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PLENARY MEETING**

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## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Statement by the President . . . . .</i>	561
<i>Decision concerning the procedure of the meeting . . . . .</i>	561
<i>Agenda item 68:</i>	
<i>United Nations Library: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)</i>	
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee . . . . .</i>	561
<i>Agenda items 13, 50 and 51:</i>	
<i>Report of the Trusteeship Council</i>	
<i>Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General</i>	
<i>Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General</i>	
<i>Report of the Fourth Committee . . . . .</i>	561
<i>Agenda item 77:</i>	
<i>Enlargement of the International Law Commission</i>	
<i>Reports of the Sixth Committee and of the Fifth Committee. . . . .</i>	562
<i>Agenda items 73 and 72:</i>	
<i>Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal (continued)</i>	
<i>The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests under effective international control (continued)</i>	
<i>Report of the First Committee (part II) . . .</i>	564
<i>Agenda item 88:</i>	
<i>The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples . .</i>	568

**President:** Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

### Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The agenda for this meeting consists of five items. It is my intention to submit first to the Assembly the first three of these items which should not give rise to any major discussion and which were referred to us by the Fifth, Fourth and Sixth Committees respectively. The first of these is agenda item 68 concerning the United Nations Library; the second consists of items 13, 50 and 51, concerning the report of the Trusteeship Council, the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories, and offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust

Territories; the third consists of agenda item 77, concerning the enlargement of the International Law Commission. We shall then take up agenda items 73 and 72. The first of these relates to the continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal, the second to the urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests under effective international control. The First Committee has asked us to give these two items urgent consideration in plenary. Lastly, we shall take up agenda item 88, concerning the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. The discussion of this item will probably require a number of meetings.

### Decision concerning the procedure of the meeting

*In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth, Fourth, Sixth and First Committees.*

## AGENDA ITEM 68

United Nations Library: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)\*

### REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4952)

2. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Under the terms of the draft resolution in paragraph 2 of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/4952], the General Assembly is asked only to take note of the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Library. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee is adopted by the General Assembly.

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEMS 13, 50 AND 51

### Report of the Trusteeship Council

Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General

### REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4950)

3. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil) Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (translated from French): The report of the Fourth Committee [A/4950] is a comprehensive document which, I think, reflects to some extent the

\* Resumed from the 1037th meeting.

positive results of the International Trusteeship System; at the same time, it contains recommendations which the Fourth Committee believes will do something to help the few Territories still under that System to achieve the final objective as defined in Article 76 b of the United Nations Charter.

4. The Committee considered together the three items on its agenda which concerned the Trusteeship System: report of the Trusteeship Council; dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories; and offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories.

5. Several draft resolutions were discussed in the order in which their sponsors had submitted them to the Committee. The first of these appears in paragraph 31 of the report and concerns the future of Tanganyika.

6. When this Territory achieves independence in approximately one month, it will be the sixth Trust Territory chronologically to do so. The recommendations of the Fourth Committee regarding this Territory are similar to those adopted by the Assembly at the beginning of this session with respect to Western Samoa.

7. I am sure that I am speaking for all members of the Committee when I express my most sincere congratulations and good wishes to the Government and people of this new country and when I tell this country that we are awaiting the day when we shall have the pleasure of welcoming it into this community of nations.

8. The history of the Trusteeship System is rapidly approaching its conclusion.

9. The other draft resolutions in the report of the Fourth Committee recommend measures equally consistent with the spirit of that history.

10. The Committee adopted this report on the understanding that agenda item 13, concerning the general report of the Trusteeship Council, would be left in abeyance in case other draft resolutions were submitted in regard to it. In fact, the Committee decided not to vote on one of the draft resolutions before it until the Assembly had considered item 88 of its agenda (see paragraphs 24 to 26 of the report).

11. Members of the Assembly are asked to note that a corrigendum [A/4950/Corr.1] has been circulated. Its purpose is to bring the French text of the operative paragraph of draft resolution V more into line with the original English.

12. With these few introductory remarks I place the report of the Fourth Committee before the Assembly for its consideration.

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Do any delegations wish to explain their votes on the various draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee?

14. As it appears that no delegations wish to do so, we shall proceed to vote on the five draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee and appearing in that Committee's report [A/4950].

15. Draft resolution I, concerning the future of Tanganyika, was adopted unanimously by the Fourth Committee. If there are no observations I shall consider that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

*Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously.*

16. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Draft resolution II, concerning offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories, was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. If there are no observations, I shall consider that the Assembly also adopts it without opposition.

*Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously.*

17. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Draft resolution III, concerning dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories, was also adopted without opposition by the Fourth Committee. If there are no observations, I shall consider that the plenary Assembly also adopts it without opposition.

*Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously.*

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Draft resolution IV, concerning the Sub-Committee on the questionnaire relating to Trust Territories, was adopted unanimously by the Fourth Committee. If there are no observations, I shall consider that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted unanimously.*

19. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now come to draft resolution V, concerning the hearing of petitioners in connexion with the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. This draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection; if there are no observations, I shall consider that the Assembly also adopts it without objection.

*Draft resolution V was adopted unanimously.*

## AGENDA ITEM 77

### Enlargement of the International Law Commission

#### REPORTS OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE AND THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4939 AND A/4946)

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Speakers will be limited to explanations of vote.

21. Mr. BRESSON (Upper Volta) (translated from French): I do not think that lengthy arguments will be necessary to obtain the Assembly's approval with regard to extending the period for the submission of nominations to the International Law Commission. I am personally very glad of this because, as it is easy to see, an unfortunate case of laryngitis makes it impossible for me to speak at any length—a fact that can only be a source of satisfaction to the Assembly.

22. The amendment submitted to us by the group of the Union of African and Malagasy States seeks to settle a problem that has arisen following the enlargement of the International Law Commission. In its report [A/4939] the Sixth Committee, with very praiseworthy unanimity, submits to us a draft resolution which would increase the membership of the International Law Commission from twenty-one to twenty-five. With the same praiseworthy unanimity the members of the Sixth Committee stated that the primary purpose of the enlargement was to ensure equitable representation for the new African Member States in the International Law Commission. However, if we abide strictly by the provisions of that Commission's Statute, that purpose will not be achieved, because the period for the nomination of candidates for election to the Commission for the present session

of the General Assembly has already expired. Since the list of candidates presented before 1 June 1961 includes very few Africans, an election based on that list could not take into account the new factor—the enlargement of the Commission.

