

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



933rd
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 2 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 87: Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (continued) . . .	1085

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French):
On the initiative of the Government of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Nations has
before it a grave problem with vast international
ramifications: the problem of the final and complete
eradication of that shameful survival of another era
known as colonialism. At a time when human society
has taken enormous strides on the road to progress
and well-being and when man's genius knows no
bounds in harnessing the forces of nature to ensure
to all mankind a happy life in prosperity and dignity,
the existence on our planet of millions of human
beings who still endure the colonialist yoke, in
whatever form, not only is an intolerable anachronism
unworthy of our society but is at the same time the
gravest possible crime against humanity and human
civilization and one which directly affects the question
of world peace. It is high time to put an end to it
altogether, once and for all.

2. The attainment of national independence and
freedom by the still subject peoples is inevitable.
This is the natural evolution of human history and
there is no force in the world powerful enough to
stop the tremendous tide of this movement of national
liberation which over the last few years has gathered
volume at an unprecedentedly rapid rate.

3. Now, however, the world turns to the United
Nations to ask it, in accordance with the fundamental
purposes and principles of the Charter, to make its
important contribution to the immediate abolition of
the colonial slavery which has become intolerable
and to do this before the peoples, relying only on
themselves, achieve their liberation solely through
their own efforts. Upon the response which the
United Nations will be able to give to this categorical
imperative of our century—which is not only the urgent
demand of the subjugated peoples but also the ardent
wish of mankind as a whole—will depend in large
measure the very future of our Organization.

4. Indeed, is it not the human being who is the
final end of our Organization? Was it not in order to
ensure to peoples and to nations, whether great or
small, the full enjoyment of their fundamental rights,

self-determination, equal rights, freedom, inde-
pendence and well-being that the United Nations was
established?

5. The problem of the colonial enslavement of peoples
is nothing new. It has existed for centuries, and even
goes as far back as the first aggressive wars waged
by the strong to enslave the weak and strip them of
their wealth. It is the very essence of the history of
all the wars which the imperialists have waged to
subjugate the peoples of different continents by force,
fire and the sword in order to secure for themselves
the profits to be obtained by exploiting those peoples
and their wealth. In the final analysis all the wars
of the past century had the same causes: the inordinate
desire of the imperialist Powers to seize control of
world markets, the sources of raw materials and
areas of investment opportunity and, to that end, to
secure colonies and spheres of influence and to divide
up and redistribute the world's wealth. The two world
wars which have taken place in this century had their
origin in the greed of these same Powers for a
further division of the world and its wealth, for an
imperialist world hegemony and for the selfish and
exclusive exploitation of the wealth of this terrestrial
globe. The same causes have been at the root of the
wars and armed conflicts which have taken place
since the end of the Second World War. The cause
of these wars has been the imperialists' determination
to prevent people from achieving their national liber-
ation and the young States from developing in freedom
and independence. This was true of the wars in Indo-
China and Indonesia and of the armed aggression
against Egypt; it was also true of the aggression
and of the armed threats of the imperialist Powers,
and primarily of the United States of America, in
the countries of the Near and Middle East. The co-
lonialist-imperialist wars are continuing at the present
time and are everywhere causing the loss of countless
lives and material goods. A case in point is Algeria,
where the valiant Algerian people have won the admir-
ation and sympathy of the world in their heroic
struggle for national liberation and their six-year
resistance to the most brutal kind of armed re-
pression. This is also the case of the Congo, where
we are witnessing the armed intervention of the
Western Powers which are members of NATO, and in
particular the United States and Belgium. Again, this
is the case of Oman, where the valiant people of
that country, despite the enemy's military superi-
ority, are waging a selfless and unremitting struggle
to free themselves of the British imperialist yoke.
Lastly, this is the case of Cuba, where the United
States imperialists shrink from nothing—neither
bombings, nor murder, nor subversion nor demon-
strations of force by the United States Navy—in their
efforts to undermine the régime set up by the people
and to protect, once again, the interests of the United
States monopolies. In this connexion, it is pertinent
to note that the United States Navy, which at one time

appears off the Mediterranean ports of the Middle East, at another in the Straits of Taiwan and at another in the Caribbean Sea, in accordance with the requirements of the Pentagon's aggressive plans, has become the symbol of provocation, the threat of force and the aggravation of international tension.

6. The problem of the liberation of the peoples enslaved by colonialism thus touches upon the very essence of the question of peace and war, with which it is intimately linked. The eradication from our society of the last vestiges of this shameful rottenness, the colonial system, and the ending of exploitation by foreign monopolies would not only constitute the most elementary recognition of the inalienable right of the colonial peoples to the alleviation of their age-old sufferings, but would also create the necessary conditions for the full social, economic and cultural development of these peoples. Without the slightest doubt, this would serve to reduce international tension and to create propitious conditions for the solution of other international problems, chief among which is the unquestionably urgent problem of general and complete disarmament.

