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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: Before calling on the first speaker inscribed on the list for this morning, I give the floor to the representative of Portugal in exercise of his right of reply.
2. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I have been compelled to request the right of reply much against my wish because some of the previous speakers have once more attempted from this rostrum to interfere in the internal affairs of my country against the specific provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.
3. The representative of Ghana has gratuitously classified as juridical fiction the constitutional structure of my country. Now, I am sure that all of us will agree that to classify as fiction the constitutional structure of a country is a most serious statement, and this is precisely what the representative of Ghana has attempted to do in relation to my own country.
4. I have explained once and again from this rostrum that the Portuguese nation, as the result of a centuries-old historical process, is a unitarian State where all the component parts enjoy equal status before the law. The representative of Ghana is, of course, at liberty not to like our Constitution. However, not liking a particular national constitution is one thing, but impugning it in this Organization is another thing altogether. It is not only a violation of the principles of the Charter, but it also tends to create a dangerous precedent whereby the internal structure and affairs of Member countries—all of them, including Ghana—may be freely discussed from this rostrum.
5. I have never come here to question the internal political structure of Ghana or of any other State, nor do I intend to do so, and therefore, my delegation cannot accept without protest that an illegal exception should be made against Portugal. The representative of Ghana has carried his attempted interference into the internal affairs of my country to the point of hoping for immediate steps for the transfer of all powers of sovereignty over the Portuguese overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique.
6. Now, I honestly think that this is carrying matters to a regrettable extent, when a representative, from this rostrum, asks for the dismemberment of a Member

State. However, I prefer to believe that the representative of Ghana did not really weigh his words when he spoke about his hope that the Portuguese nation should be dismembered and that sovereignty over the dismembered components should be elsewhere.

7. But there again, this is a very serious matter, and this Assembly is not the place for levity when the lives of countries and peoples are at stake. Therefore, I must strongly protest such verbal liberties taking place against the letter and spirit of the Charter, the result of which can only embitter the present debate.

8. Needless to say, this answer applies equally to another delegation which, yesterday, also subscribed to such preposterous suggestions. I do hope that the embitterment of this debate can still be avoided.

9. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): In 1945, when the United Nations was organized in San Francisco, about 1,000 million people were under the colonial system. A year or two later, with the independence of India and Pakistan, followed by the independence of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and other Asian countries, the system of colonialism remained untouched in the continent of Africa and Oceania.

10. In 1955, at the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, the States assembled at that historic conference took stock of the colonial situation and initiated a number of fundamental principles which have become the cornerstones of the policy of independent countries of Africa and Asia towards the colonial countries and peoples. These principles have also inspired the struggle of the dependent peoples themselves towards freedom and independence in Asia, Africa and Oceania. Meanwhile, the struggle of the African-Asian States for the liberation of the dependent and colonial peoples continued in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. The struggle consisted in liberalizing the rather conservative declaration contained in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Although the provisions of the Charter were, so to speak, conservative, the African-Asian countries, with the help of Latin American and other countries, succeeded in making that document a living instrument for the purpose of aiding the colonial peoples towards freedom and independence.

11. While the achievement of independence by the colonial peoples cannot be claimed as the work of the United Nations, none the less, it is true to say that the influence of the United Nations has been felt and that the contribution of liberal forces has not been without effect in the colonial territories.

12. At a later stage of the struggle of the dependent peoples towards independence, we find that, with the independence of Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia, a new chapter was opened for ending colonialism on the

continent of Africa. This process culminated with the independence of Ghana on the west coast of Africa, swiftly followed by the independence of Guinea and this year by so many African States and Cyprus which have taken their rightful place in the community of nations.

13. At this point it must be remembered that the African States themselves, following the example of Bandung, enunciated a number of concrete principles designed for the particular purpose of their own continent at their first historical Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra, Ghana, in 1958. At this Conference they adopted thirteen resolutions, all of which dealt with colonialism and the consolidation of the independence of African States. An examination of these resolutions shows that the eight African States were not satisfied in simply enunciating broad principles, but specifically asked the end of colonialism, "apartheid" and racial discrimination. In brief, the application of one vote to one man was called for so that governmental powers in all the colonial territories in Africa could be organized according to the will of the people, and not according to the dictates of so-called mother countries in far-off places.

14. At the same Conference, the African countries, realizing the unique situation of Algeria, called upon France:

"(a) To recognize the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination;

"(b) To put an end to the hostilities and to withdraw all her troops from Algeria;

"(c) To enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement."^{1/}

It can be seen immediately that the first aim has been achieved, while the remaining two have either become obsolete, due to a change in circumstances, or have been recognized as a necessity even by those who, at the time of the Conference, were moved to condemn the attitude of the African countries. The point, however, is that the demand by the African countries for the independence and self-determination of Algeria is now recognized by practically everyone concerned, and what remains is the application of these principles under conditions that will ensure to the Algerian people free choice as to their future.

15. A year later, the independent African countries assembled once more in an extraordinary conference in Monrovia^{2/} to consider the Algerian problem, in the first instance, and to deal with other problems of an urgent nature, such as the nuclear tests in the Sahara and the intensification of mass massacre and other repressive measures against the indigenous population in Africa as a result of racial discrimination, and adopted resolutions embodying certain principles on each of these problems. These principles, again, have been accepted by practically all the Members of the United Nations. All that remains is for them to be applied concretely on the spot in conditions which will result in respect by all concerned, so that

^{1/} Conference of Independent African States, *Declaration and Resolutions*, 22 April 1958, Accra, Ghana (Government Printer, 1958), resolution No. III.

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, held at Monrovia, Liberia, from 4-8 August 1959.

when the matter has become history the process will have left intact the friendship of the peoples.

16. The independent countries of Africa—this time sixteen in number—met earlier this year in their regular conference at Addis Ababa,^{3/} and discussed and adopted a number of resolutions. These resolutions dealt with: (a) negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem; (b) the question of South West Africa; (c) the cessation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests in the Sahara; (d) the eradication of colonial rule from Africa; (e) the question of a Central African Federation; (f) the policy of "apartheid" and racial discrimination in Africa; and other questions. One resolution called for the end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and proclaimed the equality of all the races in civil and religious matters and, in particular, the application of the principle of one vote for one man so that governmental power in all the colonies may be transferred to the representatives of the people.

17. Accordingly, the present draft resolution [A/L. 323 and Add.1-2], which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, is a consolidation of the ideals and principles which the African-Asian countries have proclaimed and supported ever since 1955, in Bandung, Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa. An examination of the draft resolution shows at once that all the paragraphs of the preamble have at one time or another and in one form or another been proclaimed in those historic conferences. From our point of view, therefore, the adoption of these principles by the United Nations would mean that their application was supported by each and every Member State.

