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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 87

Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will continue its consideration of the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".
2. Before calling on the next speaker inscribed on my list, I give the floor to the representative of Portugal in exercise of his right of reply.
3. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Mr. President, may I thank you for granting me the right of reply. It is for my delegation a matter of deep regret that the representative from the Soviet Union has thought it appropriate to blur this debate—a debate which should be solely concerned with the discussion of general principles and high ideals—by coming here and making remarks and statements which certainly are not a contribution to harmony and agreement. Indeed, the representative of the Soviet Union has made accusations which my delegation must reject categorically. It is not surprising that such vilifications should be made by the delegation of the Soviet Union: as we all know the delegation of the Soviet Union is always at its best when indulging in sub-standard propaganda, and when addressing to others certain accusations which more properly should be directed elsewhere, namely, to themselves.
4. My delegation strongly rejects and emphatically protests against the statements made in regard to Portugal by the representative of the Soviet Union. They are entirely baseless and, should the representative of the Soviet Union pretend to prove them, he would have to offer still more fabrications.
5. The Soviet representative accused my country of carrying out unending reprisals in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces and of practising forced labour, virtual slavery, colonial tyranny and the like. These are outrageous slanders and my delegation, on behalf of the Portuguese nation and its Government, vehemently denies such accusations and once again repudiates every one of them.
6. When the Soviet representative becomes intoxicated with the high sound of his irresponsible words—particularly when he feels that the Assembly will tolerate his verbal abuse of my country and Govern-

ment—he is likely to stop at nothing for as long as he senses that this forum renders him a degree of immunity.

7. We take pride in the unceasing toil and work that for nearly five centuries of common history we have achieved overseas—it has been the work of maintaining order, organizing community life, promoting economic development, providing education at all levels, investing capital, and raising living standards. However, one thing is certain: at least, the progress and development which we brought and are still bringing into our Overseas Provinces was not and is not done by methods which are repugnant to the conscience of mankind nor by violations of human rights. We have not and we will not achieve progress through subjugation of peoples and territories, physical and moral slavery, complete political repression, deportations of people "en masse", forced migration, absolute lack of freedom—political or intellectual—constant threats against other nations and peoples, exploitation of the weak, and so on.

8. I hope that the Soviet representative will understand why I objected to his irresponsible remarks about Portugal. However, if he insists on fictitious and utterly unwarranted remarks about a so-called Portuguese colonialism, I will be compelled to return here in due course to remind him and to elaborate on a certain type of colonialism, which, I am sure, he is very familiar with.

9. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia) (translated from French): I have the honour to submit formally to the General Assembly the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in document A/L.323, on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia and Turkey.

10. Since the text was distributed, three other delegations—those of Cyprus, Mali and the United Arab Republic—have joined the co-sponsors [A/L.323/Add.1].

11. In submitting this draft declaration, we wish to inform the General Assembly that we have taken the greatest care in drafting it and giving it its final form. In preparing it we have tried, in particular, to find formulas and solutions which we hope will be acceptable to the great majority of delegations, if not to the entire General Assembly. The co-sponsors of the document therefore appeal to all delegations to consider it with open minds, as a means of putting an end to a situation which is now an anachronism in the history of mankind, the domination of one country by another and the exploitation of one people by another.

12. Since the historic Bandung Conference of 1955, enormous progress has been made in applying the

principles laid down at that first meeting of the African-Asian countries. We are anxious that the present draft declaration should be yet another step forward in the irresistible process of the emancipation of peoples. We hope that all the countries concerned, especially those responsible for the future of the peoples who are still dependent, will see their way to support this declaration; and in our desire to ensure peaceful development and a bright future of freedom for all peoples who have not yet gained independence, we have kept the language used in our draft declaration strictly in conformity with that of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

13. Since I am speaking now solely to submit our draft declaration formally, I have the honour to inform you that the co-sponsors reserve the right to speak again in order to present their views. I should also like to say that it seems probable that other delegations, which are now waiting for instructions from their Governments, will join us later as co-sponsors of the draft.

14. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): There is no doubt that the debate which began this morning is of exceptional historical importance. Colonialism is in its last throes, as a result of the irresistible and irreversible movement of peoples towards full emancipation; and here we are, the peoples of the United Nations, giving historic expression to this universal moment of truth.

15. It is a moment between a past of inequality and a glorious future, in which all peoples of the world seem resolved to re-establish human brotherhood, now won back at last, and to work together for their common happiness, on a footing of equality and the solidarity of free men.

16. As the representative of one of the oldest free and independent States in the world—though it is situated in a continent which has for long been ravaged by the curse of colonialism—I am deeply aware of the great honour it is for me to be able to put my country's views on the problem before us.

17. At this moment, when the victorious struggle of the colonial peoples has brought about the disintegration of the colonial system, and when more than forty-five countries have become independent since the establishment of the United Nations, over 100 million of our brothers and sisters are still experiencing the horrors of a system which has inflicted indescribable sufferings on dependent peoples.

18. Before I begin to discuss colonialism, it may be useful, I think, to try to define it. Colonialism might be defined as a political and economic system imposed and maintained by foreign Powers on the national territory of other peoples, its main feature in those territories being the arbitrary establishment of a system introduced from outside, without the consent of the peoples administered, and designed mainly to serve the interests of the administering Powers.

19. As this definition shows, one of the main features of colonialism has been the use of force with or without provocation, either brute force or force cleverly disguised in the best paternalistic traditions. We can say, without danger of partiality, that colonialism, stripped of its trappings, was a system established by force, and then developed, becoming more subtle, and even in a way, more humane, likewise by force

and, I must add, a force designed primarily to hold up the development of the colonial peoples whenever development was not seen to be essential, in one way or another, to the development of the colonial interests. It was therefore basically a force opposed to those peoples' development, antagonistic to that development, a force based on principles which often paid no heed to the fate of the subject peoples.

20. This does not mean, by the way, that a settler was by nature a contemptible exploiter; not necessarily so. He was like so many other kinds of men; he might, as an individual, be as pleasant as the next, as helpful and as good as the exploited black person. The trouble was inherent in the very nature of his status and of the colonial system, which sought to exploit the conquered countries in whatever manner would be best for production, profit and a reassuring absence of trouble.

21. In its pursuit of this purpose, the colonial system was, by its very nature, in the opposite camp to the colonial peoples. It unconsciously, but justifiably, considered any real progress and any awakening of the colonial peoples as a real threat to its own existence, and it did not allow those peoples to develop except in so far as their development was essential to its own existence, and only in whatever conditions of peace and stability, or rather social stagnation, were most suitable to the colonial system.

22. Colonialism, initially imposed by force, very soon became a highly complicated system of direct or indirect political and economic domination of all the less developed peoples. Hence, according to the kind of interests concerned and the advantages to be gained, the colonial Power would resort either to direct control of the subject territories, or to indirect control, by systematically supporting ruling classes which were kept in power to defend colonial interests against the indigenous peoples.

23. Whatever the method of controlling these territories applied by the metropolitan country, colonialism succeeded through this control in establishing and maintaining powerful machinery designed to bring in the greatest possible profits, regardless of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. So the colonial system, by the support it gave to the forces of social reaction in subject territories and to tribal classes and hierarchies which would otherwise have disappeared, distorted the dynamic working of the forces of change and froze political and social development at the primitive stage. This is why colonialism must be held responsible for the considerable backwardness of the dependent countries in relation to the general progress throughout the world, and for the tragic gulf between these dependent countries and the industrialized countries.

24. In order to maintain and increase its profits, to protect colonial enterprise against all risks and dangers and to perpetuate its rule, colonialism was forced to perpetuate an order based essentially on social stagnation and the maintenance of the *status quo*, and marked by the paralysis of the forces of progress. For these purposes the colonial régime used such devices as racial discrimination, enslavement by humiliation, fear and ignorance, exploitation under paternalistic labels and other practices calculated to deprive the man living under colonialism of his identity and human dignity. As I have said, it permitted no

progress of subject peoples unless such progress was seen to be essential to its own existence.

25. It is, of course, true that, to serve its own purposes and to exploit the wealth of conquered territories in the manner best suited to production, profit and relative absence of trouble, colonialism introduced features typical of more advanced societies.

26. Here, obviously, colonialism could hardly escape the general law of contradiction inherent in every living process. This is also a point which must be brought out if we are to understand the complex and sometimes misleading nature of the colonial problem. It would be a mistake to carry hatred of colonialism, however understandable, to the point of simply denying or refusing to recognize the undoubtedly useful features produced by and inherent in the very exploitation system itself. It is by no means true that colonialism has done absolutely nothing in the colonies. We personally feel that colonialism has undeniably made definite contributions, some of them of the greatest importance for the later development of the colonies. However, we must at once make clear the nature of these contributions and put them in their historical setting, in order to avoid confusion and distortion of the truth. Any objective analysis of the facts will thus show clearly that the so-called benefits of the colonial system, far from being essential features of colonialism, are simply its inevitable secondary consequences, and are caused by the very contradictions in the system.