7. We feel called upon at this point to refer to disarmament because we think it essential always to remember that as long as the imperialist Powers have in their hands the means of oppressing other peoples, they will not give up the possibility of using them each time their selfish interests are affected, and thus it will be impossible to ensure a lasting world peace. There can be no doubt that the eradication of the colonial system will very substantially enhance the unremitting efforts of the peace-loving peoples and the peaceful countries to establish co-operative and good-neighbourly relations between all nations, large and small, on the basis of the sovereign equality of States, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States—all this in the mutual interest of States and in the interest of the international community as a whole. This would be in full conformity with the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of our Organization.

8. The colonial peoples have always fought for their national liberation. After the great Russian Revolution of October 1917, a new era dawned in the history of mankind. The lofty humanitarian principles of the October Revolution spread throughout the entire world and found an especially warm welcome on the part of the peoples suffering under colonialist-imperialist domination. After the Second World War, a number of countries broke the chains of colonial and national oppression. The great victory over fascism in the Second World War resulted in breaking the chains of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe, where new Socialist countries came into being. The historic victory of the great Chinese people's revolution gave rise to the People's Republic of China, whose population amounts to some 700 million. These countries now constitute the world's Socialist system, which exerts a salutary influence on the course of world events and represents a factor of paramount importance for international peace and security.

9. During the same period, the struggle of the oppressed peoples enabled many countries of Asia and Africa to throw off the colonial yoke and achieve independence. During its most recent phase, the

liberation movement has gained increasing momentum, and this year has seen the emergence of sixteen new independent States in Africa, so that 1960 has been aptly called "the Year of Africa". The new States, which are now Members of the United Nations, are taking an active part in international life. They have thus greatly enlarged the area of peace. The colonial system is consequently disintegrating, and its very foundations are cracking; a new era is opening up for mankind. The face of Africa and Asia has been completely transformed, and the movement of national liberation and independence is growing in Latin America. Each day the struggle of the peoples still subject to the colonial yoke in Africa, Asia and Latin America is assuming larger dimensions. These peoples, numbering some 100 million human beings, will, without the slightest doubt, attain their independence, but in the meantime they continue to suffer under colonialist-imperialist domination. The United Nations owes it to itself therefore, in accordance with the principles of its Charter, to take effective measures to put an end totally and for all time to this shameful blemish on our civilization.

10. The liberation of the colonial countries has never been attributable to the colonial Powers, despite what their best spokesmen try to make us believe. It has resulted from the sustained efforts of the enslaved peoples and of the support which they have always received from other peaceful States and peoples. The imperialists never of their own volition forfeit the fabulous profits which they derive from the most savage exploitation of other people. The world is well informed on that score. There is no need to seek very far afield for conclusive evidence of this. It is enough to recall here the recent events in the Congo, which show how the imperialists, even at the moment when a country attains independence, conspire to take back what they had been forced to yield.

11. The colonial peoples have languished for centuries under inhuman exploitation by the imperialists. Millions of men have suffered under it; millions have fallen as victims of repression or in the struggle they have waged to achieve a free and independent life. The time has surely come to put an end to this régime of obscurantism, terror and exploitation.

12. One quick glance at the situation now prevailing in the countries still subjected to the colonial system is enough to convince anyone of the urgency of the duty incumbent upon the United Nations to make every effort to bring about the immediate elimination of this shameful aberration in human society, in whatever form it may appear.

13. An examination of the United Kingdom's colonial policy in Africa during recent years gives us an idea of the state of slavery in which the subject peoples live, and shows that the United Kingdom imperialists have not hesitated to adopt the cruellest methods whenever the interests of their powerful financial oligarchy were threatened by a movement of national liberation on the part of the subject peoples.