18. At this point my delegation would like to pay a tribute to and congratulate the Soviet Union for its initiative in proposing to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [A/4501] the item which is now under consideration—namely, a Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1]. This declaration on the abolition of colonialism, if adopted by the General Assembly—and I hope it will be adopted unanimously will undoubtedly be a great landmark in the history of the world. It will be a turning point in the history of international relations, in the relations of the States and peoples of the world. It will be a realization of the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. This declaration, if adopted and implemented, would undoubtedly open a new era to the peoples of the world to work together, to co-operate as members of a great family, for the achievement of common objectives—namely, peace and happiness for all. There can never be a lasting peace in such a great family if all members are not equally happy. Where there is not equal happiness, where there is not equal satisfaction for all, there may be an armed truce but not peace.

19. Hence, in order that there may be lasting peace among the nations and peoples of the world, in order that there may be friendly co-operation among the nations and peoples of the world, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations must come to an end, and the colonial Powers must recognize that the peoples under their domination have the same birthright freely to determine their destinies, as have the peoples in the respective colonial countries.

^{3/} Second Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 14-24 June 1960.

20. It is therefore in the interest of lasting peace as against perpetual conflict, in the interest of brotherly co-operation for the common good as against animosity among the nations and peoples of the world, that we appeal to all States represented here to give their full support to the declaration under discussion so that it may be adopted by acclamation.

21. People under colonial rule and their supporters in Africa and Asia, and elsewhere, have been criticized by neutral—and, I am sure, honest—observers for being impatient and hasty in asking for an immediate and unconditional end to colonialism. According to such observers, the end of colonialism has in some cases led to conflicts among the native political leaders, as a result of the premature conclusion of colonial rule. They cite the situation in the Congo to support their view. These observers argue, further, that, whatever the peoples under colonial rule may feel about their colonizers, these colonizers must necessarily have contributed to the economic, social, educational and political development of the colonial peoples under their respective rule, and they must necessarily have their own economic or other interests which cannot and must not be disregarded. According to those observers, for all those reasons and in order to prepare the native political leaders for a smooth take-over of power, a longer term than that asked for by the colonial peoples and more patience are necessary.

22. But we have said to such observers, and we must reiterate, that the abolition of colonialism is long overdue and can never be premature. We understand these honest observations and criticisms which at first glance seem to be reasonable and sound for all neutral observers. We know how neutral observers, living in freedom, feel about colonialism in general, because we ourselves have lived both in freedom and under colonial rule. But they cannot understand how we feel about colonialism, because they have always lived in freedom and never under colonial rule. It is convenient and easy for all neutral observers, living in freedom, to criticize, because they have never been subjected to the most abject degradation and humiliation, because they have never been foreigners in their own country, because they have never fought and given their lives in wars which were not theirs and only added glory to their already glorious masters, and because they have never laboured to add more wealth to that of their already wealthy masters and to strengthen the hands oppressing them. One has to live under colonialism and experience these things for oneself in order to understand the full impact of colonialism.

23. It must be recognized that the colonial Powers must have contributed, to a greater or lesser degree, to the economic, social and educational development of their respective colonies. But what our critics have completely overlooked is the fact that invariably the contribution in economic, military and other fields made by the colonies to the metropolitan countries has been incomparably greater than that made by the metropolitan countries to their colonies.

24. As to certain political or economic difficulties and conflicts following the end of colonial rule in some countries, we can say to our critics that these difficulties are always engineered by foreign intrigues, with a view to discrediting and frustrating the irreversible movement towards emancipation by the subjugated peoples all over the world, particularly in

Africa and Asia, and with a view to re-establishing the system of exploitation in one form or another. But, even if it is true that difficulties and conflicts among political leaders follow the end of colonialism in some countries, that should not be a reason for denying independence to the peoples claiming it. Fighting for power among political leaders is not an extraordinary thing. It happens everywhere. Political leaders all over the world have always fought for power by various means—some with money, others with their fists and still others with guns, tanks and airplanes. It should not, therefore, be taken as something so extraordinary simply because it happens in former colonial territories. This is purely and simply an excuse or pretext for maintaining colonial subjugation in those territories.

25. The peoples in the liberated countries, left alone without interference from foreign intriguers, will settle their differences in no time, as all the other peoples in similar circumstances have always done. Let the peoples of the liberated countries alone. Let them fight if they want to, and settle their own affairs.

26. I say, in the first place, that there is no reason to believe that the colonies which have immensely contributed to the economic wealth of the metropolitan countries would not be able to build up economically viable States of their own. Nor is there any reason to believe that the peoples of the colonies, having fought long and hard to free themselves from colonial subjugation, and provided there is no foreign intrigue and subversion, would fail to enjoy peacefully the benefit of their hard-won freedom.

27. But if, in spite of all, the question would be to choose between freedom with all its attendant economic difficulties and internal conflicts on the one hand, and the maintenance of colonial rule with all its attendant subjugation, exploitation, degradation and humiliation, and so on, on the other, I would right away and unequivocally say that the peoples, all peoples, under colonial rule prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in slavery, and they will definitely prefer fighting in freedom to peace in slavery.

28. There was a time when the spirit of enterprise and heroism, the power, the greatness and prosperity of a nation were measured by the extent and number of its colonies. There was a time when to own colonies gave pride and glory to those nations owning such colonies. But that is all a matter of the past. Today, to own colonies is no longer glorifying. Today it is not in owning but in freeing colonies that nations take pride, and even those which still entertain the hope of keeping their colonies are trying to do so under different names. Thus, the terms "overseas territories", "overseas provinces", etc., are coined for the former colonies. The names "colonial Power" and "colonies", once a source of pride and glorification to those owning colonial territories, are now becoming more and more embarrassing to them, and I think we can safely say that it will not be long when to own colonies not only will be considered as a disgrace but also as a crime, in the same way as slavery has been so considered.

29. All this coining of new names for the colonies and inventing of excuses to delay the liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the colonial Powers, are significant proof that colonialism is a thing which

cannot be maintained and that the colonial Powers themselves know it.

30. In fact, the representative of the United Kingdom, whose political foresight, particularly, in this field has been widely appreciated, said only the other day from this rostrum [925th meeting] that it was as regards the method of achieving the end and not the end itself that differences of opinion exist between his Government and those insisting on immediate liberation of all the colonies.

31. Well, since there is no difference of opinion as regards the end—that is, the ultimate liberation of all the peoples presently under colonial rule on the basis of their right of self-determination—there cannot, or at least there should not be, in the view of my delegation, differences of opinion as regards the method to achieve such end.

32. We all agree that the ultimate end sought is the liberation of all colonial peoples from the colonial bonds. If so, is there a better method than ascertaining the wishes of the colonial peoples, under free conditions, as to what they think best for their future? We believe that this is the best method.

33. A declaration abolishing colonialism, a declaration telling the colonial peoples that they are free to choose what they want as to their future, does not prevent any of them from freely and voluntarily associating themselves with their former metropolitan countries in any form, if they deem such association advantageous to them.