27. It is important to carry this analysis further. The source of the contradiction lay in the actual development of modern society and in the needs of a system of profitable exploitation of colonial countries. This meant, among other things, that the peoples had to play a greater part in the colonial enterprise. The system needed labour which was not only cheap but also skilled and properly organized. It had to set up what has been called the economic infra-structure necessary for the development of transport, commerce and the economy in general. It could not do without roads, buildings, schools or even hospitals, all of which are now part of any large-scale, efficiently run and expanding commercial enterprise. As I say, these indisputable features of colonialism, although they are there for all to see, are not evidence of any sacred mission of the colonial Powers, but are to be explained as the inevitable consequences of a system based essentially on profit and the colonial interests concerned. These same consequences were also to bring about the gradual disintegration of the system.

28. The contradictions inherent in the colonial system, in fact, became more apparent as the system enlarged its horizons. The development of means of communication, the establishment of urban centres, the introduction of the new system of trade and organized labour, as well as such things as the gradual impoverishment of the indigenous peoples, were strong enough to break out of the framework artificially maintained by the settlers and finally led the colonial peoples to self-awareness in the face of the whole phenomenon of colonialist rule.

29. The revolutionary changes which followed the Second World War and affected the fate of about 1,500 million persons belonging to the Asian peoples gave a new impulse to the independence movement of the African peoples. In a sense, they served to bring to a head what I have called the secondary consequences

of socialism. Those who had been trained and schooled for the deliberate purpose of serving their former masters more diligently became aware of their human and national strength and refused to be used as the instruments of their own ruin.

30. So the African awakening, which has been the most important feature of the history of the black continent over the past fifteen years, pitted against colonialism in Africa a force of such power, scope and lightning development that it has surprised not only the colonialists but sometimes those who set it in motion, namely the prime movers of the African emancipation movement.

31. During the period which followed the African awakening after the Second World War, there was a certain confusion in the colonial camp. Was brute force to be stepped up and were the old colonial methods to be continued, with still heavier oppression and repression? Would it be better to adapt them to the more democratic climate of the time? Or had the time come to make an agonizing reappraisal of the traditional methods and simply to keep pace with the troublemakers?

32. The foreign and colonial offices had never seen such extraordinarily swift deployment of forces which they could not even understand. And, while they tried one solution after another, each testing what seemed to it the most effective way of dealing with the situation, the peoples themselves continued the struggle, which grew like a snowball and threatened to become a general movement going beyond the purposes which the colonial peoples had set for themselves.

33. As may be imagined, the political conditions arising out of the cold war were not likely to make it easier to deal with the more and more threatening rise of the anti-colonial tide. Those who had a clearer sense of history and more practical vision decided at this point to adapt their thinking to the new conditions and to achieve the only possible balance capable of maintaining positions which had become precarious. Some such concern would appear to have been behind the famous "new wind of change" policy in Africa, which the Africans, though they realize its nature, have welcomed. It is a true expression of the real forces concerned, since it exists, clearly, first and foremost because of the courage and struggles of the African peoples for independence, and also because of the practical good sense and enlightenment of the colonial Powers concerned.

34. The United Kingdom, feeling this wind of change, is breaking up its former colonial empire with undeniable success, and often with the effective cooperation of the peoples concerned. In this England has once again shown its political genius for adapting itself to the changing conditions of the times.

35. It is this wind of change that has brought France, with glory and success, to restore to most of its former African possessions the great principles born of the French Revolution and of its rights of man and of the citizen.

36. The admission to the United Nations of ten new States, all members of the French Community, does credit to the courageous decolonization operation undertaken by the Fifth Republic. Let us hope that this wind of change will be strong enough to blow, not only through the former French territories which have already been freed, but also through other territories

in which this sincere effort is still held back by unwarranted vested interests.

37. Thus in the annals of colonialism the wind of change is a new phenomenon which has come to stay. It is an expression of this moment of truth when colonialism, realizing the implications of the emancipation movement and the new and only possible balance of forces, sees no alternative but to make an agonizing reappraisal of its general attitude towards the very problem of the colonial system.

38. Colonialism, which had been more or less firmly founded on brute force—the most efficacious and practical instrument of supremacy at the time—is turning to a new strategy. Instead of opposing the tide, it will now follow the tide. Instead of stopping it with a force which is no longer effective, colonialism will try to use it in a new way, seeking to co-operate with the former rebels and trying now to maintain, as far as possible, its only remaining bastion, namely its economic and technical supremacy.

39. It is of the greatest theoretical and practical importance for the under-developed peoples to study the complex features of this wind of change which has begun to blow through Africa and has opened the last chapter of colonialism. This wind must not deceive the African people by its freshness or by the new sense of dignity and freedom it brings them. Nor should it be neglected and simply opposed, just because it rises in the white hills of the West. Like every historical fact, and like colonialism itself, it is made up of opposing forces. It is our task, as the peoples of the developing countries, to turn it to the best advantage without falling into the snares of inexcusable credulity or of an anachronistic and dogmatic orthodoxy.

40. The colonial peoples, I am sure, will tackle this new situation, with all its inherent hopes and dangers, its possibilities in the way of co-operation, its pitfalls and dilemmas. But this will of course require great vigilance and discernment everywhere. For the constructive and promising aspects of the wind of change are, after all, only an intelligent reaction to and a realistic estimate of the new balance which history has imposed on the colonial Powers. It should be welcomed and encouraged wherever it truly and effectively expresses a realistic and enlightened sense of history and is based on the premise, now evident and well established, that no kind of political enterprise can last in the context of tyranny and the subjugation of peoples.

41. It would be a very different thing if other Powers, more obstinate and less imaginative, were to look on the wind of change as a simple tactical manoeuvre, regarding it in Machiavellian terms as a safety valve to be opened when the pressure reached the point of explosion. The events of the past year have revealed two significant tendencies in the colonial situation at its present stage of development. On the one hand, they have familiarized us with the more intelligent, long-term policy of the wind of change; on the other hand, they have shown us once more that, in their desperate struggle for existence, colonial vested interests have more than one trick up their sleeve and that neo-colonialism is a very much more cunning, and hence far more dangerous, child than the parents who gave it birth.

42. In point of fact, traditional colonialism as such can henceforth be considered as a historical phenomenon belonging to the past. Even if in some territories it is still rampant and still provokes crises marked by the blood and tears of the indigenous people, even if it still exists in a considerable number of territories, with a total population of 100 million, the colonial system as a whole is already on its deathbed, already breathing its last, and its hysterical outbreaks of violence show even more clearly that its end is near and inevitable. Thus it is not the old colonialism, asthmatic and with one foot in the grave, that now threatens to deprive peoples of genuine independence, but the young and virulent neo-colonialism. With its complex network of political, economic, ideological and other weapons, neo-colonialism is out to defend the same interests over the corpse of the old-style colonialism. The nature and purpose of both are the same, and on the whole only the tactics seem to have changed, to fit in with the political, economic and psychological requirements of the modern world. No one should be deceived by appearances, and precisely for that reason, as long ago as 1955, at Bandung, all the African and Asian peoples decided to denounce colonialism, solemnly declaring it, in all its forms and manifestations, to be an evil which must be quickly brought to an end.

43. There is no doubt that the vested interests which caused the colonial scourge to appear in the world and have enabled it to endure will continue to exist long after colonialism itself has been eliminated. Hence it is to be expected that they will refuse to submit to the verdict of the liberated peoples and will do everything they can to return to the scene and recreate colonialism in new forms better suited to the conditions of the modern world. This being so, it is imperative that the peoples concerned should continue to extend their struggle against the colonial phenomenon to all forms of colonialism, whether economic or political, which directly or indirectly threaten their national sovereignty and the workings of the democratic institutions deriving therefrom.

44. The problems and circumstances to which I have referred show clearly that the whole question of colonialism is far from being simple. It has theoretical aspects which particularly call for study so as to enable the peoples of the world to follow its development better as time goes on and to prepare themselves to confront the dangers it presents. But such a study would be altogether outside the scope of this debate. With your permission, therefore, I shall try as briefly as possible to put forward some considerations of a general nature and to deal with the main practical problems which face us today, seeking at the same time to establish certain principles which we feel should be brought to the attention of the Member States concerned.