23. It seems essential, therefore, that the Assembly should decide, as an exceptional measure, to accept nominations submitted after the expiry of the period prescribed by the Statute. We are confident that it will agree to carry through to its conclusion the gesture of equity that inspired its action. There is no doubt that the Assembly has the power to take such a decision.

24. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): The draft resolution [A/4939] submitted to the General Assembly for consideration after unanimous adoption by the Sixth Committee meets the unavoidable practical needs of the United Nations in its new membership. The special purpose of the proposal to enlarge the membership of the International Law Commission was to ensure equitable representation for all the great legal systems of the world. Accordingly, in initiating that proposal, the United States delegation explained that the two new seats in question were intended for the African States. However, my delegation, along with other Asian and African delegations, considered that the membership should be expanded to twenty-five. The Sixth Committee unanimously endorsed our position, after a very interesting discussion worthy of the juridical competence of the participants.

25. The contribution that each region of the world has made to the development of international law and law in general was brought out in the course of that discussion. Reference was made in particular to the contributions made by Western Europe, the socialist countries, the countries of Latin America and the countries of Africa and Asia—those African and Asian countries to which the four new seats have been assigned, through the unanimous decision of the Sixth Committee.

26. If the contributions of Eastern and Western Europe and of the North American and Latin American countries have been generally recognized, the immense contribution made by the group of African and Asian countries should also be acknowledged. To use the word "immense" is no exaggeration, having regard to the dual contribution these countries have made in the past to domestic and international law and having regard also to the contribution of these same African and Asian countries to the development of the new international law and to the fundamental changes it has undergone.

27. As far as the old ordinary law is concerned, it is surely unnecessary to recall that the earliest codifications handed down to us from ancient times, to which we constantly refer and which serve as models for the codification work of the International Law Commission, are of African and Asian origin at least as much as European. Were not the first Roman codes, the code of Hermogenianus and the Theodosian Code, drafted by the professors of the Beirut school of law? Did not that same school, whose glory was equal to that of the Roman school, provide two great jurists—Anatolius and Dorotheus—to contribute to Justinian's codification? Need I recall that Gaius, a native of Anatolia, and Papinian and Ulpian, of Phoenician origin, taught at that school?

28. The great principles of law which for ever constitute the foundation of all juridical science thus represent a creative achievement to which the countries of Africa and Asia have made an enormous contribution. The development of law which the International Law Commission seeks to achieve will forever be inspired by these eternal principles of justice.

29. As for the modern transformations of international law, these were sparked by the accession to independence of the United States and the States of Latin America, consecrating the right of self-determination of peoples. But it will be recalled that this consecration of the new principle did not finally condemn every kind of colonization in Asia and Africa, whether this involved colonies, protectorates or other forms of subjection. In other words, the right of self-determination of peoples had not been recognized as a universally applicable institution. The accession of the peoples of Asia and Africa to freedom and independence and the final condemnation of colonialism thanks to the efforts of those same peoples—these were needed before international law could undergo this radical transformation.

30. I venture to assert that the emancipation of these nations of Africa and Asia, followed by their admission to membership in the international Organization, alone brought about this transformation, this revival, of international law. The countries of Latin America, after their emancipation, contributed greatly to the development of the new law, and the names of their great jurists are met with at every turn in the road that has been followed for the past century.

31. In the same way, it is the role of the African and Asian nations to promote the new law which was born at the same time as themselves. A new spirit must guide the development and the codification of the legal institutions governing relations between States and nations, a spirit born of the African and Asian renaissance. Is this not the justification for the desired participation of these countries which have played a part in the formation of international law from ancient times to the present day?

32. However, for their participation to be effective, the African countries must be able to put forward qualified candidates. My delegation therefore supports the amendment [A/L.361] submitted by the delegations of the African countries and introduced just now by the representative of Upper Volta. It greatly hopes that this amendment will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has before it an amendment [A/L.361] which twelve African countries have submitted to the draft resolution which the Sixth Committee recommends for adoption in its report [A/4939]. If there are neither observations nor objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this amendment.

*The amendment was adopted.*

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution appearing in the report of the Sixth Committee [A/4939], as just amended by the adoption of the twelve-Power amendment [A/L.361]. If there are no objections I shall consider that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee.

*The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted.*



## AGENDA ITEMS 73 AND 72

**Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal (continued)\***

**The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests under effective international control (continued)\***

**REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART II)  
(A/4942/ADD.1)**

*Mr. Enckell (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

35. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration a report [A/4942/Add.1] which is the second part of the First Committee's report on the items now under consideration in the Committee, namely the "Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal" and "The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests under effective international control".

36. According to the wish expressed by the First Committee, this report deals specifically with one particular draft resolution, the adoption of which the Committee, considering the importance of the matter, has decided to recommend to the General Assembly without delay and before completing consideration of the two items now before it.

37. After having been debated during six consecutive meetings, this draft resolution, which deals with the cessation of nuclear test explosions, was adopted as modified by the two amendments which had been approved by the Committee. I have the honour to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution which appears in this report.

38. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now hear explanations of vote. I call on the representative of the Netherlands.

39. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): During the discussion in the First Committee I stated [1180th meeting] that my delegation understood and shared the feelings and considerations which prompted the delegations of India and other countries to introduce the draft resolution on a test ban moratorium which is now before us.

40. My delegation feels that, from whatever angle this question is approached, humanitarian considerations should be given full weight. On the other hand, it is our conviction that a voluntary, uncontrolled moratorium on nuclear tests is inadequate and is not appropriate to achieve the purpose which we all have in mind, that purpose being the rapid discontinuance of all nuclear explosions on all continents and in all environments.

41. In our view, the only proper means of attaining a reliable and lasting discontinuance of tests is the conclusion of an international treaty containing the necessary provisions for effective control.

42. It is for these two sets of reasons combined that my delegation will abstain on the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee [A/4942/Add.1].

43. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In the First Committee the Soviet delegation gave a detailed account of the reasons why it cannot accept the draft resolution [A/4942/Add.1, para. 8], which deals with the question of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests separately from the problems of general and complete disarmament.