34. With respect to certain territories in Africa and Asia considered as overseas provinces of metropolitan countries in Europe, we frankly fail to be persuaded by the arguments of our friends and colleagues representing such metropolitan countries. What makes these far-off territories part of the metropolitan countries? It is not geographical, economic, historical, racial, ethnical, cultural, or any other identity; nor is it a common agreement, freely and voluntarily arrived at. It is simply a law unilaterally enacted by the metropolitan countries. As to what effect such a law, enacted unilaterally and lacking the agreement of one of the parties, would have, the answer is, I think, clear. Just imagine country A, somewhere in Africa, enacting a law by which country B, in Europe or in America, is made a province of country A. What effect would such a law have? None. It would have no effect either in law or in fact, because country A has not the necessary military might to enforce its law nor has it the agreement of country B to become a province.

35. In the case between the colonial countries in Africa and Asia and the metropolitan countries in Europe, while the claim of these metropolitan countries that the far-off colonies can be considered as part of themselves cannot have legal effect because the agreement of one of the parties is lacking, such claim, however, has effect, in fact, simply because these metropolitan countries have military might over the unarmed peoples of their colonies. It is, therefore, a question of force; it is a question of domination by force; it is colonialism, again.

36. That is why I said a moment ago that the argument of some of the representatives of the metropolitan countries was not persuasive, and we appeal to these representatives and to all the other Members to give their full support to the draft resolution containing the

declaration of which I have just spoken [A/L.323 and Add.1-2] and which, we believe, will serve the interests of all, including that of the colonial Powers.

37. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): At none of the previous sessions of the General Assembly has the problem of the colonial peoples and of the final abolition of colonialism been presented with such convincing force as at our current session. The admission to United Nations membership of seventeen new States, every one of which in its history has experienced oppression and colonial exploitation, was a great demonstration of the international import of this problem. It became one of the key issues of our general debate. It ran as a major theme through discussions on many items on the agenda of the Main Committees of this session. It is now, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, being discussed here in the General Assembly in all its aspects, with a view to the adoption of the only just decision.

38. The problem has become ripe for final solution. The new balance of forces in the world has created a situation in which the laws of imperialism no longer play a decisive role. The victorious national liberation movements in Asia and Africa strengthen the anti-colonial front and inspire by their example the still dependent peoples.

39. The unprecedented progress of science and technology, the triumph of man's thought over the forces of nature, as well as the broad possibilities of the peaceful development of humanity, do not allow any further tolerance of colonial dependence and of keeping peoples in poverty and ignorance while they, like all of us, have the right to independence and to a better future.

40. Indeed, where colonialism extended its power, we saw the extermination of subjugated peoples, the destruction of their culture, the imposition of alien institutions and patterns. We saw the merciless exploitation of their labour and natural resources, inhuman racial discrimination, denial of the fruits of civilization. Its characteristic traits are not some of the very recent forms of colonial administration, evolved in recent years owing to ever stronger and ever growing pressures of the progressive forces all over the world. Those new forms, obtained thanks to the steadfast resistance of colonial peoples and the anti-colonial debates and resolutions of the United Nations, have not changed the very essence of colonialism.

41. The political importance, economic might and high standards of living of the metropolitan Powers have been built upon the sweat, blood and tears of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. What benefits accrued to the indigenous populations as the result of the discovery of gold and diamonds in Africa, of the establishment of rubber plantations and exploitation of the mineral riches of Asia, of sugar-cane plantations and tropical fruits in Latin America, of the finding of uranium in the Congo? The fate of those peoples was decided at the stock exchanges and commodity markets in London, Paris, Brussels and New York, and their life was regimented by the colonial offices in the metropolitan territories.

42. To what extent have the great achievements of science and civilization been spread among colonial peoples? What the colonial administration did—if it did anything at all—for the dependent peoples, it did not do in the sense of fulfilling any civilizing mission, as the defenders of colonialism, including the ill-advised

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, would like us to believe. It was done either for the sake of selfish interests or under the pressure of political circumstances.

43. May I be permitted to add here that the United Kingdom representative did try to divert our attention from the problem of colonialism by insinuations regarding the situation in Eastern Europe. But the record of his country in that part of the world cannot withstand any objective scrutiny; it is nothing that anyone can be proud of. I shall not say anything more on the matter. For our part, we prefer to stick to the topic of our debate.

44. I repeat: Whatever was done in the colonies was done for the sake of selfish interests. Roads were built, railways and communications systems established, because they were needed by the colonizers. A minimum of professional education was provided, only to the extent needed for exploitation of those territories. The minimum of political rights was meted out when the pressure of the masses grew and when the balance of forces in the world was changing.

45. What were the results? The per caput national income of France and Belgium is about \$900 but, in some of the African countries which previously were colonies of those States, it does not exceed \$50 to \$70. In the United Kingdom, the per caput national income is about \$1,100, while in Kenya, rich and amply endowed by nature, it is about \$100, including, of course, the high incomes of white colonists. And we know from official United Nations data, from data contained in the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the per caput income of Africans in Kenya is thirty-three times less than that of the non-African population. In Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is forty-three times less.

46. In Southern Rhodesia, 200,000 European settlers have taken 51 per cent of the best land, while the 3 million Africans have been restricted to the worst soil, occupying only 42 per cent of the whole area. The rest of the land is in the hands of the colonial administration and is being administered in the interests of the white settlers. In the African colonies of Portugal, there is forced labour. Almost the whole population is reduced to the humiliating status created by the colonial administration and described as "uncivilized". Shall I go on reminding you of facts which we all know well from the documents and from the proceedings, over many years, of the Fourth Committee?

47. Illiteracy in colonial territories is wide-spread, sometimes encompassing up to 90 per cent of the adult population. It cannot be otherwise when, for long years, the metropolitan Powers supported the principle that limitation of education prevents the growth of national consciousness and of tendencies to political emancipation. Colonial administrations of many countries have purposely, and in a planned way, hampered the education of the indigenous intelligentsia and of the indigenous "cadres" of skilled workers. This was particularly true in the Congo, and many political or administrative difficulties of the new Republic are a direct result of that policy of the colonizers.

48. Today, however, this state of affairs can no longer continue. The just national aspirations of the colonial peoples cannot be lulled or deceived by offering piecemeal political rights. Besides, of what value is a constitution such as that of Malta or British Guiana, for

example, which can be suspended by the colonial administration whenever it sees fit, in spite of the wishes of the people and at a moment when they want to avail themselves of the rights given to them? It is no mere coincidence that, at a time when the constitutions of Malta and British Guiana were suspended, Southern Rhodesian laws—forming the basis for the functioning of the colonial administration there, which follows the pattern of the discriminatory policy of the Union of South Africa—remain in force. Out of 3 million Africans in Southern Rhodesia, only 2,000 have the right to vote.

49. Colonial administrators may cherish the illusion that they can gain time by a policy of repression. But is it not obvious that they cannot arrest the ultimate defeat of colonialism? This had to be admitted even by the Advisory Commission of the British Government which inquired recently into the situation in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We read in Lord Monckton's report:

"To say that events are moving fast in Africa is a truism. They are moving like an avalanche, and it appears only too likely that those who merely cling to their familiar position will be swept away."