14. Let us take, for instance, the case of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In Northern Rhodesia the white settlers, who number only 70,000, hold more than half of the best lands, leaving to more than 2.5 million Africans the other half consisting of infertile lands. A scandalous form of discrimination

between white settlers and indigenous inhabitants is also practised with regard to wages. African workers are employed on the hardest kinds of work and sometimes receive wages twenty to thirty times lower than those of the whites, as in the case of the 40,000 miners of Southern Rhodesia. The colonialists make fabulous profits from the systematic exploitation of the great riches of these territories and cheap labour. Northern Rhodesia, neighbouring on Katanga, is very rich in copper, and, in 1959 accounted for 15 per cent of the world copper output. But who enjoys this wealth? Only the United Kingdom colonialists and their partners, while the indigenous inhabitants, for all their exhausting work, lead a life of poverty. To satisfy the need for cheap African labour, the most abominable laws have been enacted which enable the colonialists to apply in one form or another, racial discrimination, forced labour and the herding together of Africans in reservations where a system of unheard-of poverty and terror prevails and where men die by the hundreds. Yet the representatives of the colonial Powers come here to tell us of the benefits of the colonial system! The most elementary rights are trampled underfoot. To cite only one example, the number of Africans on the electoral rolls in Southern Rhodesia in 1938 was forty, and twenty years later, in 1958, that figure was not more than 550. This shows how much the colonialists care about emancipation and civilization with regard to the indigenous inhabitants!

15. The history of foreign domination in central Africa, as indeed in all colonies, is simply a long succession of cunning stratagems, hypocrisy, intrigues, repression and terror exercised by various colonialists.

16. In Kenya, a colony under United Kingdom domination where blood has been shed unceasingly, the struggle for national liberation is developing again after the ferocity with which the national movement was crushed by the United Kingdom colonialists a few years ago. According to the United Kingdom Press itself, more than 4,000 troops have recently been sent to Kenya in order to suppress any desire for freedom and to quell any national movement. During recent months 2,000 persons have been imprisoned; 800 persons have been in prison for fifteen years, and the head of the nationalist movement, Jomo Kenyatta, was after seven years of imprisonment again tried and deported.

17. Portugal, one of the oldest colonial Powers, does not admit that it has colonies, but only overseas provinces. Thus Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, which are thousands of kilometres away from Portugal, are considered by the Portuguese colonialists to be nothing more than geographical extensions of the metropolitan territory. It is an undeniable fact that in the Portuguese colonies the colonialists employ the cruellest methods to stifle the national feeling of the indigenous population which, despite the most brutal colonial subjugation for many centuries, offers unceasing resistance to assimilation and extermination.

18. To get some idea of the situation in Angola, reference may be made to the booklet published by the American Committee on Africa entitled Angola:

Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa. I should like to quote this typical passage:

"While in decades past there may have been fewer visible signs of the color bar in Angola than in some of her neighboring territories, in recent years racial discrimination has grown. . . . Signs on the doors of some restaurants read, 'Right of admission is reserved'. All-white towns . . . have been built. In public service it is hard to find an African in a position higher than that of interpreter. . . . While the color bar is thus obvious in the larger coastal cities, it is even more prevalent in the interior."

19. Clear proof of popular dissatisfaction with the colonial authorities is given by the military preparations which the Portuguese are making in Angola in order to stifle resistance. Recently 2,000 Portuguese soldiers were sent to reinforce the 20,000 already there. These troops are equipped with Panhard type tanks, field guns and armoured transport cars. Barracks and military airfields are being built in haste, and naval vessels are patrolling the coasts and rivers. Angola is thus being transformed into a NATO base to serve the aggressive schemes of the imperialist Powers for dividing Africa and crushing any national liberation movement. Military circles in Portugal were evidently able to convince President Eisenhower when he visited Lisbon in May 1960 of the necessity to use armaments supplied to Portugal by the United States to crush national liberation movements of the African people. This, of course, is nothing new since United States arms have been used for years, under cover of NATO and other aggressive treaties, to crush national liberation movements in various African countries, as is being done in Algeria, the Congo and elsewhere.

20. All this goes to show how the imperialist and colonialist Powers defend their common cause of keeping the colonial peoples under their control and of mercilessly exploiting their wealth and the forced labour of the indigenous inhabitants. The imperialist Powers—beginning with the United Kingdom which is making efforts to appear more liberal, down to the most refractory one, the Union of South Africa, which is flouting all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly—are all pursuing the same aims; they have no intention of renouncing their shameful privileges, and they devise all sorts of manoeuvres, intrigues and even crimes to prolong the life of the moribund colonial system. This has been evident even within our Organization, particularly with regard to the Congo question, on which the colonialist Powers have joined forces in order to defend colonial domination. The fact that we see the colonialist Powers drawing more closely together at the very time when colonialism is in its death throes only serves to show their weakness.

21. Let us consider also the case of South West Africa. The Assembly has now been concerned with this question for fifteen years; dozens of resolutions have been adopted; commissions and committees have been set up; and numerous petitioners have been given a hearing in the Fourth Committee and have reported on the intolerable situation in which the indigenous population languishes. It is well known that in that unhappy country "apartheid" and racial discrimination are the rule. Men are treated like beasts of burden, and forced labour is common practice. The Govern-

ment of the Union of South Africa has completely disregarded the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and the situation has deteriorated in South West Africa from year to year. It is to be noted that the Government of the Union of South Africa has been encouraged in this attitude by the other colonial Powers.