44. The characteristic features of the present international situation are the feverish armaments race and the intensive military preparations of the Western Powers. In reply to the Soviet Union's decision to conclude a German peace treaty and thus close the accounts of the Second World War, the United States and its allies in aggressive blocs have started to make open military threats against the Soviet Union. The atmosphere continues to become more strained and heated and the threat of war is growing. This has compelled the Soviet Union to take steps to increase its defensive capacity and protect its security.

45. The Soviet delegation draws the Assembly's attention to the fact that the United States and its NATO allies, the United Kingdom and France, have carried out, in all, some 200 nuclear test explosions which, according to the Western Powers themselves, is nearly two-and-a-half times more than the number carried out by the Soviet Union. Everyone will understand that, in carrying out such a large number of explosions, the Western NATO bloc was seeking to acquire a definite military advantage.

46. In such circumstances the adoption of a resolution on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests in isolation from general and complete disarmament would be tantamount to voting in favour of establishing a military advantage for the aggressive NATO bloc and would constitute an attempt to assist this bloc in its endeavour to hinder the Soviet Union's measures to reinforce its defensive capacity. It is only the superior strength of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving States which can halt the aggressor in his plan to unleash war.

47. In evaluating the draft resolution submitted, it is also impossible to overlook the fact that the partisans of the Western bloc in the Committee succeeded in eliminating the references to disarmament from the draft resolution contained in the First Committee's report [A/4942/Add.1]. It is regrettable that the sponsors of the draft resolution should have agreed to this.

48. The Western Powers managed to insert in this draft resolution a clause reflecting the United States position, thus making it unobjective, one-sided in substance and even more unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

49. For the reasons given, the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted for the General Assembly's consideration. The Soviet delegation once again declares that the question of the cessation of all and any nuclear weapon tests can be solved only in connexion with general and complete disarmament. Only with such an approach to the solution of this problem will it be possible to ensure the adoption of a decision which will be fully capable of implementation and will not represent yet another in the series of still-born resolutions.

50. Mr. DEAN (United States of America): The Assembly is now debating part II of the report of the First Committee [A/4942/Add.1]. This report

\* Resumed from the 1043rd meeting.

contains a draft resolution calling for an uncontrolled, uninspected moratorium on nuclear tests. We had such a moratorium, which the United States observed meticulously, until 1 September 1961, when the moratorium was rudely shattered when the Soviet Union began to explode nuclear devices in the atmosphere. I submit that the Assembly should not again approve such an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium. Unfortunately, the world now knows precisely what happens as a result of such unsupervised appeals.

51. Last spring, the world had every right to believe that a nuclear test ban treaty was on the verge of consummation at Geneva. For a time it looked as if the war on war itself would have a victory. But as we now know, this victory over war was stolen from our grasp by the Soviet Union. And so we must once more begin the long uphill climb to the vantage point from which a nuclear test ban treaty will again be in sight.

52. Our efforts must now be devoted to the achievements of progress, not to the achievement of delay. We must move with firmness and determination in the face of one of the greatest challenges this world and humanity have ever known. Calls for the cessation of nuclear testing without the means of knowing effectively that such tests have stopped are, I submit, steps backward. While we have talked about disarmament and have talked about a cessation of nuclear tests, we have done little to reach those goals. While we have talked much about the means of saving this planet, we have also done much to improve our power to destroy it. The Assembly must put aside the feeling of futility resulting from the unfortunate events of the past several months. We must put our failures behind us and not re-endorse them.

53. For these reasons we have asked the General Assembly to support the United Kingdom-United States efforts to break the deadlocked Conference<sup>1/</sup> on the nuclear test ban treaty at Geneva. Surely the powerful force of a decision of the Assembly should support our efforts to find a solution to the problems at which we have laboured so long at Geneva.

54. The United States Government shares the horror of the sponsors of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee regarding the resumption of nuclear weapons tests. Indeed, when the United States Government had the real possibility of a choice on this question the United States did not resume nuclear testing. The United States stands as well against the spread of nuclear weapons to new countries, the poisoning of the atmosphere and the threat of nuclear war.

55. The world knows from bitter experience that an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium will not stop nuclear testing. It has failed before. Indeed, it failed this past week when the resolution [1632 (XVI)] on the 50 megaton bomb was rudely shattered by a tremendous explosion from the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet Union has exploded several further nuclear devices in the megaton range in the atmosphere over this past week-end. These have occurred since its explosion of the device in the range of 50 megatons.

56. So another uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium would put a premium on secret preparations by the Soviet Union for testing. It would put a premium on these unannounced, quickly executed atmospheric

tests by the Soviet Union, and on a coldly calculated, well-timed bow to world opinion by stopping its current series of tests when the present rapid test programme has been concluded, and studies for a new test series become the new order of the violator's business. The uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium also pays high dividends for the closed and secret societies within the iron curtain, where clandestine tests may be carried on and where—because there are no international control posts or inspection teams, and no right to install them—military progress can be made through secret testing which heightens the risk of aggression and raises cold war tension. Being in favour of an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium is, therefore, a little like being against fire—that is, being morally opposed to fire, but at the same time refusing to provide any men, any ladders, any hoses, any trucks, any equipment or any supply of water with which to put out the fire.

57. Thus, a moratorium serves neither the cause of peace, nor the cause of international collaboration, nor the cause of building confidence and friendship among nations. The world has been in this trap before. The Soviet Union, at its own instigation, violated the moratorium. I submit that the free world cannot afford to enter into such a situation again.

58. As for the United States, we shall continue to press, as we have for the past three years, for an effective, internationally supervised nuclear test ban treaty which will have as its objective the banning of all nuclear tests, in outer space, in the atmosphere, on and under the oceans and underground. Nuclear tests, I submit, cannot be stopped by propitiation, whoever may be the propitiators. Nuclear tests can be stopped only by effective negotiation and action and a signed treaty. Deeds are required. The Assembly must do all in its power to take effective action—and effective action here and now—to bring about the stopping of all further nuclear tests.

59. I do not imply that the problems of nuclear test-ban treaty control are easy. Indeed, they are not. For the past three years the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have sat around a negotiating table in Geneva to work out the problems of effective treaty control. Indeed, significant progress was made. Agreements were reached in the process of serious give and take negotiations. A large portion of a draft treaty was adopted by the Conference. Then, at the close of 1960, the Conference was recessed.