They will be swept away, not only in Africa. Colonialism can neither be reformed nor improved. One cannot reform a system the very essence of which is domination by force, to subordinate the interests of the dependent peoples to political and economic needs of the colonial Powers. One cannot improve a system built upon the principle of racial and cultural inferiority of some nations in relation to others, this being a challenge to the basic tenets of humanism. One cannot deny to other peoples what one asks for one's own nation. The abolition of colonialism is in conformity with the objective laws governing the development of society; it is a requirement of justice and equity.

50. The colonial peoples have a right to independent existence. They demand today the right to decide their future, and this demand must be satisfied forthwith as the Soviet Declaration so rightly sets forth. This concerns all the colonial territories irrespective of their formal and legal status; it concerns Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories within the meaning of the United Nations Charter; it concerns also protectorates and areas leased in foreign lands. The majority of colonial territories are still to be found in Africa, but we should not forget that not only Asia but also Latin America and the Pacific region are not free from colonialism. What is at stake is the future of a hundred million people, and there can be no compromise on that.

51. The experience of history shows that colonialism is not yielding of its own will. Indeed, at times the strength of its stubborn resistance leads to sharp conflicts prolonging and increasing the sufferings of dependent peoples. The history of accession to independence of many post-colonial States such as India, Indonesia, Morocco, Cyprus and others, which are today Members of our Organization, is a telling illustration of this all too well founded truth. As a result of the very same colonial policy, Viet-Nam is still today divided and is not a Member of the United Nations. For seven years the Algerian people have been waging their heroic struggle for the right to freedom and independent existence, while in the Congo we witness attempts at restoring colonial dependence under new

forms, of course, under new guise, even after the proclamation of independence.

52. That is why many leaders of former colonies which have already been liberated or of dependent territories still aspiring to independence were or are political prisoners whom the colonial administration has deprived of their freedom in order to prevent them from influencing their peoples. I can quote here the names of Pandit Nehru, Dr. Banda, Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Jagan—to mention but a few. Many, like Um Nyobe of the Cameroons, were killed in the struggle for freedom. As the representative of Mali so rightly said in his speech on 28 September 1960: "The emancipation of colonies has always been the result of pressure..." [876th meeting, para. 188].

53. The United Nations decision concerning the final abolition of colonialism should be, therefore, very emphatic, unequivocal in its meaning, and backed by the whole authority of our Organization. We should not be swayed from this road by arguments advanced by the defenders of colonialism in the present discussion. We should in particular not be misled by the view that the colonial peoples allegedly require preparation for their freedom and that political independence must be preceded by a lengthy economic and social development, under foreign guidance.

54. It would be difficult to deny that the predatory colonial system, the exploitation of local labour kept purposely in a state of backwardness and ignorance, the stifling of political life, all those and other inalienable elements of colonialism leave in their wake the under-development of the dependent territories, so that those countries are backward in the technical and economic sense and lack qualified manpower. But all this precisely calls for the speediest possible abolition of the colonial system.

55. The colonizers are not the best educators of nations along the road towards independence. They are those in whose interest it is to maintain the status of dependence as long as possible. To paraphrase George Washington's words, "It is folly in a colonial country to look for disinterested favours from the colonizers". On the other hand, the experience of all newly established States shows clearly that after gaining independence, owing to the creative efforts of their own, they have begun to develop in all fields much quicker as compared with the period when they were under the colonial system.

56. The fallacy of the reactionary theory of dividing nations into those able and those unable to govern themselves has been completely exposed. Therefore, the historic Soviet Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is fully justified in stating:

"Life shows that on the heels of liberation come the rebirth, upsurge and flowering of distinctive national cultures, the spread of public education, the improvement of health care, the training of skilled national personnel..." [A/4502].

57. The end to colonial exploitation facilitates the better use of the national resources of the hitherto dependent territories, increases their demand for foreign goods, enlarges their exports, raises their industrial capacity and serves the development of the world economy as a whole.

58. If the representative of Guinea will permit me, I will use the example of Guinea. Two years after accession to independence Guinea, in spite of the grave forecasts and in spite of attempts by colonizers, is developing favourably. The Three Year Economic Plan of that country envisages annual investments twenty-five times higher than the average annual investment during the last ten years of the colonial régime. The number of students and pupils has doubled while the number of scholarships has increased three times.

59. Again, with the permission of the representative of Ghana, may I say that the Government of Ghana has published the second Five Year Plan of National Development which envisages a considerable development of industry and diversification of economy. According to official data of the International Monetary Fund, the increase of the gross national product of Ghana in the years 1954-1957—when the country was a British colony—was 2.5 million pounds, whereas the relevant figures for the year following the independence were already 14.4 million pounds.

60. Nigeria is planning the development of its great hydro-electric potential and full utilization of its national riches of iron ores and oil. The independence gave West Africa a stimulus to an unprecedented growth. The same will happen to East Africa and all the countries which have to be released from colonial bonds.

61. The President of Guinea, M. Sékou Touré, was of course fully justified in stating from this rostrum on 10 October 1960:

"... national independence presupposes not only political liberation but also, and above all, total economic liberation. No social progress is possible unless those two essential conditions are met." [896th meeting, para. 16.]

62. The countries liberated from the yoke of colonialism must be assisted to join, under conditions of complete equality and non-discrimination, in the international exchange of goods and services. Those countries should have complete freedom of disposing of their natural resources and of establishing their economic relations with other countries on the basis of mutual advantages. We must create for them the possibilities of diversifying their economic structure. We should prevent them from falling under any new form of dependence. Do not forget how and why three years ago the colonial Powers were opposing here the establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa which can play an important role in the proper defence of the economic interests of that region.

63. At present we see again even more clearly the efforts of certain well-defined circles, particularly in the United States, to strengthen their influence in Africa, in the newly liberated States. Thus the independence of those States, so dearly paid for, could be speedily and cheaply lost in a new form of dependence, neo-colonial dependence. The Polish delegation will discuss this subject again in connexion with other items on the agenda of our session.

64. Only the immediate, complete abolition of colonial dependence can become the ultimate embodiment of the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter, for the Charter recognized as one of the basic purposes

of our Organization, "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". At the same time Article 73 of the Charter recognized the undeniable fact that there were in 1945 peoples who "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". The very words "not yet" implied the provisional character of "Non-Self-Governing Territories". The same applies to Article 76, which lays down the objectives for the Trusteeship System.

65. Whatever interpretation is applied to Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, they clearly mean that the institutions and procedures provided by them are transitory and temporary. There can be no question as to whether independence is to be accorded to the peoples inhabiting the territories mentioned in these chapters, the only question to which a reply had to be given was "when?"

66. The purposes and principles of the United Nations are of basic character; they are the very foundation of our Organization and its very being depends on their implementation. To implement them, other provisions of the Charter call for proper interpretation. Wherever necessary, certain processes must be completed and terminated. This applies to Chapters XI and XII, which were meant to operate for a limited time only. Their artificial perpetuation or even prolongation would contradict paragraph 2 of Article 1 of the Charter. It would amount to the denial of the purposes of the United Nations to some peoples of our globe. No such meaning could be attributed to the Charter as a whole or to any of its provisions.