45. (1) Let me say once more what pleasure it gives my country to note that this year seventeen former colonial territories have come to swell our ranks as fully sovereign and independent Members. It is a brilliant victory, not only for the peoples concerned, but also for the international community as a whole, and, of course, for the United Nations. It is obvious that the contribution of new States not only strengthens the position and prestige of the United Nations, but is also an important factor in ensuring international peace and security.

46. (2) While recognizing the merits and progressive nature of the efforts recently made by certain Administering Powers to lead a large number of territories under their administration towards independence, my delegation hopes that the policy of decolonization thus begun will be adopted and followed by all Powers administering overseas territories and will be extended to all colonial territories where the indigenous peoples are still deprived of the fundamental right of self-determination. By virtue of this recognized right of all peoples, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Article 1, paragraph 2, of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, already adopted by the Third Committee of the General Assembly, recognizes further that:

"The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence."^{1/}

47. (3) The United Nations is to be congratulated on its contribution to the movement to emancipate the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories and on its support for the principle of self-determination. The International Trusteeship System, and a dynamic interpretation of the spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter, have proved effective means of helping these peoples to achieve progressive emancipation and preparing them gradually for independence. It is, however, regrettable to note that in this field the resistance of certain Administering Powers to the constructive efforts of the United Nations and their systematic policy of meeting the liberal spirit of the Charter with a narrow and outmoded interpretation of the letter of the Charter have had this effect of reducing considerably, and even paralysing, the possibilities of action by the international community.

48. (4) World development, particularly during the past fifteen years, shows unquestionably that in present circumstances the conditions necessary for lasting international co-operation based on respect for fundamental human rights not only run parallel to, but are identical with, the essential conditions for preserving the legitimate economic and political interests of the great Powers. The incomprehensible insistence of some Powers on maintaining certain colonial practices which in the past proved successful methods of achieving colonial ends, cannot today but ruin the last chances of co-operation between the developing peoples and the more privileged Powers.

49. More particularly, it is of the greatest importance that countries inspired by the ideals of liberty and democracy should yield to the evidence of a new order of things and should not precipitate, whether through indifference or lack of vision, situations which can only benefit the enemies of all peoples. The logical development of the colonial peoples is proceeding at such a furious pace that it is now no longer permissible to keep to a narrow conception of immediate self-interest. Today more than ever, sincere and frank talks between colonial Powers and colonial peoples is necessary, and on these talks depend the future of the

whole world. If they take place and are carried on in a friendly atmosphere, there is every reason to believe that an era of fruitful co-operation for the common good could come about; and that would not be a defeat, but a victory for all.

50. The very natural suspicions of both sides, the misunderstandings, the mutual recriminations, could thus gradually disappear in an atmosphere marked by joint efforts on the part of the free and independent peoples to create a new community of nations, free from unjust bondage, free from racial or other prejudices, and free from the tyranny of things and of men.

51. Such a policy of co-operation is, in our view, the only one which can help the former colonial peoples to follow their course of development without discord and enable them to solve the problems, particularly the economic problems, which will arise along this arduous path. It is also the only one which can lay the foundations of a solid and lasting peace, in the regions concerned and in the whole world. If, by some mischance, such co-operation is not achieved in time, and if the debate does not proceed on a basis of equality and mutual confidence, it is to be feared that the whirlwind of events will engulf all men of goodwill and open the door to tyranny, which alone in such circumstances would be capable of putting an end to the chaos thus unleashed.

52. All peoples, therefore, and all free and independent States, particularly the Administering Powers, must recognize this complex situation, which is as fraught with danger as it is full of opportunities for co-operation. To this end they must establish and develop their relations with the former colonial peoples on the fundamental, sacred principle that all peoples without exception have an inalienable right to complete independence, to the exercise of sovereignty and to the integrity of their national territory, and on this basis are determined to take their destinies into their own hands, in complete freedom, without any pressure from outside. They must realize once and for all that the general movement of peoples towards complete emancipation is an irreversible and irresistible phenomenon and that any attempt, either direct or indirect, to resist it is not only immoral and contrary to international law, but is doomed in advance to certain failure. They must have confidence in all peoples and abstain from any intervention of a political, economic or other kind in their internal affairs. The free peoples and the Powers which were and still are responsible for administering the colonial territories must do all that is in their power to work for the success of this historical movement, on which the future and the happiness of all mankind largely depend.

53. (5) The present situation thus imposes new responsibilities on the former colonial Powers. These new responsibilities must, first of all, lead them to do everything they can to bridge the gap which now separates them from the colonial peoples and, to that end, to seek the required solutions in sincere co-operation with the peoples concerned.

54. These responsibilities must also lead them to establish, instead of keeping up the united front of traditional colonialism, a new united front of free peoples against all those in the world who would like to maintain and establish positions of strength and unwarranted supremacy. The yoke of tyranny is still too fresh in the minds of the newly liberated peoples

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 28 (part 1), document A/3077, para. 77.

for them to want to seek new masters or to let themselves be deceived by anyone. Hence their most natural allies are those who truly and sincerely seek to make freedom a universal ideal. The colonial peoples will certainly fight as they have fought in the past against any form of domination, subjugation or exploitation in defence of their national dignity and their dearly-won freedom. It is therefore of the highest importance that all Powers with the same ideals of freedom, human dignity and social justice should understand this fact and, above all, that they should not, through lack of vision or patience, or as a result of hasty defensive reactions dictated by emotion or fear, spoil their chances of setting up a united front of freedom and democracy with the former colonial peoples.

55. It would be a great misfortune if the short-sighted desire to retain certain political, economic and other immediate advantages, and continued resort to certain modes of action incompatible with the freedom and the basic interest of these peoples were to aggravate misunderstandings, widen the existing gap and in addition, by omission or commission, force them to seek allies elsewhere than in the camp of those individuals and peoples who are inspired by the same ideals.

56. (6) The colonial Powers must recognize that one of the first and most important attributes of a people's independence is the exercise of sovereignty, which is the sole prerogative of those living within the national territory. Sovereignty appertains to them both *de facto* and *de jure* and no one may exercise it on their behalf without their freely-given consent. Hence, the Powers which have exercised sovereignty on behalf of the peoples of the territories under their administration in accordance with the United Nations Charter, must now take immediate measures to transfer that sovereignty to the duly qualified representatives of those peoples.

57. (7) In order to bring about the unconditional independence of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, and of any other colonial territory which has not yet attained independence, the Administering Powers must take urgent and immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories without any conditions or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed will and aspirations, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and the freedom to build their national States.

58. (8) The inadequate level of political, economic, social and educational advancement has in the past always been used by the Administering Powers as a reason for delaying the independence of the colonial countries. A more objective scrutiny of the problem reveals the danger inherent in this pretext and the bad faith which has often been behind the use of this argument. In fact, the argument runs in a vicious circle which the colonial interests collectively have sought to perpetuate. Thus, on the one hand, they have delayed giving the peoples the necessary training for various aspects of their national life, while on the other hand they have argued that, since independence requires a certain minimum degree of training, it cannot be granted to them without this. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that nothing substantial has been done in most of the colonies to prepare the necessary trained personnel and, correspondingly, that the attainment of independence has

always posed serious problems when the necessary, suitably trained personnel are lacking.

59. Today, the difficulties which always spring from an inadequate level of development and from the shortage of trained personnel in the colonial territories—for which the colonial Powers must assume full responsibility—do not frighten the colonial peoples unduly, because over and above the definite advantages which independence holds out to them, they are confident that the peoples of the world will support them and that organizations like the United Nations will help them to remedy their deficiencies.

60. Moreover, even if their economic, social and political backwardness necessarily imposes a state of relative dependence on some of the under-developed countries, there is no reason to think that such dependence should be imposed upon them by the former Administering Power. The international community and the United Nations, among others, can easily give them the necessary aid and assistance without imposing upon them obligations incompatible with their independence.

61. These peoples know that they are no longer alone in an indifferent world. Moreover, they now possess confidence in themselves, and where they have been given the opportunity they have quickly shown that that confidence was amply justified. More particularly, the mere assumption by a people liberated from slavery of responsibility for their own destiny gives them the necessary strength to overcome all obstacles, including those deriving from their colonial heritage and from an inadequate level of political, economic or other training.

62. (9) In colonial territories where the peace has been disturbed either because of armed conflict or as a consequence of repressive measures taken against the people, the Powers responsible for the situation must take immediate measures for the re-establishment of the peaceful conditions needed if the people are to exercise their sacred and inalienable right to complete independence and to the integrity of their national territory. At the same time it is also essential that any armed or repressive action of any kind whatever should be prohibited and proscribed for the future.

