but not entirely European groups. This is illustrated by British Guiana and Zanzibar, two territories that were considered by the Committee of Seventeen. The view of the whole Committee is that the most urgent thing to do is to bring together the different groups in those two countries, so that they can achieve independence and carry out the obligations of independent government on the basis of an agreement among them. In neither case is it a conflict between the people of the territory and the Administering Authority. That view, as I say, is held in varying degrees by all members of the Committee of Seventeen.

46. Let me say further that Australia does not believe that it is our function in this Assembly, or in the Committee of Seventeen—indeed, it is not the function of the United Nations—to choose between leaders or parties in a territory. It is not our function to impose a particular leader on a territory. Rather, we have to look to the time when the people themselves will determine whom they are going to follow, what their form of society and constitution is going to be.

47. As I have said, the problems vary from territory to territory, and in many cases it is not just a question of colonialism. There are elements in many of these situations that are not colonial. Some of the problems that we have in these territories are problems that have faced mankind from the beginning—how to raise standards of living everywhere, how to promote human rights. These are not just problems that face colonial territories. There are problems of race—how to get different races to live together and to trust one another. There are the economic problems of development and of finding overseas markets, for their primary product products; and the problem of overcoming fears—fears of internecine clashes among groups in a community, fears perhaps of interference by powerful neighbours. Many of these things can be illustrated by taking individual territories. Some of these things may be seen in Australia's own territory of New Guinea, where there are the problems of building up one society, of accustoming the people to looking out on the world as a whole and seeing the possibilities that are open to them—people who, until the last few years, have in some cases been cut off completely from the rest of mankind. There, in New Guinea, you actually find fears among the indigenous people themselves as to what the future will hold for them. I believe that, in New Guinea, Australia and the United Nations have built up a most fruitful co-operation, a

co-operation that I know will continue and will lead to the successful achievement of self-determination for the people.

48. But the real question, very often, in a territory is a question of how to achieve something. It is not a question of the motives of the Administering Power; it is not a question of the motives of the leaders of the indigenous people themselves. It is often a question of how this last stage is reached which takes a country out of almost complete independence to actual independence, how to reconcile the various elements that are struggling among themselves and struggling with the Administering Authority, the conflicts inside the territory, the conflicts between interested powers.

49. Sometimes, in our discussions here in the General Assembly or in Committees, we find that the approach of individual countries is determined by their own interests. A neighbouring country in Africa, for example, naturally wants a newly independent country to be one with which it can hope to live in peace. Therefore, we cannot look at any of these things in a vacuum or pretend that national interests are not involved.

50. Having said that by way of a general indication of Australia's approach as a member of the Committee of Seventeen, let me say something about the work of the Committee itself over the past year. I do not propose to say anything about individual territories. Australia, as a member of the Committee, has been able to speak—and we have spoken—on almost every territory that came before us, and our policy is set out in the report of the Committee of Seventeen. I therefore do not propose to repeat it here. But let me make some more general remarks, the first of them on procedure.

51. On the procedure which the Committee should follow, Australia took much the same attitude as the one that was outlined to the General Assembly yesterday [1171st meeting] by the representative of the United States. That attitude was that our objective should be to proceed as far as possible in the Committee by a consensus rather than by voting. That springs very much from the attitude that I outlined earlier this afternoon: the feeling that the Committee should not divide itself into administering and non-administering Powers but that we should try to find the greatest possible area of agreement—and, in some cases, there was a considerable area of agreement. In the early part of the year, our discussions on Southern Rhodesia showed that, although perhaps the Committee could not have agreed unanimously on a detailed statement, we were able to agree virtually unanimously on a general line of approach. We were able to agree on a brief that was taken to London by a sub-committee to discuss with the British Government. Many of us felt that, rather than put resolutions to a vote and perhaps divide the Committee unnecessarily and prematurely, it was better for each of us to look at the others as partners, for the Committee as a whole to look upon itself as a partner with the Administering Authority of the relevant territory in trying to achieve the objectives for the territory. We felt that sometimes, by stimulating, by suggesting, by watching, we would make more effective progress than by trying to agree on a form of words from which certain key members would dissent.