67. It is therefore obvious that these stipulations were not meant to last for ever, nor even for very long. The Charter left the reply to the question, when the institutions of Non-Self-Governing Territories or Trust Territories should be replaced by full self-determination and independence, to events, to life. And, indeed, life has offered this reply in the successive years after 1945, and the year 1960 seems to have given it in full. That is why it is in full accord with the Charter, both its letter and spirit, that both the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories ought to disappear, that all dependent territories and peoples should be granted full independence.

68. I would like to recall the words of the President Sukarno of Indonesia, who rightly stressed here on 30 September 1960:

"The balance of the world has changed since that day in June fifteen years ago when the Charter was signed in the United States city of San Francisco, at a moment when humanity was emerging from the horror of war. The fate of humanity can no longer be decided by a few large and powerful nations..." [880th meeting, para. 54].

President Sukarno also said:

"The United Nations is no longer the same body as that which signed the Charter fifteen years ago. Nor is this world the same world. Those who laboured in wisdom to produce the Charter of this Organization could not have foreseen the shape which it has taken today. Of those wise and far-sighted men, but few realized that the end of imperialism was in sight..." [ibid., para. 183].

69. The United Nations Charter was an expression of those ideals for which the peoples fought during the Second World War against fascism and nazism. The

sons of Asia and Africa were also shedding their blood. Common was this struggle and also common should be the fruits of victory. The Charter has strengthened the conviction that the ideals of freedom and equality for which the peoples united in the fight against fascism and nazism gave their lives on the battlefields of the Second World War cannot be reconciled with colonialism, with the subjugation of nations, with racial discrimination. Indeed, in many a dependent territory the return of soldiers from the battlefields of the Second World War sounded the beginning of the struggle for independence. Do I need to cite more than two of those countries—Ghana and Nigeria?

70. All attempts at preserving the colonial system or at defending the privileged position which it has given to colonial Powers are contrary to the Charter. They are bound to render the development of international co-operation more difficult and constitute an obstacle on the road of social, cultural and economic development of all nations. How many conflicts, dangerous to peace, have arisen precisely as a result of the senseless resistance of the colonial forces against the irreversible trend of history?

71. The war in Algeria has become an international problem. The situation in the Congo is fraught with danger. The continuation of the present policy of the Governments of the Union of South Africa and of Portugal gives rise to fears of further disturbances in international relations. The policy pursued by the Western Powers and NATO in establishing military bases and experimental testing grounds for nuclear weapons, contrary to the manifest desires of the whole region, of the countries liberated from the colonial oppression, has also become an international problem. Nor does neo-colonialism, seeking new forms of imposing dependence, serve the interest of peace.

72. On the other hand the complete abolition of colonialism can set free all the best forces of the new nations. The countries liberated from under the colonial yoke have already made their valuable contribution to the building and the strengthening of peaceful coexistence of nations.

73. The Bandung Conference, during which such an important role was played by the People's Republic of China, was a great historic manifestation of the constructive peaceful role of those new forces. Following Bandung there were conferences in Tunis, Tangier, Conakry, Addis Ababa and Accra. The representative of Ethiopia, who preceded me on this rostrum, also mentioned this. All of these conferences were animated by concern not only for the common good of all the peoples of Asia and Africa but also for a further peaceful development of international relations all over the world. Indeed, the abolition of colonial dependence can also foster better understanding between the colonial peoples and the metropolitan nations. That is to be desired. Both would gain. The world community of nations would gain.

74. If the United Nations is to meet fully its tasks, it has also to react speedily to the changes now taking place in contemporary international relations. If it wants actively to influence the shaping of the present reality and reflect the desires and aspirations of peoples, the United Nations should without delay take a decision on the immediate abolition of colonialism.

75. The United Nations decision should urge all the colonial Powers immediately to enter into negotiations

with representatives of the dependent peoples in order to reach an agreement on the establishment of freedom and independence for the hitherto colonial countries. Steps should be advised and undertaken in order to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial countries without any conditions or reservations. It should remain the task of the United Nations to safeguard the full implementation of such provisions. The United Nations is facing a historic decision. Historic in this respect is the responsibility of all the delegations assembled here. Let us meet this responsibility.

76. Mr. DJERDJA (Yugoslavia): In taking the floor in this debate, I wish to point out immediately that it is not my intention to examine when and how the phenomenon of colonialism appeared or how, when and why it came about in the world that some peoples imposed their domination upon others, compelling them to a life without freedom, often akin to the slavery of ancient times. A whole literature has been written about this aspect, and ample light has also been shed upon colonialism from this angle during the past fourteen sessions of the Assembly. Perhaps we should only add here that there are fewer and fewer people in the world today who dare openly to defend colonialism and colonial relationships and who dare to assert that such relationships are justified in the present-day world. Both the history and the actual substance of colonialism have been clarified to such an extent and exposed to such general condemnation that, no matter what one might think oneself or how one might try to act in practice, one cannot muster up the necessary courage to identify oneself with or to place oneself openly on the side of colonialism. This fact speaks rather eloquently for itself.

77. Our present debate arises out of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples presented to this session by the delegation of the USSR [A/4502 and Corr.1]. In our opinion, therefore, what we should actually debate here is the specific and complex question of existing colonial relationships as a whole. Or, to be even more precise, it is a question of concrete measures that we and our Organization should undertake here and now in order to put an end to these relationships and thus eliminate from contemporary society the remnants of a system which belongs to the past.

78. It appears from this that the way in which the problem under consideration presents itself to us is rather new. Actually, at earlier sessions we approached colonialism only from the angle of its individual aspects when discussing situations or conflicts in various colonies. A number of different circumstances—among which the evolution of colonialism itself during the past decade also has its place—have brought about a situation where we are today dealing with the colonial problem as a whole and where we are seeking solutions for the most complete and most direct abolition of colonialism in its entirety. During the last decade and a half, several dozens of colonies have found their rightful place in the world and they now live among us and act as free and independent States. They stand among us as a living proof of the obsolescence of a system which was built and maintained only on the basis of the right of the stronger. The remnants of this system in present-day society stand out like suspicious and unhealthy cancerous growths on a healthy human body. If there were no other reasons to search for final measures for a radical liquidation of these

relationships, the very fact would suffice that they can and must be compared only with such growths on a human body which they threaten to poison and destroy if not eliminated entirely. The five-year war against the people of Algeria and also, in its many aspects, the months-long tragedy of the Congo, as a typical product of contemporary colonial policy—not to enumerate other examples for the time being—constitute a bloody confirmation of the truth that colonialism is one of the worst running sores of the present-day social and international community.

79. It actually appears rather absurd that here today, in 1960, while on the one hand we are already conquering the universe, entering an era in the development of mankind about which we could not even dare to dream only a few years ago, at this time we should find ourselves having to argue that we should not stand with a foot in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and that we should finally and forever rid ourselves of prejudices and negative legacies of the past which are dangerously pulling us backwards, threatening to lead us even more dangerously astray.