63. In this connexion, let us remember that peace and freedom are indivisible; any nation which oppresses another violates not only the sovereign rights of the latter but also the freedom, conscience and dignity of mankind as a whole. By so doing, it likewise does violence to world peace and security and it must bear the full responsibility. The international community and the United Nations, then, have the right and the duty to make every effort to help the peoples thus subjected to oppression and violence to regain their sacred right to self-determination.

64. (10) There can be no doubt that the transfer of powers will inevitably be subject to the conditions peculiar to each territory. However, it seems to us that, in order to achieve the genuine and complete independence of these territories in a manner corresponding closely to the requirements of a democratic system of national power, the good of the peoples requires that their attainment of independence should, wherever national conditions make it possible and feasible, be preceded by a consultation of the people and by general elections held by universal suffrage and the secret ballot, preferably under the supervision

and control of the United Nations. Such a procedure would make it possible for the States thus attaining their independence to build upon solid and democratic foundations and act as a strong safeguard against the return of colonialism in new guises.

65. (11) It is therefore in the interests of the dependent peoples that the date of their independence and the methods of achieving it should be established as a result of negotiations between the Administering Authorities and the duly qualified representatives of these peoples, meeting on a footing of equality.

66. The Administering Powers should refrain from attaching to independence any conditions or reservations which would restrict the exercise of the people's sovereignty. Unequal and restrictive treaties on economic, political financial or military matters, signed prior to independence and limiting in any way the exercise of national sovereignty, constitute a source of future misunderstandings and friction incompatible with the preservation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and the maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations.

67. (12) Since freedom for the peoples on the threshold of independence is essentially a process of gradual and progressive liberation from their former bondage, and in particular from the tyranny of want and fear, no extrinsic factor should be allowed to hinder this process through which in the first instance, the peoples concerned themselves must pass. However, the indivisibility of freedom and peace and the cause of human solidarity make it imperative that the international community should spare no effort to help them accelerate this process of liberation if the peoples concerned so request.

68. (13) Since a newly independent State must immediately meet grave problems of all kinds, first and foremost the problems resulting from its colonial heritage, it is particularly necessary that the United Nations should give it all the economic, technical, social, cultural and other assistance it needs to pass through the initial stages of its independence. It is to the interest of the newly independent peoples that the great Powers, which are anxious to bring them aid and assistance, should likewise do so, as far as possible, through the United Nations and its specialized agencies so that no Power whatever should lay upon these peoples any obligation which might limit their freedom of action and thus impede their taking their own independent road towards their own destiny.

69. (14) In order to enable the newly emancipated peoples to devote all their human and economic resources to their national plans of reconstruction and development, all Member States, and in particular the great Powers, should act in such a way that these peoples will never find it necessary, for reasons of national defence, to allocate to military expenditure funds essential to their national development. More particularly, the great Powers are in duty bound to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly is likely to increase the military burden borne by the newly independent countries.

70. (15) It is of course understood that any act of aggression against an independent State constitutes a crime against humanity. This crime takes on an even graver complexion when it is directed against a country which has just attained its independence and is traversing the difficult initial stages of development.

71. Member States, and especially the former Administering Powers, must, moreover, refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country. Thus, it would be desirable if, in the declaration on the termination of colonialism, all Member States would solemnly reaffirm the undertaking they assumed under the United Nations Charter never in any way whatever to violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State.

72. (16) The peoples of the world should, finally, be on guard to prevent colonialism from trading on the internal weaknesses and difficulties of the small independent States and returning to the scene or infiltrating into the country in new guises. Any intervention by a more powerful State in the domestic affairs of another and any economic, political or ideological pressure being applied from outside with the intention of disrupting the normal functioning of the domestic institutions of a country thus constitute the basic elements of a neo-colonialism which is incompatible with national independence and sovereignty and with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

73. Such are the few principles which my delegation deemed it appropriate to recall as we embark on our debate on the general problem of the attainment of independence by the colonial countries and their peoples. They are principles which we have always been proud to champion and support during the whole course of our participation in the work of the United Nations. My country, though it has never suffered from colonialism as such, is nevertheless proud that it has at all times, without exception, pleaded the cause of its less fortunate sister countries of Asia and Africa and contributed its moral support to the cause of all the colonial peoples fighting for their right to independence. Only a short time ago, His Majesty the Shahinshah made himself the mouthpiece of the unanimous sentiments of all the Iranian people when, at the inaugural meeting of the Senate, congratulating the African countries which had achieved independence, he said:

"We are happy that a considerable number of colonial countries have attained freedom and independence and are already taking part in the work of the United Nations and that others will in the future follow in their footsteps. From the bottom of our hearts we congratulate them on their achievement of freedom and wish them all possible prosperity and happiness in their path to true progress in accordance with the principles of democracy and the spirit of the United Nations Charter."

74. My delegation is most proud to have taken an active part in the preparation of the draft declaration which now stands before you [A/L.323 and Add.1] in the name of a large majority of African-Asian Powers, and deems it an honour to be one of the co-sponsors of the document. This draft declaration, which solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, also contains most of the principles which we feel should be adopted by the Assembly as a whole.

75. Those who have played a part in preparing this draft are best able to bear witness to the constructive spirit shown by its authors. There is no doubt, for example, that many of the co-sponsors of this draft

declaration who have suffered greatly from the ravages of colonialism would have preferred a more expressive text, including clauses condemning colonialism in its most culpable aspects. However, in order to rally all currents of opinion in the Assembly in favour of a text acceptable to all the Members of the United Nations, they have, in a spirit of conciliation, accepted certain phrases of a much more moderate nature. We hope that the same spirit of constructive co-operation will inspire all the Members of this Assembly, and we also hope that they will unanimously support a text of such great historical importance which at this solemn moment is the instrument for the expression of the universal conscience of man in regard to the problem of colonialism in our time.

76. My delegation has the honour warmly to commend the draft declaration in document A/L.323 and Add.1 to the attention of the Members of the Assembly and more particularly to appeal to the Administering Powers to accord it their unreserved support.

77. In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the Soviet Union delegation for taking the initiative in placing this problem on the agenda of the General Assembly's fifteenth session. However, for reasons having to do firstly with the positive ideas contained in our draft resolution, secondly with the need for securing the largest possible majority for the principles which should govern our attitude of anti-colonialism, and lastly with the need to limit any action which the Assembly may take on this point to those aspects of the question having an essential and exclusive connexion with the problem of colonialism, my delegation will be unable to support the Soviet declaration. Indeed, it earnestly hopes that the Soviet delegation will appreciate the reasons which have impelled the majority of the African-Asian powers to submit their own draft resolution, and will graciously withdraw its draft, making it possible for this Assembly to adopt the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1] unanimously. Such unanimity—it cannot be said too often—will give the present draft the historic place which rightfully belongs to it in the annals of anti-colonialism.

78. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): The General Assembly has come to the consideration of one of the most important items on its agenda, that is, the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is a question of great international bearing, whose immediate solution is of vital interest to the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and, together with them, to the freedom-loving people all over the world.

79. Today, colonialism still keeps in bondage, mercilessly exploits, and oppresses tens of millions of people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific. Mankind would be burdened by immense shame if, at a time when it learned to split the atom, when it can harness natural forces, and it prepares to master outer space, it should fail to break the chains of impudent colonialism and to compel the colonialist to grant without delay liberty and independence to the millions of people leading a miserable existence in the colonial countries.

80. The process of complete elimination of colonialism is a historic necessity of our time. The national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent countries makes every year a change in the political map of the world. If, prior to the Second World War,

the map showed vast territories in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world in the few colours depicting the colonial systems of several colonial powers, a glance at this map today shows the substantial changes which have occurred in the world. From the territories of previous colonies there have emerged tens of sovereign States which won their freedom and independence in a long and hard struggle. The colonialists have been putting various obstacles in the way of the struggle of the colonial nations for their national liberation. Sometimes they use such unscrupulous means as napalm bombs and grenades, sometimes the tactics of pitting one colonial nation against the other. Of late, we often hear the contention that this or that nation is not developed, mature enough to shoulder the responsibilities of its freedom and independence and to organize a State of its own. There is no need for the colonialists to be unduly concerned and to cover their unwillingness to put an end to the shameful colonial system by showing "concern" over whether the colonial nations will be capable of running their countries. The example of many new independent countries proves that after their peoples have freed themselves from colonial slavery, they know well how to rule their countries and to build their economies.

81. Another argument we hear from some colonialist countries is the contention that their colonial territories are not in fact colonies, but, as they say, overseas provinces; that is, part of their homeland. There is as little logic or truth in this contention as if we said that some metropolitan countries were not part of Europe, but of the African continent or the Indian sub-continent.