60. Upon taking office in January 1961, President Kennedy called for an immediate and intensive review of United States policy to overcome the remaining obstacles and to bring the Geneva Conference to a successful conclusion. The United Kingdom and the United States submitted far-reaching and forward-looking proposals in an effort to meet all of the points which had been previously raised by the Soviet Union. Every effort was made to meet all of the legitimate Soviet reservations. All of these proposals were carefully and indeed painstakingly combined into a draft treaty by the United Kingdom and the United States. That draft [A/4772], which has been circulated to the General Assembly, includes all these new positions as well as every previously agreed upon treaty article. On 28 August 1961 the United Kingdom and the United States made two further proposals in order to ensure that the nuclear test ban treaty would for all practical purposes effectively end all tests in all environments. Those representatives who

<sup>1/</sup> Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, opened at Geneva on 31 October 1958.



are interested may find the details in our White Paper,<sup>2/</sup> on page 577. This draft treaty promises to end the fear of all nuclear tests and all radio-active fall-out through a solemn pledge of all signatory nations not further to test nuclear weapons. This treaty is not only a pledge to cease tests but is, indeed, a pledge to facilitate the measures of international inspection and control required to keep and safeguard the pledge to stop further nuclear testing. But the Soviet Union, despite its previous indications that if these points were met it would sign such a treaty, reacted very strongly to this new initiative by the United Kingdom and the United States

61. The Soviet Union immediately retracted agreements it had previously accepted. The Soviet Union rejected Western proposals it had urgently sought before. It made a shambles of the proposed administrative set-up of the treaty organization by proposing that the single administrator should be replaced with three men, each of whom would have the right to veto the actions of the other two. Of course, all of us know now that this seemingly strange Soviet behaviour was a well-planned campaign to provide a smoke-screen for the Soviet preparations for a resumption of nuclear tests, and that this refusal of the Soviet Union to negotiate at Geneva in good faith was part and parcel of its plan to increase world tensions by its behaviour with respect to the problem of West Berlin.

62. While the Soviet negotiators at Geneva fought a well-planned rearguard action, what were the Soviet generals and scientists and political leaders doing? At the same time they were secretly planning and preparing for a series of tests, and to have these tests take place in the atmosphere, where they would spew out poisonous radio-active material to the detriment of humanity and future generations. And at what the Soviets deemed to be the most propitious moment, just before the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries,<sup>3/</sup> this campaign of intimidation and terror was begun. The world was promised a 100-megaton bomb to terrorize it into a state of Soviet "peace", a peaceful coexistence where the Soviet Union can bury the free world.

63. The Soviet series of tests begun on 1 September 1961 has passed the announced date of its conclusion and indeed, as I said before, is still continuing. Thus far there have been well over thirty-one Soviet explosions in the atmosphere. These nuclear tests have vastly increased the possibility of ultimate disaster for all of us and have greatly increased the amount of world-wide radio-active fall-out.

64. The Assembly just heard the representative of the Soviet Union mention the arithmetical number of these tests. But I say to you, with all solemnness, that all Soviet nuclear tests to date in the atmosphere have produced substantially more—I repeat, substantially more—world-wide radio-active fall-out than all of the tests undertaken by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Republic of France in the period from 1945 to the present. So do not be deceived by this Soviet game of arithmetical numbers. Let us concentrate on how much they have contaminated the atmosphere.

<sup>2/</sup> United States Disarmament Administration, Department of State, Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests: History and Analysis of Negotiations (Department of State publication 7258, Disarmament Series 4, October 1961).  
<sup>3/</sup> Held 1-6 September 1961.

65. Therefore, I submit, there is only one safe, sure way to stop for all practical purposes, all nuclear tests in all environments and to stop them permanently and quickly. That is to negotiate and to sign a complete nuclear test ban treaty as proposed by the United Kingdom and the United States. Some have suggested that the voting of a moratorium would stop further Soviet testing. But I submit that it has not done so in the past. We have seen it fail. Others have suggested that without a treaty, or without a treaty organization, or without the right to set up control posts on another nation's territory, or without the right of international inspection, there might be some way to end nuclear tests. But what would such a moratorium look like? It is very hard to say. Certainly, I submit, it would be very difficult for any State to permit the institution of inspection on its territory or the setting up of control posts on its territory, manned by nationals of another State, without an express treaty governing the operation of these inspections and of these control posts. The more you would study what you had to do under a moratorium, in order to get inspection and controls, the more you would find that if there were inspection and controls—as there are not in the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee—it would more nearly approach the type of treaty which the United Kingdom and the United States offer to the Soviet Union to end all tests.

66. The United States stands ready to sign or negotiate such a treaty immediately, today, here in New York, or to return to Geneva. We would start these negotiations immediately and we believe that the resulting differences should not be too difficult to resolve. The United States and the United Kingdom have made no unreasonable demands. We have issued no ultimata. We have issued no threats. We merely wish to return to fruitful negotiations on a treaty, so that we can put an effective end, for the benefit of the entire world, for all time, to this awful and awesome business of nuclear testing. We stand ready, and pledge ourselves to devote all of our resources and all of our abilities to the swiftest possible conclusion of these treaty negotiations.

67. I submit that a nuclear test ban treaty is the path of peace, but an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium can only lead to further confusion, delusion and, what is worse, to deceit of the type which has been continuously carried out under the moratorium that was broken on 1 September by the Soviet Union. Therefore, if the Assembly honestly desires to stop all further nuclear testing, it should call upon all Powers concerned to sign a nuclear test ban treaty here and now, and not to go through the excessively polite but, I submit, excessively empty, gesture of voting for an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium, while the Soviet Union continues with its contemptuous, and indeed hazardous, actions both to humanity and generations as yet unborn.

68. It is for these reasons that the Government of the United States will vote against the draft resolution of the First Committee for an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium.

69. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I do not intend to detain the General Assembly long on matters which we have discussed in Committee and on which we have already put forth our views quite clearly. The First Committee in its report [A/4942/Add.1] has recommended to us a draft resolution which calls for an immediate voluntary and uncontrolled moratorium on nuclear weapon tests. It also subscribes,

it is true, to other objectives, including the need urgently to conclude a treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests under effective international control.