80. Because of such negative legacies and even more dubious material advantages, the protagonists of colonialism are unable to realize the untenability of their own situation and of the situation that they are creating by their short-sighted policies. They are stubbornly endeavouring to preserve the remnants of the past. For the sake of selfish privileges, they oppose the general course of events without hesitating to undertake actions aimed at forcibly interrupting or changing this course which unavoidably causes crises and conflicts and is a constant threat to peace. The anti-colonial transformation which has changed the face of whole continents since the Second World War, altering thereby the picture of the rest of the world as well, has passed unnoticed by the supporters of colonialism and has remained without echo. It appears that they often draw the conclusion from this and similar beneficial changes which have taken place in the course of the last two decades, namely, that they must persevere in their resistance and continue their efforts to put a stop to the process of change, and to achieve this regardless of the means employed.

81. Let us cite once again, for purposes of illustration and as a proof, the example of Algeria and the case of the Congo—not, perhaps, because they would be the only ones, but merely because their bloody drama, brought about by such a policy of the colonialists, is strikingly unfolding before our eyes. We cannot but point out here that a tendency has manifested itself simultaneously in various colonial capitals in recent times to place in the service of this policy, particularly on the soil of Africa, the military-political machinery of a coalition, which would multiply the present dangers to unheard-of proportions, and would increase our concern for peace and the future of Africa, resulting thereby in its dangerous involvement in the cold war.

82. Under these circumstances, we have discussed, at this session of the General Assembly, the colonial problems first of all in the Fourth Committee and also elsewhere, whenever they came up. Under these conditions it is natural that we approach the colonial problem here in plenary meeting with the conviction that it is high time to undertake measures which would bring about the direct and complete liquidation of remaining colonial relations. Actually, these relationships have

been ripe for liquidation for a long time already; on the other hand, by their perpetuation, they exercise an ever more destructive influence upon progress and peace among nations in the world.

83. In the days of the founding of the United Nations, when the Charter of our Organization was drafted, there seemed to be a general consensus, tacit or explicit, that the days of colonial relationships were numbered, and that the termination of these relationships was one of the important tasks of the United Nations Organization, as well as the principal obligation of the colonial Powers towards the peoples over whom they had established their rule and domination. Since this seemed to be the case, the language of the Charter in regard to the colonial problem is perhaps not always precise; nevertheless, it is very definite and unequivocal, especially if we wish to ascertain the actual substance and to feel the spirit of what is embodied in the Charter.

84. In token of such an understanding, important provisions, contained especially in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, were devoted to the colonies, and under this term we equally understand Non-Self-Governing as well as Trust Territories. These provisions were drafted and incorporated into the Charter in co-operation with the colonial Powers, which should be particularly borne in mind when interpreting them and when drawing conclusions about the rights and obligations of one side or the other. This co-operation of the colonial Powers with the United Nations was perhaps partly due to the general enthusiasm engendered in the world as a result of the victory over the enemy of freedom, over fascism. If it is so, this does not diminish in the least but, on the contrary—in our view—only enhances the value of the provisions of the Charter on the colonies, because in this way a corresponding moral substance is added to a formal legal obligation.

85. To our mind, the actual meaning of the aforementioned chapters of the Charter, in their substance, is that the colonial Powers should promote the progress of the peoples under their administration and to lead these peoples towards national independence through adequate administration and under the supervision and control of the United Nations. No time limits have been set, nor are the other individual elements sufficiently defined, but the sense and the aim are clear. Why, otherwise, would the chapters of the Charter on the colonies find their place in a document which was accepted in all parts of the world from the very beginning as a Charter of peace and freedom for all, without distinction? It is completely unbelievable that there should be some among us who would assert that these chapters were drafted and became an important component of the Charter of our Organization, perhaps for the purpose of legalizing and perpetuating, on the one hand, the rights and privileges of stronger and more advanced peoples and, on the other hand, the poverty and slavery of weaker and less advanced peoples.

86. What does Chapter XI of the Charter, relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories, specifically say concerning the tasks and obligations of the colonial Powers, and about colonial administration over these territories? Chapter XI stipulates, by way of introduction, that the colonial Powers have assumed, under the Charter, as a "sacred trust", the obligations embodied in sub-paragraphs a and b of Article 73. The said paragraphs read as follows:

"a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

"b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement."

87. As we have already mentioned, the language of the chapter in this respect is perhaps not perfect with regard to precision, and had the texts of the above chapters been drafted later or today, they would probably be better as regards the wording and the form. However, it seems to us that, in spite of this, not an especially great effort is needed to ascertain and to deduce from these words and formulations their real meaning, that is to say, that the peoples in the colonies, all of them, without distinction, who have been deprived temporarily, and in every respect unlawfully, of their fundamental rights, are entitled to progress and national independence to which the colonial administration, under the supervision of the United Nations, should lead them.

88. Let us see now what Chapter XII, Article 76 b, says about Trust Territories:

"b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement."

Both in form and language, this provision is clearer than the others, but the differences in words cannot conceal the substantial identity, in our view, of purposes, missions, and obligations. In both cases it is the task of the colonial Powers to promote the progress of the colonies, to respect their individualities, to protect these peoples from arbitrary acts and abuses, and finally to develop free democratic institutions on the basis of the aims and aspirations of these peoples towards self-government, freedom and independence.

89. If the document of a bureaucratic institution were involved, it might be possible, perhaps, to draw certain conclusions on the basis of isolated words and lack of precision. However, as we are faced here with a major historical document of an eminent moral, political and legal significance, we must approach it differently, we should consider it and appraise it in the light of historical relations and changes, and ascertain the spirit with which it is imbued, and the meaning which is inherent in it. By approaching it in this manner we cannot draw any other conclusions but those which we have constantly formulated and upheld—and not only at the current session of the General Assembly—demanding that the United Nations accept and implement them. Another approach and different conclusions to which the colonial Powers are inclined would mean to appraise the Charter as a document sanctioning and perpetuating the enslavement of some peoples for the benefit of other peoples, which would, in our view, amount to legal nonsense as well as to a morally and politically untenable thesis.

90. One decade and a half after the drafting of the Charter of our Organization, our understanding and interpretation of the aforementioned chapters of the Charter on the colonies have received an indirect, it is true, but rather solid confirmation in an important United Nations document to which we attach all the more significance as it was elaborated with the participation of the representatives of the colonial Powers. I have in mind the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter—submitted this year as document A/4526—which was debated and accepted in the Fourth Committee. The Committee of Six was set up pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, with the task of formulating the so-called principles on some aspects of colonial problems. The Committee elaborated a report, paragraph 18 of which reads as follows:

"The Charter is a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times. Under Article 73 of the Charter, Members of the United Nations recognize that in Non-Self-Governing Territories the interests of the inhabitants are paramount. The progressive development of self-government must take into account the particular circumstances of a territory and the aspirations of its peoples. Such development must be in tune with the movement towards freedom and equality everywhere." [A/4526, para. 18.]

91. How else could we interpret this but as an expression of the acknowledgement that, according to a correct interpretation of the Charter, the colonial Powers have the duty and obligation to act, in the colonies, in such a way as to lead them to the fulfilment of their yearnings and aspirations, and to the attainment of their elementary right to freedom, of which they were deprived only because they were weak and helpless when the stronger and more powerful imposed their yoke upon them.