82. The decline of colonialism, engendered by the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, is inevitable and cannot be stopped by any kind of force, intrigue or juridical formula. It is a historical process which is bound to be crowned by the victories of the idea of liberty and independence.

83. However, the matter now is whether the complete decline of colonialism will be brought about by sanguineous struggles in which further hundreds of thousands of peoples will perish or whether ways and means will be found to accelerate and make easier the inevitable downfall of colonialism.

84. The United Nations, too, must help to find such ways and means. It must try its best to see that, throughout the world, not a single nation remains subjugated by other nations, that the peoples of colonial and Trust Territories be given full independence.

85. Long ago, the people of the world pronounced their verdict on colonialism, and this irrevocable verdict should now receive the full backing of the authority of the United Nations. In any case, it is a debt which the United Nations has, for fifteen years, owed to the purposes and principles embodied in its Charter. Keeping a single nation or even a tribe in the yoke of colonialism is a mockery of the lofty ideals of the United Nations.

86. A passing comparison between the development of metropolitan countries and the development of their colonies suffices to make it clear for everybody what a monstrosity is concealed in the very substance of colonialism. In the metropolitan countries we see examples of wealth and welfare which are the result of a long, unscrupulous robbing of millions of peoples in the colonies and the plunder of the natural wealth

of foreign countries. The result of the colonialist administration of the oppressed countries is that the peoples there live in conditions of utmost poverty, illiteracy, disease; they are doomed to the shortest life span in the world, and more than half of the population dies during infancy.

87. The nations which are struggling against the colonialists for their independence take over their countries in a state which gives an astonishing testimony of the care and the civilizing mission of their former colonial overlords. Such instances as there not being a single factory, an enterprise of the country which could meet the requirements of the population, are not exceptional. The case of the Congo, which won its independence in a situation when there was no Congolese doctor or lawyer, engineer or officer in the country, is not an isolated one. The statistics which are available to the United Nations and the information which leaks from the colonial countries present a shocking picture of the results of the century of colonial rule. A good deal of information on this has been disclosed during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly by the most competent authorities—the representatives of the African countries.

88. But there cannot be other results because all the activities of the colonialists in their colonies have always been subordinated to a single purpose, that is, to ensure maximum profits for metropolitan monopolists. That is why the colonial countries have served as the raw material appendage of the imperialist countries, as a market place for metropolitan products; cheap manpower in the colonies and the output of raw materials and their export to the metropolitan countries, at almost no cost whatever, enable the colonialists to get huge profits from selling the raw materials and foodstuffs on world markets. That is why the colonialists deliberately retarded the development of local industries in the colonies and in so far as such industries were developed at all, they were merely raw material processing industries and light industry.

89. The colonialists used to draw attention to all the railways, roads, harbours and communication facilities which they built in the colonies. However, they did not build them in the interests of the local population but in their own interest, in the interest of an easier and intensified exploitation of the colonial people and their natural wealth. This situation in the colonial territories can hardly be a different one; it logically stems from the very substance of the oppressing and piratical nature of colonialism which, despite having been buried by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during his statement at this session of the General Assembly, is not yet dead.

90. President Sukarno aptly characterized the present state of colonialism when he said at the current session of the General Assembly:

"People sometimes say that imperialism and colonialism are dead. No, imperialism is not yet dead. It is dying, yes. ... Still—and mark my words well—the dying imperialism is dangerous, as dangerous as the wounded tiger in a tropical jungle."
[880th meeting, para. 63.]

91. The United Nations, which embodied the respect for the principles of equality of rights and self-determination of nations, as well as human rights, in its Charter, cannot continue to stand idly by when the colonialists ruthlessly trample on these rights and keep

the colonial nations in subjugation by the most brutal methods. We cannot pass over the oppression of the colonial nations and the unscrupulous squandering of their national wealth. We cannot close our eyes when we are confronted with colonial wars and the shedding of blood in Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, Oman, in the Portuguese colonies and elsewhere, when confronted with the fact that the colonial Powers use every means of naked force to prevent the people of colonial countries to assert their inalienable right to self-determination. The United Nations must exert all efforts aimed at the earliest possible removal of this shameful situation. This is the categorical demand of our time. Consequently, the General Assembly should adopt the declaration on the immediate elimination of colonialism and the granting of independence to all colonial and trust territories.

92. Czechoslovak public opinion welcomed the fact that at the Second Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa in June 1960, the African nations themselves expressed their determination to eliminate colonialism in Africa in the resolution on the eradication of colonial rule from Africa, which they adopted. The fact that the people of the African countries are ever more resolutely taking their affairs in their own hands is a matter of great significance as well as an important prerequisite for the earliest possible termination of the complete and final elimination of the colonial system. The determination of the young African States to continue to strive for complete liberation of Africa, a determination about which we learned from statements made in this General Assembly by such outstanding African representatives as the President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, the President of Guinea, Sékou Touré, and others, makes the Czechoslovak delegation believe that the peoples of the remaining African territories will also take their destinies firmly in their own hands.

93. Recent developments have also shown that the perpetuation of the colonial system creates repeated international crises which threaten to drag mankind into the catastrophe of a world war. The immediate elimination of colonialism and all its vestiges would remove one of the sources of permanent tension and conflict in the world and considerably diminish the danger of war. Is it not well known that the disintegration of the colonial system has always been accompanied by provocations, military interventions, and much too often by colonial wars? It is sufficient to recall the colonial wars in Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, the imperialist aggression against Egypt, the armed intervention of the colonialists in the Congo, and others. The United Nations must exert all its efforts to remove the common roots of these crises in Africa, Asia and Latin America, that is, the colonial system.

94. The United Nations must strive to enable the colonial nations to embark upon the road of independent free development. The problem of the consolidation of peace in the world, which is the basic task to which the United Nations must address itself is, therefore, most closely connected with the elimination of colonialism.

95. The Czechoslovak delegation, fully subscribes to the views expressed by the President of Ghana, Mr. Nkrumah, who stated in the general debate of this Assembly:

"As long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination, the world will know no peace. ... The United Nations must call upon all nations that have colonies in Africa to grant complete independence to the territories still under their control. In my view possession of colonies is now quite incompatible with membership in the United Nations." [869th meeting, para. 5.]

96. No one can question the great importance of the emergence of the independent States after the Second World War for the maintenance of peace in the world. The overwhelming majority of these new countries energetically pursue a policy of positive neutrality and peace and refuse to take part in the aggressive groupings of the imperialists. Therefore, nobody can doubt that the immediate liberation of the remaining colonial peoples would be a great contribution to the future destinies and the development of human society. If the colonial Powers are sincerely in favour of the consolidation of peace, as they repeatedly proclaim, and if they take sincerely their commitments towards the United Nations, they should adopt the proposals contained in the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502 and Corr.1], that is, they should first of all immediately grant complete independence and freedom to all colonial, trust and other non-self-governing countries and territories, remove all strongholds of colonialism maintained in the form of various domains and leased areas on alien territories, and all countries should strictly respect the sovereignty and territorial inviolability of countries which have recently gained or which will gain, after the adoption of the declaration, their independence.

97. By the adoption of the declaration, the colonial nations would have realistic prospects of achieving freedom by peaceful means, and peace in the world would thus be considerably strengthened. In our view, however, it is not sufficient merely to eliminate colonialism in its old form. The peoples of the countries which have liberated themselves or which will liberate themselves from colonial slavery must be extremely vigilant and stand on their guard against various forms of neo-colonialism which the imperialist Powers try to impose upon them. I have in mind particularly the attempts to drag the African-Asian countries into the aggressive alliances of the imperialists, forcing these countries to make available their territories for the military bases of the imperialists and to accept various kinds of unequal economic agreements and assistance.

98. In this connexion, we cannot pass over the ever-increasing activities of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, which, by means of economic penetration into the countries of Asia and Africa, are covertly seeking to regain the lost positions of imperial Germany, which was one of the most brutal of the colonial countries.

99. The immediate elimination of colonialism would also be of tremendous importance for the development of international economic co-operation and the economic development of the present colonies. The colonialists ruthlessly plundered the wealth of the colonial countries, opposed their industrialization, and crippled their economies as a whole by forcing them to maintain a one-crop agricultural production. The liberation of the colonial countries from colonial bondage creates favourable prerequisites for a normal development of their economies, increases the volume

of world trade, and is beneficial to all countries. The immediate elimination of colonialism likewise would be of tremendous importance for the raising of the standards of living and the culture of the peoples of the colonial countries, and for the liquidation of illiteracy and the diseases scourging the population.