70. There is much in the draft resolution, and in particular the reference to the need for an effective treaty, with which the United Kingdom delegation wholeheartedly agrees and for which we have voted. We are in entire sympathy with the motives which underlie this draft resolution; that is, the stopping of nuclear weapon tests.

71. There is a basic difference of opinion between our own view, on the one hand, and that of those who support the appeal for an uncontrolled moratorium on nuclear weapon tests. We in the United Kingdom are, I venture to assert, every bit as anxious to put an end to nuclear weapon tests, every bit as worried about fall-out in atmospheric tests, as any delegation which voted for this draft resolution in Committee. But we do not consider that this draft resolution offers a solution. The actions of the Soviet Government have shown that an uncontrolled moratorium does not work. The representative of the United States, speaking to us a few moments ago, reminded us very forcefully of that fact. We cannot again jeopardize our safety by exercising in good faith a self-denial which others, as we have so recently found to our cost, do not observe, even when they have pledged themselves, and pledged themselves most solemnly to it. We cannot again put restraint on our freedom to promote the security of our own defence by testing nuclear weapons unless we can be certain that others are doing so, too. I would suggest that that is not an unreasonable attitude to take.

72. We are, therefore, however reluctantly, constrained to vote against the draft resolution before us. I say "reluctantly", because I do respect the motives of those who put it forward. But for the reasons which I have stated and those we have developed in Committee, I do not think it would be right for us to do otherwise; it would not be realistic, it would not take account of the facts, and I believe it would not be honest. The draft resolution now before us is, I am afraid, unrealistic in this sense. On so grave a matter, I do not think the United Nations can afford to be unrealistic. The problem needs a solution that will work, and my delegation sees no other than that proposed in the draft resolution which was passed by the First Committee [see A/4942/Add.1] only this morning, and which seeks to get negotiations on a treaty going again on a hopeful basis.

73. Anyone listening this afternoon to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union, anyone who listened to him and did not know the simple facts, might think that it was the West which had broken the moratorium, might think it was the West which was indulging in these provocative acts that have led to the contamination of the atmosphere, and at a rate never before seen. It was a fantastic statement that he made; really, one must get back to reality. I do not propose to develop the arguments here; I do not think this is the time. I would only say in relation to that speech that there is one simple fact we have to remember: the West was sitting ready at Geneva to conclude an agreement at the very time that the Soviets walked out and started to conduct this massive and horrible series of tests, as a result of which the whole world will suffer. This is a fact which none of the talk by the representative of the Soviet Union can erase. It is a harsh fact. It is a fact that we in

the Assembly are faced with. And it is against that background that I say we have to look at the draft resolution before us, just as it is against that background that we can dismiss with contempt the speech which was delivered by the representative of the Soviet Union, because it did not face up to the facts of the situation at all. I am very sorry that we are not closer to unanimity on this issue. But I would say that in so far as my delegation is concerned, we are ready, in spite of all that has happened, to sign at once a treaty which will immediately stop all nuclear weapon tests under effective international control. And in spite of all that has happened, in spite of what the Soviet Union has said, I would say that even now, at this late hour, we look to them to rejoin us at the conference table so that we may get back to effective work. But in so far as the draft resolution is concerned, for the reasons I have given, we cannot support it today.

74. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): I thank the President very much for giving me this opportunity to say a few words.

75. In the report of the First Committee [A/4942/Add.1] under discussion, there is a draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Assembly. This draft resolution was originally submitted in the First Committee by my delegation together with five other delegations. Later, a number of representatives of the Latin American States moved an amendment to our draft resolution, which was adopted by the Committee by a large majority. This amendment forms paragraph 3 of the draft resolution recommended now for consideration by the General Assembly.

76. A phrase "or general and complete disarmament" occurring at the end of operative paragraph 2 in the original submitted by us was deleted by a vote in the First Committee. While we would have liked to retain this phrase, we nevertheless feel that neither the insertion of paragraph 3 nor the deletion of this phrase, "or general and complete disarmament" from paragraph 2, alters the basic character of our original proposal. The main purpose of this proposal is that nuclear and thermonuclear tests which are now being conducted should be stopped immediately, and that the atomic Powers should return to the negotiating table and speedily conclude a treaty providing for an appropriate system of international control and inspection.

77. As the Members of the General Assembly here know, this draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 72 in favour, 21 against, with 8 abstentions. That vote itself is indicative of the massive support behind our plea that, pending negotiations for the necessary agreements concerning the cessation and prohibition of atomic tests, no such tests should be conducted at any time in any environment by any Power. What is more important is the fact that these seventy-two positive votes in support of this draft resolution represent the great mass of public opinion in the world which is categorically and uncompromisingly opposed to test explosions. These test explosions cause not only fall-out hazards of unprecedented dimensions, but also result in an augmentation of the nuclear arms race. Such an arms race, far from leading to security or stability, brings us nearer to a cataclysmic nuclear holocaust. We have, therefore, no doubt that the draft resolution before the Assembly will receive an even larger number of votes than it did in the First Committee.



78. It is a matter of profound regret and concern to my delegation that the great Powers, the nuclear Powers—all of them—voted against this draft resolution in the First Committee. This opposition of the nuclear Powers to the steps proposed in the draft resolution now recommended by the First Committee is, I submit, not in keeping with their special responsibilities and obligations under the Charter of the Organization: to ensure the welfare and progress of humanity and to maintain and strengthen international peace.

79. The nuclear Powers are certainly aware of the prevailing sentiment among the masses of people all over the world, that nuclear and thermonuclear tests are an evil and that the sooner our world is rid of that evil, the better for all concerned. Once again I appeal to them not to turn a deaf ear to the pleas of humanity that these tests be stopped forthwith. It is urgently necessary for these Powers to return to the negotiating table to conclude the requisite internationally binding agreements, providing for appropriate international control and inspection, to ban nuclear and thermonuclear tests of all kinds, in all environments and by all concerned, once and for all. It would help create a proper climate for these negotiations if the tests were to be immediately suspended. We therefore once again plead with the nuclear Powers in the Assembly to suspend these tests, to return to the negotiations and complete the task which the Assembly entrusted to them.