92. Therefore, if this happens to be the case, and if words and written documents have any meaning, we could say that there is less and less difference about what the Charter says on the destiny of the colonies and the future of the peoples under colonial administration, as well as on the nature of the obligations and duties of the colonial Powers arising out of the provisions of the Charter.

93. However, the question arises: why have we been obliged constantly, at all former sessions, to solve disputes, to end crises and to extinguish conflagrations which have flared up, now in one colony and then in another, which still happens to be the case today in more than one place in the world? If this is so, why are we then compelled, also at the current session, to substantiate once again the purposes of the Charter and the obligations of the colonial Powers, and to seek to abolish in the colonial sphere—once and for all, this time—the relations which are causing so much uncertainty and uneasiness in the world by their very continuation?

94. In our opinion, the answer to this and similar questions should be sought and can be found in the field of the practical policies in the colonies, in the way in which the colonial powers administer the colonies and operate in them.

95. In practice, in actual fact, almost as a rule, the provisions of the Charter and the obligations arising out of them are ignored. In most of the colonies these Powers have acted as if the colonies were the private property of the colonial Powers and of the colonialist settlers. The fate of the colonies is in their hands and, for this reason, on the whole, they do not wish to be responsible to anyone, either to the international community, or even less to the peoples of the colonies. Even those among the colonial Powers which have been submitting limited information to the United Nations refuse to transmit political information, and especially refuse to permit appropriate United Nations supervision and action when they prove to be necessary.

96. Portugal and Spain, for instance, so far have not permitted the United Nations to approach in any form the colonies under their administration, and even less to gain an insight into what is being done there. Further to increase the irony, they justify this by resorting to legal subterfuges, saying that overseas parts of the metropolitan country are involved, and that, therefore, any United Nations action would constitute an interference in the domestic affairs of Member States.

97. However, the situation in these colonies is sufficiently well known and, judging by the events taking place in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and elsewhere, which have come to light in spite of deliberate attempts at isolation and concealment, the situation is gloomy. The population is officially divided into several categories, of which the category of indigenous inhabitants is, of course, the lowest. The indigenous inhabitants who, in Angola and Mozambique taken together, number approximately 10 million people, belong to the category of "uncivilized" persons, who are outside the laws of the country as they are considered to be unworthy to enjoy the benefits of these laws. Only the settlers or small numbers of persons of mixed race may acquire these privileges; that is, may become equal to Portuguese citizens before the law. Thus it happens that in countries having a population of more than 10 million, only approximately two to three hundred thousand people enjoy the fundamental rights of the laws of the country, and even the majority of this number is composed of foreign settlers.

98. Belgium did not act differently in its colonies, nor is it acting better at present. The author John Gunther, in his well-known book *Inside Africa*, painted, some time ago, an appalling picture of events and relations in the former Belgian colony of the Congo, and this has also been confirmed by other sources. On the other hand, the facts which became public knowledge in June of this year with regard to the eighty-five-year-old policy in the fields of education and training of domestic personnel in the Congo—a country dozens of times larger than Belgium—show that the results achieved are smaller, incomparably smaller, than the results achieved in this field during a much shorter period of time by a small Belgian commune. It is understandable after this that this policy had to have its share in the later tragic developments in the former colony. It is understandable, in the same way, that a similar policy of the same country in Ruanda-Urundi obliges us to watch with uneasiness the future development of that country, if the United Nations does not take adequate action in time.

99. At the current session of the Assembly, only a few weeks ago, we listened to the statements of peti-

tioners from South West Africa, a country which the Government of the Union of South Africa, in spite of its obligations and of the Charter, endeavours to denationalize and annex. The petitioners revealed, in the Fourth Committee, the fact that in their country, which has been under the rule of the Union of South Africa for forty years, there are fewer indigenous inhabitants with higher education than there are fingers on one hand. The Reverend Markus Kooper from the same country revealed on that occasion—I quote from the records of the Fourth Committee—that "in the hospitals at Gobabis and Keetmanshoop, which had been established to meet the criticisms of the United Nations, Africans were sometimes treated worse than dogs".^{4/}

100. The tragedy of Kenya during the past few years is widely known, and the struggle of the people of that country has already found its place in modern history. The peace and calm which reign in that country, at least for us observers from afar, greatly resembles the peace of the graves which have been strewn throughout the land during the course of the prolonged persecutions under various pretexts.

101. We could enumerate such examples indefinitely, and in doing this we could hardly exclude any colony because they have all gone through, or are going through, the trials experienced in their time by the colonies of Indo-China and Kenya, and which are now being experienced by Algeria, Oman and others.

102. The Fourth Committee had on its agenda this year an extraordinarily important document—the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/4371], on the progress achieved by the colonies during the last decade. I will quote only a few data on some economic aspects in the development of the colonies, as well as the situation in the field of race relations.

103. Paragraph 95 of the report, which is part of the chapter dealing with economic conditions, says the following:

"To a greater extent than in any other field of economic activity, large-scale mining operations in the Territories were financed by external capital and managed by non-indigenous interests. The direct contribution of mining to an improvement in the standards of living of the population was not always substantial, especially as the number of wage-earners employed was often relatively small. Indigenous participation was usually for the most part through unskilled labour ..." [A/4371, part two, para. 95].

This cannot mean anything else but that the essential riches of Non-Self-Governing Territories have been appropriated by the colonialists and foreigners.

104. The following data are added inter alia in paragraph 53 of the report:

"Thus in 1957 in the Belgian Congo the per caput personal income of the African population was \$42.20 and of the non-African \$2,973; in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the corresponding figures were \$39.20 and \$1,711; and in Kenya \$33.55 and \$1,100." [A/4371, part two, para. 53.]

Any further comment, of course, seems to us superfluous here. The extent of economic exploitation of peoples adequately speaks for itself.

105. In the majority of colonies, or to be more precise, in all the African colonies, the relations between races are poisoned and extremely tense because, in all these countries, actual and legal racial discrimination is being practised to the detriment, of course, of the peoples of the said countries. The world is sufficiently well acquainted with this also, and therefore I would limit myself here to quoting what the report has to say about this matter. The following description is to be found in section C, VI, paragraph 177:

"Discrimination on grounds of race or colour continued to exist in some Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was still to be found in its most acute form in African Territories, where immigrant communities are present. In all these Territories the indigenous inhabitants constitute the vast majority of the population, and the European group is often an extremely small minority, though the latter has exercised special political, social and economic privileges which are denied to the former. Not only was inferior treatment accorded in varying degrees to indigenous inhabitants in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, but in the economic and educational fields and in the exercise of political rights also, their role was restricted." [A/4371, part two, para. 177.]