100. That the immediate elimination of the shameful system of colonial slavery would be to the common benefit of all nations is clearly apparent from the rich experience gained in the period following the Second World War, when approximately thirty countries with a population of 1,500 million people liberated themselves from the colonial yoke. Bearing this experience in mind, the Czechoslovak delegation deems it right for the United Nations to appeal to all the peoples of the world not to remain indifferent to the suffering of the colonial nations. The United Nations must emphatically call upon the Powers which possess colonial dominions to initiate without delay, and on an equal footing, negotiations with the representatives of the colonial countries on the establishment of freedom and independence in all colonial, trust and non-self-governing territories and countries. If the colonial Powers attempt to delay the liberation of the colonies and deny to their peoples their inalienable rights to freedom and independence, then the peace-loving nations will have to render every material assistance to the people of the colonial countries in their struggle against the oppressors.

101. The warm sympathies of the Czechoslovak people for the national and liberation movements have deep roots. They stem from the bitter experience of the hard times of the Hitlerite occupation, when foreign intruders unscrupulously oppressed our peoples and plundered our country. We proceed, therefore, from the principle that every nation has an absolute right to self-determination and to an independent existence. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains very close and all-round relations, established on the principle of equality and mutual advantage, with the States of Asia and Africa which have liberated themselves from colonial rule. Particularly in the field of economic co-operation, Czechoslovakia contributes with its power and possibilities to enabling these new countries to overcome their present economic backwardness and thus strengthen their political and economic independence. Basing itself on the unshakable principles of the Czechoslovak foreign policy, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the proposal on the immediate elimination of colonial régimes and the granting of full independence and liberty to the colonial nations. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Mr. Novotný, expressed the will of all the Czechoslovak people when he stated in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly:

"We are convinced that it is necessary to abolish forever the whole system of colonialism and give all nations every opportunity to gain freedom. This is why we unreservedly endorse agenda item 87: Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union at the present session of the General Assembly." [871st meeting, para. 56.]

102. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the proposal of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples submitted by the delegation of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4502 and Corr.1]. The adoption of this declaration by the General Assembly would be a significant contribution by the United Nations for the improvement of international relations, in the consolidation of peace in the world and the development of friendly international co-operation.

103. This afternoon a twenty-eight-Power draft resolution has been submitted [A/L.323 and Add.1] and introduced by the representative of Cambodia. I reserve my right to comment on it at a later stage of our deliberations.

104. Before concluding, I consider it necessary to reply to the statement made this morning [925th meeting] by the representative of the United Kingdom, who tried to take advantage of the debate on the immediate liquidation of colonialism and attacked slanderously the socialist States. These attacks are aimed at diverting the attention of the Assembly, as well as public opinion, from the solution of the urgent problem of the immediate liquidation of colonialism and the liberation of nations living so far under the colonial yoke. The representative of the United Kingdom endeavoured to divert the Assembly's attention from the question we have under consideration and to substitute the serious, business-like debate on the liquidation of colonialism by offensive attacks against the socialist States in the spirit of the cold war.

105. We are not surprised by these attacks. Some representatives—and the representative of the United Kingdom did it this morning—are following this course because of their hatred of the socialist countries, whose peoples have in the past freely and irrevocably decided their course, namely that of building socialism in their countries. There is no power in the world which could stop the advance of the socialist countries, and the imperialists should realize that.

106. The hundreds of millions of dollars officially allotted every year to financing the subversive activities against the socialist countries, the dispatching of agents and saboteurs, the organization of inflammatory campaigns, the attempts at interference, and other provocations, have proved to be of little help. It is well known that real freedom, independence and the sovereignty of States cannot be evaluated either by the sonority of phrases and statements made in the United Nations or by the rudeness and impertinence of attacks against the socialist States, but, for example, by such criteria as the assurance of equal rights for all, irrespective of colour, sex or denomination, or by economic, cultural and social development, and growth in the living standards of the population.

107. The principal task of our discussion on this question is to adopt an unequivocal declaration on the immediate liquidation of colonialism, to renounce colonialism as a disgrace and dishonour to mankind in the twentieth century. Our debate should be conducive to the adoption of an urgent appeal to colonialist Powers that they grant, without delay, fundamental rights to peoples living so far under the servile and undignified conditions of the colonial rule. Neither the imperialist colonial Powers, which under various pretexts rule and exploit the people in colonies, nor the countries which support the former, can avoid the solution of this urgent question by slanderous attacks against the socialist countries. The democratic public opinion of the world expects from them, by right, an

unequivocal declaration to the effect that they are willing to grant immediate freedom and independence to the oppressed peoples in colonies, in harmony with the noble principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, in place of offensive attacks against the socialist countries in the spirit of the cold war.

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

108. **Mr. PERERA (Ceylon):** The delegation of Ceylon is privileged to co-sponsor the draft resolution which has been presented as document A/L.323 and Add.1. While sponsoring the draft resolution, the delegation of Ceylon also ventures to submit that the item which has resulted in the present discussion marks a turning point in the development of international society and the community of nations.

109. Indeed, I would not be able to improve on the words used by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, contained in document A/4502, on 23 September 1960. I would like to quote a few sentences from that document, wherein the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union said:

"Ours is an era of swift renewal of society; an era in which more progressive and equitable ways of life are being affirmed; an era in which man is soaring upwards to unprecedented mastery over forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage." [A/4502.]

110. Indeed, we cannot remind ourselves too often of the maxim: "People that oppress other peoples cannot be free". Chairman Khrushchev in the very same document, as well as President Sékou Touré of Guinea when addressing this Assembly at the fourteenth session [837th meeting], cited this maxim. It is, therefore, in this context that the delegation of Ceylon makes this intervention.

111. The emancipation of subject peoples has always been dear to the hearts of the people of Ceylon. If I may be pardoned for so stating, Ceylon played a not inconsiderable role at some of the great international conferences at which the subject of the ending of colonialism was discussed. And may I say that the Government of Ceylon would prefer to use the term "the ending of colonialism" than "the granting of independence". I refer, in particular, to the Asian Peoples Conference held in New Delhi in 1947 and the Bandung Conference of 1955. Since Bandung, we in Ceylon have not only accepted the declarations of the independent African States at the conferences held in Accra, Conakry and Addis Ababa, but we have been inspired and guided by these principles in the execution of our policies. In fact, the end of colonialism was a cardinal tenet in the policy of the People's Government, which came into power in April 1956, under Prime Minister Bandaranaike. The present Government, headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike, has intensified this policy; and I am not overstating my case when I say that our people regard the ending of colonialism as the first principle of their faith and also the last article of their creed.

112. I do not intend to examine the *arcana imperii* of the colonialist Powers, either of the past or of the present, but I am constrained to say that the "raison d'être" of the draft resolution now before this Assembly derives from the existence of colonialism in

its various manifestations. It is therefore imperative that we take immediate measures to bring colonialism to an end. Let me remind representatives who were once subject people that we cannot be too grateful not only to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, for his untiring and determined efforts to place this item on the agenda of the fifteenth session, but also for the ceaseless activity of the Soviet Union since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, to this end.

113. We do not accept the thesis that independence is granted to subject nations. I recall Mr. Krishna Menon's words in addressing this Assembly during the course of the general debate on more than one occasion, when he said that the more correct terminology would be "the ending of foreign rule or foreign domination". Of course, in some instances the term "transfer of power" is used. Be that as it may, we believe that the independence of subject peoples or peoples subject to domination, political and economic, has been won either by political struggle or by political struggle combined with international pressures that may be exerted by international bodies like the United Nations, or perhaps by the determined efforts and the stand taken by anti-colonialist Powers in helping those who were once dependent to gain their independence. We have long learned to despise the ignorance or, as some would say, the hypocrisy of those who speak of giving freedom, and here again I am reminded of the words of the poet who said:

*A gift of that which never can be given
By all the blended powers of earth and heaven.*

114. We have before us certain documents, and I, on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, would like to attempt a dispassionate analysis both of those documents and of the draft resolution which has now been submitted by twenty-eight Asian and African Powers.

115. I must say that I was rather disturbed by the intervention of the Minister of State of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, this morning [925th meeting], when he read into document A/4502 an attempt to fan the cold war. I have sought in vain to find any semblance of this attempt to fan the cold war in this document. On the contrary, it is this document on which we have based our discussions, and that is why the delegation of Ceylon would like to place it before the representatives and perhaps draw the attention of representatives to certain passages, because we are here discussing the ending of colonialism and not either the continuation or the cessation of the cold war. In point of fact, the delegation of Ceylon, or, for that matter, the Government of Ceylon, is no party to such a war, even if such a war does exist. Perhaps we are naive enough not to believe that there is such a war. But we are at the moment concerned with the ending of colonialism. May I, therefore, go to the pith of the matter as contained in document A/4502, because it is for that reason that we ourselves are sponsoring a draft resolution. I refer to one sentence from that document: "The elimination of colonialism would be a key measure in reducing international tension." [A/4502]

116. That is one aspect of the matter. The second and perhaps a more important one for our purpose is this, and I quote again from the same document:

"Together with the infamous system of colonialism, the variant of the colonial régime known as the

Trusteeship System has also outlived itself. Being a vestigial remnant of the Mandates System of the League of Nations, the present Trusteeship System in accordance with the United Nations Charter should have promoted the development of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. Fifteen years have elapsed, however, since the Charter was adopted, but only four out of eleven Trust Territories have attained independence.