80. In the course of the discussions on this question in the First Committee, as well as in one of the statements we heard just now, it has been suggested that this draft resolution seeks the resumption of an uninspected, uncontrolled moratorium in preference to a treaty providing for international control and inspection. This, I submit, is certainly not the case. We have repeatedly stated that we are strongly in favour of a treaty providing for a system of control and inspection. As may be seen from the document itself, it does not merely say that the tests should be stopped: it proceeds further and expresses confidence that: "the States concerned will reach agreement as soon as possible on the cessation of tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, under appropriate international control"; it proceeds further and calls upon "the Powers concerned to engage themselves with urgency and speed in the necessary efforts to conclude such agreements expeditiously".

81. I submit that this draft resolution makes it quite clear that it is more than a request for a mere moratorium. Our position, however, is that pending the conclusion of such a treaty there must be a suspension of tests. The suspension of tests ought not to be tied up with the setting up a system of control and inspection, as it may take some time to negotiate the details of such a system. As my Prime Minister said yesterday, if measures of inspection or control can be agreed upon and arranged with the consent of all concerned, we should welcome such inspection and control even during a moratorium. What we are opposed to is a nuclear arms race—and, what is worse, an uninhibited one at that. As I said in the First Committee [1185th meeting], it is our belief that such an arms race cannot be justified on the grounds of the security of this or that people. The future of the world, the well-being of humanity as a whole are at stake.

82. No arms race in the past has brought either stability or security. Never has peace come out of

preparations for war. We can ignore that fact of history only at our peril.

83. Before concluding, I should like once again to appeal to Members of this Assembly, especially those representing the nuclear Powers, which, as leaders of the world community, hold in their hands the fate of all mankind, to lend their support to the draft resolution that has been recommended by the First Committee.

84. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee, which appears in Part II of its report [A/4942/Add.1].

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia.

*Against:* Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Albania, Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Union of South Africa.

*Abstaining:* Turkey, Afghanistan, Belgium, Cuba, Haiti, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 71 votes to 20, with 8 abstentions.*

## AGENDA ITEM 88

**The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples**

85. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now pass to the last item on our agenda for today, entitled "The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". I would remind Members of the Assembly that this item has to be discussed directly in plenary; it has not been referred to us by any committee.

86. I would also remind Members that the General Assembly has before it, so far, two draft resolutions: one a draft submitted by the Netherlands [A/L.354], the other a draft submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.355].

87. The representative of Nigeria has the floor on a point of order.



88. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): On a point of order, I want to raise a matter in connexion with item 22, and the subjects allocated to the plenary meetings on the agenda under the title, "Assistance to Africa: (a) A United Nations programme for independence".

89. At the last session, this particular item was allocated to the First Committee. It came under the heading, "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development". I remember that on that particular occasion priority was given to it and it was moved from tenth position to second position. Following various requests, the subject was finally discussed at the resumed fifteenth session, and a draft resolution was produced,<sup>4/</sup> but the Assembly decided [995th meeting] to adjourn consideration of the item until the sixteenth session. Now during the fifteenth session, the subject matter of item 88 on the agenda of this session, to which the two draft resolutions to which the President alluded refer, was covered by item 87, and the item was allocated to the plenary meetings. It was discussed, and resulted in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

90. My point in this particular respect is as to this subject, item 88, being taken before the particular item to which I am referring, which has been included in the agenda of this session and divided into three parts, 22 (a) being allocated to the plenary, 22 (b) being allocated to the Second Committee and 22 (c) being allocated to the Third Committee—22 (b) is "Assistance to Africa: Economic development of Africa", and 22 (c) is "Assistance to Africa: African educational development". Later it was discovered that it would be much better if the two sub-items, (b) and (c), were discussed together in the Second Committee. That was debated here in the General Assembly [1042nd meeting], and it has been so decided.

91. What I am saying is that sub-item (a) is so important and so urgent at the moment that it should be given priority because at the last session, after a draft resolution had been drafted and was on the point of discussion, for some reason it was postponed to this session. I fear that unless this particular sub-item is discussed and given priority here, there is no hope that it will be discussed at this session at all. If we reach item 88 I am afraid that the plenary meetings will be bound up in it and this particular item, which is of special urgency to Africa, will not be discussed at all. We have already submitted a draft resolution [A/L.357], which has been circulated, and I am asking the plenary that it should be given priority—it comes under item 22 (a)—and be treated separately. I fear that if item 88 is taken up it will prejudice the discussion of the Nigerian draft resolution, which deals specifically with the question of abolition of colonies in Africa.

92. This is of primary importance to us and I would ask that the Assembly should grant us the right of priority, and also the right to discuss it as a separate item, quite distinct from the general question of the abolition of colonies, or the application or implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

93. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly thus has before it a point of order raised by the delegation of Nigeria, proposing that priority consideration should be given to agenda item 22 (a), entitled "Assistance to Africa: a United Nations pro-

gramme for independence". I call on the representative of Poland on a point of order.

94. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): It seems that all of us are in agreement as to the urgent need to carry out last year's unanimous resolution [1514 (XV)] of the General Assembly, and to put this resolution into practice seems to our delegation one of the important tasks of the Assembly. Of course, we know that, as the representative of Nigeria said a few moments ago, we also have on the agenda of the present session an important item on assistance to Africa. The representative of Nigeria mentioned that this item was divided into two parts, one part being assigned to the General Assembly and the other to the Second Committee. Such allocations have not been made without good reason. The question of a programme for independence has been separated from other aspects of the problem of assistance to Africa and is being taken up in the plenary meeting because, first, it is a matter of special significance, and, secondly, it is closely linked with the task of implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

95. The African States made the same distinction between the different aspects of the problem at the fifteenth session, when discussing the item entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development". May I point out that, in a draft resolution submitted to the First Committee,<sup>5/</sup> the sponsors invoked the Declaration on the granting of independence. Further, in that same document, the sponsors urged all States which have responsibility for the administration of territories in Africa to implement the Declaration. In other words, the African States themselves decided to recognize the Declaration as a point of departure for the programme for independence and assistance to Africa. And this is only natural, considering the great—indeed, the historic—part they have themselves played in preparing and adopting the very same Declaration on the granting of independence. Poland highly appreciates this extremely important and effective contribution of the African States. No less highly do we value their constructive efforts to solve many other problems faced by the United Nations.