52. On the whole, my own view is that the work of the Committee of Seventeen was better at the beginning of the year than toward the end. At the beginning of the year, the Committee took much longer over its

tasks. Some representatives might feel inclined to criticize that and to say that speed is essential. But speed by itself is not an objective. What we need is speed that will lead to effective and just results.

53. The Committee spent a lot of time on Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After a lengthy debate on Southern Rhodesia, in which it heard petitioners and had a detailed discussion, a sub-committee was set up which went to London—a sub-committee of six, all of them non-administering Powers. They had frank talks with the United Kingdom Government. The United Kingdom Government took this visit very seriously. The sub-committee was received by the most senior Ministers in the British Cabinet. It had an effect on British thinking, just as it had an effect on the thinking and understanding here in the United Nations. I think this was a profitable and productive way for the Committee to work, and, whatever our opinion may be about this question of Southern Rhodesia which is so difficult to handle—difficult in its basic elements, quite apart from attitudes of government—I think the Committee of Seventeen can take some credit for its contribution.

54. Later in the year, however, for a variety of reasons, the Committee was unable in the case of certain territories, I believe, to give adequate consideration. Votes were sometimes forced on draft resolutions that had not been submitted to sufficient examination or which did not properly reflect the situation. But these things happen in any body. I do not take too gloomy a view of a situation in which things have not, perhaps, gone in the way in which my Government would have wanted them to go. There is no ground for despair. There was lack of time, particularly at the end, and I think the Committee tried to do too much in too short a time because it was conscious that the General Assembly was about to meet and expected a report. Therefore, perhaps it tried to cover too many territories and to cover them too quickly. But next year there will be further work and new and wider examination of some of the territories already considered.

55. I believe that most Member countries made an honest attempt to contribute to the work of the Committee and that we must not judge that work only by what has appeared in the report. We must remember also the discussions that took place behind the scenes among all of us, and the impact that that has had on the thinking of all of us. We must not expect always that this is going to find immediate expression. After all, we know that in our own Governments it takes some time for policies to work their way into the machine and to secure acceptance by everyone who is called upon to carry them out. The United Nations has this sort of influence which I think we are sometimes apt to underestimate or to overlook—the indirect pressure, the indirect influence that responsible discussion can have, the responsible discussion that is sometimes more important than resolutions.

56. I have said that most Member countries made an honest attempt to contribute to the work of the Committee. I should, however, say something about the attitude of the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union, both in the Committee itself and here in this debate, has referred to the attitude of what it has called the Western Countries, and it has said that the Western Countries—presumably including Australia—have not honestly discharged their obligations. During the work of the Committee of Seventeen the Soviet Union has again and again attempted to use colonialism as part

of the cold war, and has sought to divide the Committee. I am thinking of one occasion and the discussion of one territory where the Soviet Union deliberately forced a vote when other countries, including the African-Asian countries, were aiming at a consensus and were trying to widen the area of agreement rather than to establish or to crystallize differences. The Soviet Union has criticized other countries, but in the case of its own territories it takes refuge in Article 2, paragraph 7, referring to domestic jurisdiction. The Charter applies to all countries and to all peoples. The Charter is not limited to those who are within the present jurisdiction of Western countries, and in this connexion I shall quote a statement made in the Australian House of Representatives on 11 October 1962 by Sir Garfield Barwick, the Australian Minister for External Affairs. He said:

"I hold the view that this general Declaration"—that is, the Declaration on ending colonialism—"does apply to the peoples who are in subjugation to the Soviet Union and to Communist China, and I hope that in due course the United Nations will direct its attention to those territories. It is noticeable that while Great Britain is busy granting independence to so many people the Soviet Union and Communist China are busy extending their empires and increasing the areas of subjugation."