106. In this respect I would like to quote only the example of Southern Rhodesia, which will illustrate concretely the above report. White settlers have divided the country into black and white areas, retaining, of course, as in the case of other colonies, the best land for themselves. This means practically that to the 3 million Africans, 39 million acres of land are allocated, while the less than a quarter of a million white settlers have some 48 million acres of the best land of the country set aside for them. In Southern Rhodesia no African may own land in the white area; he may not rent an office in an urban area, nor carry on business in a town or a city. African businesses must be carried on in segregated African townships.

107. In summarizing these data, which we could enumerate endlessly, we always come to the same conclusion, namely that policies contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter were and still are pursued in the colonies. Instead of progress, which has been assigned a particularly prominent place in the Charter, an insignificant progress, and even a lagging behind, accompanied by ruthless exploitation, have been registered in the majority of colonies. In fact, this is only one of the by-products of colonialism, and if it were not so, we would not be faced every year with an ever growing list of problems for which we are trying to find solutions here, and which constitute the legacy and consequence of colonialism in the various regions of the world. Instead of the protection of the people against abuses and lawlessness, arbitrary rule and a system of brute force most frequently prevail in the colonies. Racial discrimination flourishes particularly, and in this respect we have reached in the colonies the highest degree of absurdity, namely, that peoples in the twentieth century, in their own countries and their own homes, must struggle for at least an equal place in life with foreign rulers and their followers—the colonialist settlers.

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1050th meeting.

108. Viewing the problem under consideration in this light, we must come to the conclusion that colonial policy, in trampling under foot the provisions of the Charter, simultaneously violates the basic norms of the civilized world. Even if we accepted for a moment different views on the significance of the provisions of the Charter, and even if we accepted for a moment a different interpretation of the Charter with regard to the colonies, we would still be fully justified in considering that practical policies and actions and their effects in the colonies have no connexion whatsoever even with such views and interpretations.

109. In this connexion I cannot help referring to the example of Malta, which illustrates rather faithfully the assertion I have just made. This territory enjoyed a certain measure of internal self-government from 1947 to 1958, when the Constitution was abrogated. According to that Constitution, foreign relations and defence were in the hands of the British Government. According to the new Constitution, which is now in preparation, in addition to foreign relations and defence, even the civil service and the police—which formerly, under the previous Constitution, had been within the competence of the Maltese Government—are to be under the control of the British Government. In other words, this means that instead of progress towards full self-government, a Constitution is being prepared for Malta which actually amounts to a retrogression compared with earlier achievements. Furthermore, the Constitution is such that the colonial Power may abrogate it at any moment, which shows that there can be no talk of real self-government.

110. The demand that an end be put to colonial relations and that the United Nations exert energetic efforts with a view to undertaking direct and radical measures—this demand constitutes the only realistic policy of the United Nations today, as well as a great historical obligation of the whole international community. To reconcile oneself to the prolongation of the present situation and relations in this field would be for us tantamount, particularly today, to exposing the interests of the international community to a great risk, and to abandoning them to the whims of selfish and short-sighted policies.

111. Colonial relations are incompatible with the requirements and needs of development of contemporary society; they are contrary to the interests of the present-day international community. For this reason they have not been able to escape their fate. The colonial system has been rapidly disintegrating since the Second World War. Thus, it has disappeared, on the whole, in Asia and in the Middle East, whereas in Africa its proportions have been considerably reduced. The formerly numerous colonies have been replaced by independent countries and States, which have taken signal positions in the world in the efforts for peace, independence and progress.

112. Although, today, colonialism continues to exist only in the form of remnants, it nevertheless appears and presents itself as a very acute problem for many reasons. In this final phase of colonialism it is rather natural that the peoples of the colonies should more actively claim their rights and the satisfaction of their national aspirations, which colonial policy tends to smother by resorting to repression and force, out of which stem crises, conflicts, and even wars. It is precisely for the reason that colonies and colonial problems are often viewed from the angle of the stra-

tegic needs of the cold war that this problem gains in urgency and that its solution imposes itself as a component part of our general efforts towards easing tensions and ensuring peace among nations.

113. Actually, it seems today that the liberation of peoples from colonial domination is one of the prerequisites for the success of any serious effort aimed at consolidating peace and relaxing tension in the world. Peace is threatened from various directions and in different ways, but it appears to us that one of the main sources of the danger today to peace is to be found in colonial policy which provokes, now on one point of the globe and now on another, conflicts and conflagrations which can be resolved and extinguished only if the untenable colonial relations are abolished and if the justified aspirations of the peoples are satisfied.

114. We have always considered that colonial relations are untenable, and we have demanded their abolition for legal, historical and moral-political reasons. Today, however, they obviously emerge as a direct threat to the highest interests of the world, and therefore it has become essential in the general interest that the world rid itself of such an anomaly without any hesitation. In pleading for this, my delegation has always believed that we should do it in the general interest and in our own national interests as well. The Yugoslav delegation believes that today the abolition of colonial relationships is also in the well-conceived interests of the colonial Powers themselves, which are facing the danger of bending under the burden of the stubborn pursuit of colonial policy—and we have seen this happen many times already.

115. What can the colonial Powers expect and hope to achieve today by stubbornly prolonging relations which are obsolete and untenable? The maintenance of a huge apparatus for oppression, of expensive armed forces which are exhausting the metropolitan countries both materially and morally, and yet remain without effect: this is a burden which cannot be eschewed, and the results in the end are always tantamount to defeat.

116. In the course of the process of the abolition of colonial relationships, our Organization has considerably contributed to the acceleration of that process and has, within the limits of its possibilities, exerted efforts to assist the peoples in the colonies to realize their legitimate and natural rights. Thanks to these efforts exerted by the United Nations, this process has often evolved less painfully and more rapidly than would otherwise have been the case, and the events in various complex situations have developed more steadily and smoothly than would have been the case without the presence and efforts of our Organization. For these reasons, and because of our belief that the United Nations has great possibilities and a great historical obligation with regard to the abolition of the remaining colonial relationships, we consider that, today also, this Organization's action in that field is vital and essential.

117. In this intervention we have, as on earlier occasions when problems of this nature have been discussed, taken the position upon which progress in the world and peace among nations depend to a very great extent. The United Nations, as the guardian of peace and the instrument of peaceful co-operation among nations, has, in our view, special responsibilities and

great possibilities to make the future of peace and of the world in general more secure through the adoption of adequate decisions. The ideas on the liquidation of colonialism, as well as their adequate implementation, are in harmony with the responsibilities of the United Nations, with the responsibilities of the international community, and with the rights of the peoples in the colonies. Therefore, we consider the implementation of these ideas to be indispensable today.

118. Guided by such considerations, my delegation will accept and support all appropriate resolutions or decisions likely to lead us to the immediate abolition of colonial relationships. My delegation will support every decision likely to lead us to the unreserved

recognition of the right of the peoples in the colonies to independence, every decision likely to bring about the disappearance—in the immediate future—from the soil of Asia, Latin America and, particularly, Africa, of the last remnants of a system which we rightly consider to be the running sore of the contemporary social community and one of the greatest sources of danger to peace in the present-day world.

119. In conclusion, I wish to reserve my delegation's right to speak again, when the time comes, in the debate on concrete draft resolutions or declarations.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.