"...

"The Trusteeship System has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism." [A/4502.]

117. As I said, the pith of the document lies in these paragraphs. There are also demands at the end of the document, and it is perhaps in respect of the demands that we, that is, the twenty-eight African-Asian States that have submitted the draft resolution, may appear to be at cross purposes. It is my hope that we may be able to find a solution at the end of our debate.

118. If one examines the proposals in document A/4502 and if one examines the draft resolution which we have submitted [A/L.323 and Add.1], one also finds that there is a sort of golden thread underlying both documents. Perhaps in some instances we are in agreement, and in some we are not, but one thing I could say with some confidence is that this very subject, when the question was debated of the allocation of the item either to the First Committee or to plenary meeting, was adopted by acclamation. When the item dealt with in document A/4502, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", was placed before the General Assembly [903rd meeting], it was adopted without any dissension as such, and, what is more, there was no question of the cold war being involved in this. That is why it is disturbing to find that this issue has been raised.

119. On the other hand, we from Ceylon would like to consider this as a matter which concerns the world community as a whole. No doubt we still have Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and perhaps colonies in various stages of political and economic development, and that is why I said that it is not for me at this stage to go into it, except very generally; I do not wish to go into the secrets of the nicer points of comparative colonial policy. But I may be permitted to quote from what the Secretary-General at that time, Mr. Trygve Lie, said almost at the beginning of this Assembly. I shall quote from a document dated 26 March 1947, as this is necessary for my argument. These are his words:

"... the International Trusteeship System is no mere prolongation of the Mandates System under the League of Nations. It is a new system of international supervision. Its scope is wider, its powers broader, and its potentialities far greater than those of the Mandates System."^{2/}

120. Bearing that in mind, we must examine it in relation to what document A/4502, submitted by the Soviet Union, states. That is why I submit to this Assembly that, if we consider the ending of colonialism, we must also examine the practical usefulness

^{2/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, First Year, First Session, first meeting, p. 4.

f. Being of the System should Territoriality, hence the eleven.

of the Trusteeship System as well. We all know that the Mandates System which was propounded at the end of the First World War, if it did not achieve any specific advantages for the subject peoples under the Mandates—of course, there were the variants, the "A", "B" and "C" Mandates—at least influenced public opinion, but are we content with that? The Second World War perhaps created and unleashed forces which the First World War did not. In this context the Trusteeship System has now been working for nearly fifteen years.

121. On the other hand, as far back as the sixth session of the General Assembly, in a memorandum submitted by the then Secretary-General to the Assembly, some misgivings were expressed as to the success of the Trusteeship System as well as about the purposes for which it was created and how those purposes were being served by the Administering Authorities. I refer also to document A/C.4/SR.245, of 12 January 1952, and a summary of that document, in which various views were expressed, clearly indicating that there were reasons why the Trusteeship System was not working properly, the reasons being—I will give just a few—that certain Administering Authorities were not complying with their obligations. In some cases, they had argued that the obligations were wholly unacceptable. What is more, the non-administering Powers repeatedly pointed out that those Administering Authorities were not only not fulfilling their obligations but in some cases were actually violating them. In other words, action was taken by the Trusteeship Council to call the attention of the Administering Authorities to their remissness and their lapses, and also a genuine attempt was made to put right the system. We did not, however, find that the Administering Authorities responded to the high calling of the dignity of their office.

122. Perhaps I am generalizing, but on the other hand these are facts. It is for that reason that the issue now raised demands our close attention, because it is not sufficient for us to comment that a system already exists; it is for us to find ways and means to end colonialism and colonial rule or domination. At the present moment, I submit on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, there is no positive evidence to support the oft-repeated argument that trusteeship is the surest and quickest way of ensuring the goal of self-government or independence. I say this with a certain amount of emphasis because if the present Trusteeship System did provide such a guarantee I would not be standing here appealing for support for the draft resolution presented by the African-Asian countries.

123. It is in this connexion that I should like to recall certain cardinal principles which have motivated us in this respect. The representative of Iran in his own way attempted a definition of colonialism. This is another concept, a political as well as perhaps a juridical concept which could be defined in many ways, but basically we subscribe to the view that colonialism means economic exploitation, political domination and racial arrogance, and perhaps, in the process of achieving the aims of the Power dominating the subject or dependent people, a system whereby the moral prostitution of the indigenous population is brought about by the raping of its intellect.

124. Here I have attempted a definition. I do not claim that that definition is final for all time, but

that is how it strikes us in Asia and it is a fact that colonialism in its various manifestations does exist. It appears under different names and in point of fact I would argue that Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter became necessary because of the existence of colonialism. It still exists, in different forms perhaps. Its manifestations, or perhaps a better word would be its purposes, are many, and that is why we representatives from African-Asian countries in the Assembly, some of which won their independence quite recently, have not forgotten them and feel we ought to make a contribution to the ending of colonialism.

125. In the past colonialism appeared in various guises; the whole doctrine of extra-territoriality, the doctrine of capitulations—these were all facets of colonialism, as was also the division of the world in terms of colonialism. Even international lawyers talked in terms of colonialism and not in terms of a world or international community. It is perhaps a hackneyed reference, but I may be permitted to refer to this. It was in the nineteenth century that a very famous international lawyer, Professor Lorimer, Professor of International Law at Edinburgh, divided the world into three kinds of humanity. There was civilized humanity, as represented by Europe; there was barbarous humanity, as represented by a few Powers like Turkey and Iraq—because it was after the Treaty of 1856—and there was savage humanity, which covered the rest of Africa and Asia. We have travelled a long way since that time, but nevertheless, if I may put it this way, the *damnosa hereditas* of colonial rule gave rise to the problems which the world of 1945 had to face, and that is why Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter had to be formulated to provide a system to end colonialism. Today we are not discussing the merits of Chapters XI, XII and XIII, but having found them wanting, we are now trying to find a way out.

126. For the moment I am not raising the question of changing the Charter—far be it for me to attempt that—but what I want to point out is that the Trusteeship System has been found wanting. I would like to subscribe to the view that perhaps certain Administering Authorities do observe strictly Article 73 of the Charter, but some do not. We know that; we have only to ask any member of the Fourth Committee to discover that. Some do not, and then there are others who would argue that Article 84 of the Charter gives a certain neutral status to the Administering Authority vis-à-vis the General Assembly itself. Be that as it may, today document A/4502 focuses our attention on the grave lacuna that exists in the Charter itself, and thus we go outside the strictly legal interpretation of the Charter to the existing realities of the world. That is why the movements in Asia and Africa, the conferences to which I referred, marked a turning point not only in the history of Asia and Africa but in the history of the world. Most of us belong to States which have really no armed power as such; we depend on the mobilization of public opinion and the justice of our cause. By remaining silent on this matter, by refraining from saying what we ought to say, it might be maintained that we are contributing to the purpose of history. But in this context I would say that if the General Assembly did remain silent on a matter like this it might, in future years, come to be regarded as perhaps an unconscious tool of history, when history will have got the better of this Assembly. But why not take the other point of view, why not

become the conscious tool of the historical process and do something to end colonialism?

127. I should also refer to the fact that when we talk of the manifestations of colonialism we mean—and this is what the draft resolution tries to meet—the various methods, procedures and legal figments which are used by the colonial Powers to cover the nakedness of rank colonialism. For instance, as I said earlier, there is the question of the transfer of power. Sometimes the transfer of power must wait until the correct party, or the correct group of men, have been found in a colony to whom the power may be transferred. We have to wait, sometimes it is said, until people are politically and socially educated to be the equals of the people of the Administering Authority, and that is why the transfer of power is delayed. We have also seen that monstrous figment that has been brought up here more than once whereby it is argued that overseas territories are provinces of the metropolis, which makes those areas part of the metropolitan country and therefore not colonies or subject countries. That point was well argued elsewhere, and as I am discussing general principles I do not want to pursue the point, but we know that it is under the guise of these figments that some of the most brutal struggles concerning the subject peoples have been going on, where rank inequality has been continued for several years to justify this legal figment that they belong to the metropolis.