96. We are convinced that the African States share our belief that the Declaration is of universal scope, and that it is by no means confined to one or another region of the world. The Declaration says, in fact, that immediate steps shall be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other—I repeat: all other—territories which have not yet attained independence.

97. It is no secret that some vestiges of colonialism continue to exist also in Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific region. I submit that no less grave are the problems of British Guiana, Goa or British Honduras, or the problems of Rhodesia and Mozambique. Accordingly, it is necessary to work out uniform rules of implementing the Declaration with a view to eradicating colonialism wherever it prevails.

98. On this basis, we might then proceed to settle the specific problems of Africa, and I thoroughly disagree with the representative of Nigeria that it could not be done this year. Therefore, we deem it advisable to consider jointly, let us say, item 88, entitled "The situation with regard to the implemen-

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 88, document A/4747.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid.

tation of the Declaration . . .", and item 22 (a), dealing with a United Nations programme for independence in Africa, and this is not merely because we want to save time.

99. The preparation of a programme for independence in Africa must be the direct outcome of a decision on implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It might be advisable to recall that it was because no resolution had been adopted relating to the implementation of this Declaration that the Fourth Committee decided to postpone decisions on basic problems of the future of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, including those in Africa. The Fourth Committee, responsible for all problems concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, is waiting for us to settle the question of implementing the anti-colonial Declaration as soon as possible, for it will provide the ground for settling every issue involved in the liquidation of colonialism and the issues with which the Fourth Committee is dealing. For these reasons, the Polish delegation, although invariably feeling sincere sympathy with, and full understanding of, Africa's problems, is in favour of giving priority to item 88, which relates to the implementation of the Declaration, as it now stands on the agenda of the plenary. But, should the Assembly think differently, we would like to suggest—and, if it is advisable to do so at the present moment, I move—that we should discuss item 88, which is already on the agenda of this meeting, together with item 22 (a), on which the representative of Nigeria was just speaking.

100. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): As the Assembly knows, I have never failed to be grateful to the great Powers and small Powers whenever they have done anything in the interests of the well-being of Africa, and I am still grateful to the great Powers which thought of these two items. The Soviet Union requested the inclusion on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the item concerning the Declaration in respect of the abolition of colonies, and the United States requested the inclusion of the other one about a United Nations programme for independence and development for Africa, and we have taken up these matters.

101. We have this draft resolution under item 22 (a) [A/L.357], introduced by Nigeria. We must be accepted as the authorities on matters pertaining to Africa. We are the area specialists in matters pertaining to Africa—we know our own environment—and I have said here, over and over again, that Nigeria does not want Africa to be dragged into the cold war.

102. If the suggestion of the representative of Poland is accepted and item 22 (a) is mixed up with item 88, I can assure you that we are going to be dragged into the cold war. Under item 88 you have two draft resolutions: one [A/L.355] submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union and the other [A/L.354] by the Netherlands delegation. Papers have already been circulated in respect of the Netherlands draft resolution. There is a controversy between the Netherlands and Indonesia. If these two draft resolutions are taken up, there will be no end to the quarrels that will arise from them—and we cannot wait.

103. I am therefore asking the Assembly, with the greatest respect to the representative of Poland, to ignore the request that item 22 (a) should be merged with item 88 and discussed. They are related; I do not deny that. But we cannot accept that all problems affecting all colonial areas are identical; they are not;

each area has got its own problems, its own difficulties, its own trials and tribulations. The African scene is different. We are quite prepared to co-operate with others in their particular areas.

104. There has been a general Declaration, and now there is a specific declaration that is required by item 22 (a). The draft resolution submitted by Nigeria wants, now, a specific declaration that is applicable to the whole territory of Africa. If there is another declaration required in respect of another territory in that area of the world, Nigeria is quite prepared to support it. We do not want to be dragged into a war of words and therefore I ask, with all the power that I possess, on behalf of my delegation, that the Assembly should consider this particular draft resolution which has to deal with the African scene as distinct from others.

105. It is one of the series of items that are likely to flow from the generally accepted principle that colonial territories should now win their independence. I do not want the representative of Poland to ignore the considered opinion of the Nigerian delegation. The scene is ours, and we know exactly the psychology of our home environment and we can speak objectively for Africa—perhaps more so than anybody else. I sincerely hope that this draft resolution will be accepted as the basis of discussion on this matter, and we look forward to the firm co-operation of all those friendly countries that would like to give us real assistance. The programme is one of assistance to Africa. It is now that we want those friends who really want to assist Africa to co-operate with us in this great scheme of having a specific declaration for the granting of complete independence for Africa within a certain time.

106. We have done a certain amount of spadework in relation to this job in connexion with those who have the destiny of African territory in their own hands, and I am perfectly certain that with the careful handling of the whole situation we are likely to succeed as far as these Powers are concerned. I do not want anything that is likely to make it impossible now. I do not want us to be involved in any war of words. Therefore, with these remarks, I beg the representative of Poland to withdraw his request that item 88 should be merged with item 22 (a) and to be considerate enough to listen to my plea. I sincerely hope that my fellow African States will support me in this plea when I say that the African problem should be considered as a separate item and that all friendly countries—and we know that Africa has friends in all the delegations—will support us in proposing that this item should be treated separately, so that we get our declaration for the abolition of colonies in Africa at this session.

107. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I wish to support the request of the representative of Nigeria. The question is really very simple.

108. The item which we want to be discussed first comes from the First Committee. Last year the item was discussed in the First Committee and a draft resolution was submitted on it. At the end, because there was no time, we acquiesced in the desire of the majority of the First Committee not to pass a resolution on that matter at that time. Our request now is that the Assembly should be fair and should discuss our item and give judgement on it. There is no other issue here.



109. We are not opposed to the item ending colonialism: we voted for it. We are working, and are in consultation with many delegations on a draft resolution which the Assembly will be able to support. Quite frankly, there is no dichotomy, there is no opposition between the two items, but because ours was submitted first we want ours to be decided first. We feel that it would not be fair if our item were brought here, discussed in the First Committee, postponed for one year and then relegated to a secondary position in the Assembly. It is simply a question of discussing what was taken up last year and never decided completely. It is for these reasons that I support the request of the representative of Nigeria, and I hope the whole Assembly will support us.

110. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): I cannot say how much I hate to disagree with the representatives of Nigeria and Ethiopia and dislike being involved in a procedural debate here with them.

111. I only wish to say that by moving our proposal that we should discuss these two items together, we were motivated by some very substantive considerations concerning the proper procedure for our debate. I should very much like the representative of Nigeria to know that I absolutely cannot accept the view that a discussion on the implementation of the anti-colonial declaration of last year is a cold war item. It is an item of the future; it is not only an item, a problem of the continent of Africa, but it is also an item of all the colonies still existing in Asia and in Latin America as well. I cannot accept the notion that it is a cold war item, because I do remember that the sponsors of the Declaration which was adopted here in December of last year were African and Asian States. I could not imagine that they were the ones who moved a draft which had anything in common with any cold war discussion.

112. I cannot withdraw my motion, because I consider it to be reasonable. We can discuss these two items together. In view of the fact that I do treat my suggestion as a kind of amendment to the proposal of the representative of Nigeria, I should like you the President to put it to the vote first.

113. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): I thank the President for giving me the opportunity to reply to the last remark.

114. Anybody who has looked at the map of the world and the areas in which the various colonies are situated, particularly those in the Pacific Ocean, will be sure that when item 88 is discussed there will be plenty of controversy. Anybody who participated in the final drafting of the last draft resolution, as I did, will know that there are many elements that were removed from the original draft in order to get the final text. Anybody who has been used to the form of debate in this Assembly will know that, when the speeches are made in regard to the draft resolution under item 88, many of the elements which were removed from the original draft, resulting in the final text we shall discuss now, will be touched upon when the debate on item 88 starts. Certainly, the moment certain elements are touched upon, replies will flow from all quarters involved. Consequently, when the debate begins to go from one to the other, as in a ping-pong game, the simple draft resolution that affects Africa will be relegated to the background and will not be considered, perhaps, until January or perhaps later, or it may suffer exactly the same fate

as it suffered at the fifteenth session. This is what I want to stop.

115. It is not that any particular item, by itself or by its wording, brings in the cold war. It is the way it is handled. That is what makes it cold war material. Any material in the Assembly could be discussed peacefully, if it were discussed objectively without any attempt to make it a cold war subject, but any subject here could be converted into cold war material. We are saying that the African scene is so well defined that there is no difficulty at all. The representative of Poland talked about colonial territories in Latin America. I never said anything of the sort, because I do not see anything connecting Latin America with the draft resolution which Nigeria has introduced under item 22 (a).

116. Having said that, I am certain that the moment a debate starts on item 88, somebody is going to talk about colonialism in Latin America or say something about colonialism in the Pacific and so on, and perhaps talk about the Panama Canal. I know very well what is going to happen. I implore the Assembly—whether or not we vote on it now, I will have no objections—but let it be made absolutely clear that we want the African draft resolution to be treated by itself and not connected with anything that has to do with item 88 as such. Of course, they are very closely related. Both are colonial matters. But do assist us. The subject is assistance to Africa. This is political assistance to Africa. It is the question of the independence of the whole of the African continent. It is assistance to us. That is the key word: "assistance". It is not a general declaration. We have had a Declaration. This is specific assistance to Africa. I am asking everybody to assist us to treat this subject as a distinct and specific programme so that we may get a declaration and then we shall begin on a specific programme. When it is a question of assistance to Latin America and colonial territories, we shall act accordingly. If it is a question of assistance to another area, we shall give them that assistance. That is the distinction I want to make there. This is a clear request for assistance to Africa, and I am confident that representatives will give us the assistance we require.

117. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly thus has before it a proposal by Nigeria that priority should be given to agenda item 22 (a), entitled "Assistance to Africa: a United Nations programme for independence".

118. The representative of Poland has proposed an amendment whereby item 22 would be discussed at the same time as item 88 entitled "The situation with regard to the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". Those are the two proposals we have before us.

119. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): The delegation of the Republic of Guinea has listened with due attention to the request for priority made by the representative of Nigeria. My delegation wishes first of all to express its surprise that a question of priority concerning a matter of such importance should only have been made known to us in the plenary General Assembly itself. In our working group—the African group—we have been in contact with the Nigerian delegation on this particular point and we have had discussion on it as recently as 3 November 1961. The chairman of our group for November, the representative of Madagascar, has just informed us that a

meeting of the African group has been called for 6 p.m. this evening; at that meeting the Nigerian representative will address us on this problem.

120. In view of this circumstance and since it is essential, in our view, that all the African delegations should be agreed on this point, the delegation of Guinea would appeal to the Nigerian representative not to press his request for priority to a vote at this meeting, so as to enable the African group to discuss the matter. We have substantive reasons for opposing this request for priority and we will state them if we have to. For the present, however, we would prefer to appeal to the Nigerian representative not to allow African differences on matters essential and vital for the emancipation of our continent to be made public from this rostrum.

121. We accordingly ask the representative of Nigeria and the members of the Assembly to defer any decision until the African group has been able to meet. If this appeal is not heeded, I shall ask for the floor again to state my reasons.

122. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): The delegation of Ghana thinks that it is rather unfortunate that there should be any disagreement whatsoever on the issue of colonialism. As far as we are concerned, colonialism everywhere is a matter of great concern. It is true that Africa is in fact the only continent left where there are many colonial territories; as far as we know there is no other continent where there are so many. That is why we think that the African item, which we ourselves supported in the General Committee [138th

meeting] and, in fact, suggested should be brought to the plenary session, is a matter of great importance. But, as has been suggested by the representative of Guinea, it would be unfortunate if there should be any splitting of votes, or any disturbance caused by the difference between the positions taken by the representatives of Nigeria and Poland.

123. I have just been informed that there will be a meeting of the African group at about six o'clock this evening. It is now half-past five and, therefore, I move the adjournment of this meeting in order to allow the African group to discuss the matter, so that we shall be able to take a definite position tomorrow, or whenever the President thinks proper.

124. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has before it a motion for adjournment submitted by the representative of Ghana. Before putting this motion to the vote, I wish to point out that there is no provision in the rules of procedure for a motion of adjournment in order to allow a particular group of delegations to state its views, since there are not as yet any groups recognized as such in the General Assembly.

125. However, a motion for the adjournment of the meeting has been proposed and I shall put it to the vote immediately.

*The motion was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.*

*The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.*