57. Let me now make some remarks about what the Committee of Seventeen should do. I think that an indication of my views will have emerged from remarks I have already made. In the first place, the Committee should satisfy itself that the Administering Authorities are making an honest attempt, at a reasonable pace and in reasonable ways, to give effect to the provisions of the Charter on self-determination. The Committee should stimulate the Administering Authorities—stimulate them in many ways, stimulate them with ideas, stimulate them with questions. I speak as the representative of an Administering Authority, and we have never resented the interest of the United Nations. On the contrary, we have welcomed it and we have tried to take account of the views that are expressed here, either by the United Nations, as the United Nations, or by individual countries in their contributions to debates. Differences of opinion will exist, but these differences of opinion are not only in the United Nations, the Committee of Seventeen and other bodies of the Organization. There are differences inside the territories. There are differences inside the Administering Authorities. And in the case of all of us who have free parliaments and a free Press that can report what is going on in the world there is discussion—frequent discussion, that is informed and that, in various ways, reflects what is stated here and what representatives here and their Governments at home are saying.

58. Administering Authorities, for their part, have responsibilities. They have, of course, a responsibility as Administering Authorities, to give effect to the Charter, to maintain law and order in the territory and to keep it as an organized form of society, an organized Political structure moving to independence. They have a responsibility to avoid a break-down of law and order, a break-down of social services. They have a responsibility to avoid a break-down of health services or a break-down of the economic system. The Administering Authorities have an obligation to give consideration to the views of United Na-

tions bodies and to the views expressed by individual countries here. An Administering Authority knows that if it ignores those views or recommendations it is doing so with its eyes open and has to make a responsible choice and understand why it is not following the view expressed here.

59. I believe that others, in addition to making constructive criticisms and suggestions, have a responsibility not to embarrass either the Administering Authorities or the peoples working in the territories by whipping up emotion unjustifiably or by making reconciliation among the various elements in a territory more difficult. I know that this is often a matter of opinion. Naturally, Administering Authorities tend to take a rather different view from outsiders. It is a matter of opinion in each case. But there have been cases where sometimes outside intervention has tended to make agreement, conciliation and the emergence of a functioning State more difficult.

60. Neither are declaratory statements sufficient. It is not enough to adopt a simple resolution calling for immediate independence. It is useful to keep the objective of independence constantly before the minds of everybody and to stimulate everyone concerned. But a mere declaratory statement will not bring an independent State into existence; it will not create an economy; it will not reconcile conflicting elements in a community.

61. I think it is very important for members of the Committee of Seventeen to be conscious in their work of the standing that a United Nations body can have, and of the great influence it can have, if it is respected and if its pronouncements and decisions are realistic. In that way they will command some influence and respect among the people of a territory. If a resolution is adopted which, in the abstract, has some appeal to persons who are not living in a territory but is unrealistic to those who are living in it, then it will not have the effect we want. Such an unrealistic resolution will undermine the prestige of the Committee of Seventeen or of the United Nations in a particular situation.

62. I shall sum up in this way. Australia believes in self-determination as an objective for all peoples in the world. We believe it is the obligation of all of us, jointly and severally, to promote self-determination for all peoples. We believe in the elimination of discrimination based on colour, race or religion, among all peoples of the world, colonial and independent. We want to see emerge in all colonial territories a society where there has been genuine self-determination and where there is no discrimination on grounds of race, sex or religion and where everyone has an equal opportunity to play a part in the economic, social and political life of the country. We want the change from colonial to independent status to be brought about, if possible, without chaos or destruction, because it is important to set new States off with as good a start as possible. We want to set them off with as good an opportunity as possible in terms of capital equipment, internal and external markets, a structure of education and a constitutional governmental system. We do not want these things, where they already exist to some measure, to be destroyed in unnecessary fighting or conflict or social turmoil.

89. Australia will continue to co-operate with the United Nations in achieving these objectives. We shall co-operate as an administering Power, as a member of the Committee of Seventeen and in pursuance of the

obligations that fall on all Members of the United Nations, Administering Authorities and non-Administering Authorities alike.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.