128. So, in that context it is my submission that under the guise of these legal figments we have ignored the Charter. After all, it does not require great intelligence or great wisdom to see that Articles 73, 76 and, what is more, Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, or Article 55, are very simple matters, propositions which are accepted by the world community, and yet, in the implementation of these Articles we find that these authorities have not conformed to the obligations, and that is, as I say, the justification for our draft resolution and the justification for the declaration presented by the Soviet Union.

129. I dealt only in a general way with the basis of Chapters XI, XII and XIII. We are now faced also with another aspect of the problem. There have been unequal treaties, which is always a form or manifestation of colonialism—some have referred to this as neo-colonialism. There have been occasions where the Administering Authority or the dominant Power, while abdicating its power or transferring power, has still retained its economic stranglehold. We may call it neo-colonialism—the term does not matter.

130. Many years ago—and here in this context one cannot forget; one need not subscribe to the doctrine of communism or socialism as such—but it has been pointed out that the time may come—and here it was after the Congress of Berlin in the nineteenth century—it was pointed out by socialist theorists that the time may come when the conflict between the colonial Powers may lead to the point where they might combine to keep jointly a colonial stranglehold on some countries and territories.

131. I would like strictly to adhere to my subject, and this is why I am not mentioning any particular Power. Whether we call it neo-colonialism, or, as another author called it, ultra-imperialism, it is still there.

132. In this context I would say—and here I am not saying so because I want to pursue the point as against the representative of the United Kingdom who spoke this morning—that it is not a question of repeating Marxist texts or Leninist incantations. It is the radical tradition—I am using the word in a very broad sense—which has always guided a country's destinies in ultimate fulfilment of its goal. I can only, in this context, without going into comparative studies, refer to the radical tradition of England which was responsible for enlightened colonial policy at certain phases in its history. And that tradition continues, and it is because of that radical tradition that no less a man than Lenin himself, who in his famous book Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism, acknowledged a debt to J. Hobson, the English economist, who at the close of the nineteenth century wrote his classic book Imperialism. It is not a question of repeating Leninist incantations; it is a question of taking the struggle to a certain point. It is not a dogma like the Charter, for instance. Is the Charter made for all time? Are the organs and systems which were created in the Charter in 1945 good for all time?

133. Institutions, like human beings, are subject to decay. It is for us, therefore, we who want institutions, to see the ways and means whereby we may improve those institutions. It is in that sense that I would argue that one must not forget—it is not a question, I repeat, of Leninist incantations, but it is the strong radical tradition which has been displayed, or the liberal tradition displayed by those who fought for freedom—for example, even the countries of Latin America, if they had waited until all of them were so refined or so educated or politically and socially the equals of the colonial Powers, they would still have to wait perhaps until doomsday. In the long run we will all be dead and that is why it is necessary, at a particular stage in the history of human affairs, that we take stock of these things.

134. It is in that sense that I would argue that when we adopted by acclamation the inscription of this item on the agenda of the Assembly, we took upon ourselves a burden, the task of formulating either by some resolution or other measure—a declaration, if you care to put it that way—a proclamation whereby we would not only offer hope to those who are still in the colonies, but something which would be implemented by the colonial Powers as such.

135. I would like to regard the draft resolution which we have submitted as coming in the long line of various declarations which have now become international law. It is not a question here of a pure juridical concept or the creation of law; on the contrary, it is a question of trying to find the proper place in the development of human society for this particular measure.

136. I would argue that in the same way—and here it may be that some States were not parties to some of the great laws which today mark and perhaps enrich history; for instance, I refer to the Declaration of Paris in 1856, which marked the turning point in the laws of land warfare. I refer to the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868 which again took a further step in the development of the humanization of war. I refer, for instance, to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Similarly, one could argue that here in our draft resolution perhaps—I would have not only to defend it but see in it certain merits, which may be absent from the Soviet declaration, but I think, and I

submit, that the two are complementary; there is no fundamental disagreement in our basic objectives, and what is more, we can see that on the basic issues we are in agreement although we may say it in different ways.

137. I do not want to repeat that point, but I would like, in addressing an international Assembly like this, to point out that if these great declarations of the past, of the nineteenth century, culminating perhaps in the greatest declarations of our time, namely, the Charter, the judgements and the principles of Nuremberg, if they have been accepted by this Assembly, if they have passed into international law, it would be with a view to achieving a certain objective. It is in that light that I would like to ask the representatives to pass the declaration contained in our draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1].

138. Here again, may I say that as an international body we may not be a lawmaking body as such. The draft resolution which is before this Assembly has a sanction. It is the public opinion behind it, or the moral opinion of the world represented here. Perhaps in this declaration we would also find the moral judgement of the nations.

139. On this particular point, let me recall—because I am sure that the speakers who follow me tomorrow will go into the draft resolution in detail—the history, as it was, of one of the most important aspects of colonialism in the past, I regard it as colonialism because it was one form of colonialism of which, perhaps, we are not aware today. Historically, I would state that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was the British delegate, Castlereagh himself, who proposed that in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna there should be a clause eliminating or dealing with the suppression of the slave-trade, and so it was embodied, but that did not mean that slavery came to an end.

140. That is what I am concerned with when discussing the draft resolution—what was embodied in the Final Act in 1815. Similarly, as I argued—in 1919 we had the Mandates System, perhaps a manifestation of the then enlightened conscience of Europe, and in 1945 the Trusteeship System, but if I am to state the later history of the slave-trade—because it is pertinent to my task—as the slave-trade was not abolished immediately after 1815 because certain countries did not perhaps in their national legislation provide for its abolition. It was only in 1885, when, by the Berlin Act, it was formally adopted by all the nations. At that time the number of nations had increased since the time of the Congress of Vienna.

141. There was a further development in 1890. The Brussels Act also dealt with the suppression of the slave-trade, but unfortunately for the world, both these Acts dealt only with the Congo Basin, where the slave-trade was rampant. Therefore, the world had to wait for several years, even for the implementation of that Act. As recently as 1919, after the First World War, when the peace treaties were being debated and negotiated, it was by the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 that the civilized world admitted that the slave-trade was going on in certain areas and that it had to be put down by the authorities concerned. So we have the Slavery Conventions of 1926 and 1956, the supplementary provisions, being dealt with by the International Labour Organisation, a specialized agency of the United Nations.

142. So you will see that there has been a long history, and I have taken just one example. It is a long history but, unfortunately, in the context of global politics today the world, and especially subject peoples are not content to wait so long for the implementation of such resolutions or such declarations. It is therefore essential that here in this body, where there are Administering Authorities—the so-called Trusteeship Powers, with their obligations to subject peoples—and where at the same time there are present, participating on a basis of equality, those who do not possess colonies or Non-Self-Governing Territories; it is essential, I repeat, that both sides—that is, the Administering Authorities and the non-Administering Authorities—subscribe to the view that we have stated as regards the general principles underlying the declaration contained in our draft resolution.

143. It is for that reason that I submit that the declaration and the draft resolution mark a stage in the development of the international conscience of mankind. In point of fact, I would go further and say that the success of the resolution does not depend on the mere adoption of it because we know that we cannot go to war on the ending of colonialism. The struggle continues because freedom is something which is dear to those people who are struggling for it. We may be told that there are peoples in Africa who perhaps still do not want freedom in that sense, who are content to be under the yoke of their colonial masters. It does not require a very brilliant thesis from me to disprove that. But that is the argument which is always adduced. But we here, who have perhaps seen the actual working of the Trusteeship System, we who have seen its effects, realize that without such a declaration it is not possible to take another step further because year in and year out we find the lapses of the Administering Authorities, we find the interplay of world politics coming into question. We also find that sometimes, when there is no argument to justify the withholding of independence, the argument is that the Administering Authority must protect the subject peoples, the dependent peoples from a pernicious doctrine like communism. I think it was in the eighteenth century that Dr. Johnson, a well-known figure in British literary circles, said that "Patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel". I am not one to say that those who now argue that we must keep these people in the subject territories immune to communism would subscribe to Dr. Johnson's statement. I am not going to say that here, but very often this argument has been put forward. It is on that basis perhaps that we all know that after the First World War certain States were created to keep Bolshevism out of Europe; but that did not prevent it.

144. So we in Asia, we who have perhaps seen better days and worse days, we who still may have a long way to go in the evolution of our own society, can, I submit, take a more correct view of the development of human society, and it is for that reason that the delegation of Ceylon, while supporting the draft resolution, would also like to say that we are prepared to accept any suggestion—I think I am speaking on behalf of all the co-sponsors—which would improve the resolution so that we could end colonialism once and for all; the sooner the better for all of us. I submit that the day such a declaration is adopted, it will mark a moment in the conscience of civilized mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.