22. Through systematic and unceasing pillage of colonial territories in Africa, Asia and elsewhere, the monopolies in the various metropolitan countries have accumulated fabulous riches while leaving the subject peoples in a backward state of poverty and underdevelopment that is in striking contrast to the wealth and development of the metropolitan countries.

23. It is understandable then that the imperialists are unwilling to loosen their hold on their colonial possessions and are using every possible means to avoid doing so. To prevent the liberation of the territories under their control the colonial Powers have indeed had recourse to every possible means, for in addition to murderous wars in which they have not hesitated to employ the most barbarous weapons, including napalm bombs, and in which millions of persons have perished, the imperialists have resorted to a wide range of obstacles and manoeuvres. One of the arguments which the colonialists have never ceased to repeat whenever there has been any question of liberating colonies is that colonial or dependent peoples do not yet possess the necessary maturity for independence and self-government, this idea having developed from the racist concept of the imperialists that peoples not belonging to the white race are inferior.

24. In an attempt to justify the policy of colonial domination and the continuance of that domination, the imperialists and their champions never tire of telling us of their famous "civilizing mission". They even have the audacity cynically to claim that nine-tenths of the Africans are illiterate, and that their lack of culture shows that these people are not ready to accede to independence and assume the control of their own affairs. This statement is made as though the imperialists themselves were not responsible for the situation. The world, however, is well aware that as long as the colonial system endures in a country, the doors to education and culture will be closed to the subject peoples, who, without freedom and independence, will never be able to make a start towards national development, progress and prosperity. The reactionary claims that Africans have no cultural tradition are refuted by history, which in fact teaches us that there was a time when Africa was more advanced than Asia and Europe. The fact that Africa has had its own culture is born out by the ancient history of Egypt as well as that of the Napata, Meroë and Aksum States, which were inhabited by the ancestors of the Ethiopians. A remarkable explanation of all these barefaced claims of the representatives of imperialism has been given by the Malagasy poet Rabemananjara, who said "The Negro became a savage on the day when the white man discovered how much profit could be derived from that state".

25. The many countries of Africa, Asia and other parts of the world which have acquired independence and are taking an active part in international life show how peoples which have become free and independent are able to direct and govern their countries and at the same time to become a very important

element of world peace and stability. Countries like India, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and others are playing an active and positive part in the solution of international problems. We cannot adequately convey the joy that we feel when here in the United Nations we see the young African States taking the lead in the struggle for the defence of the legitimate rights of enslaved peoples and for the total and final abolition of their enslavement.

26. Haunted by the possibility of losing everything connected with their colonial system, the colonialists resort to fraud and, by labelling themselves benefactors and philanthropists, try to give the impression that colonialism has now ceased to be colonialism and no longer exists as such. At the same time they endeavour, as it has been aptly said, to shroud the corpse of the discredited colonial system and employ new methods and new approaches to ensure their hold over the economies of their former colonies or of the under-developed countries. The United States and West German imperialists are particularly active in that respect, even to the detriment of the traditional colonial Powers, which seem to have difficulty in adapting themselves to the new conditions.

27. Under the cover of economic aid to the under-developed countries and of association between the industrialized and the under-developed countries, the masters of the monopolies wish to ensure their economic supremacy in those countries. One of their objectives is to delay the industrial development of the under-developed countries so as to be able to dispose of their industrial products in the markets of those countries and to buy their raw materials there at prices which they impose.

28. In order to ensure an economic hold over newly independent and other under-developed countries, an effort is made to include them in organizations like the Common Market and OEEC, the purpose of which is to co-ordinate the economic policy of certain Western Powers so as to embrace under-developed countries which, according to their plans, are to be transformed into economically and politically dependent countries. This is the new phenomenon of collective colonialism, which is being revealed in the common struggle of the colonial and imperialist NATO countries against the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The military treaties of NATO and SEATO help the imperialist Powers to realize their colonial objectives and to gain a footing in other countries, particularly by the construction of military bases for piratical schemes of conquest and world supremacy, thus endangering peace and security, and in particular the peace and security of the countries in which such bases are situated.

29. It should be noted that in their efforts to safeguard their colonial possessions, the European imperialists enjoy the support and aid of the United States of America. The ruling circles in the United States are doing their best to play a double game. While trying to pose as friends of Africa, they are at the same time organizing collective aggression in the Congo and supplying the French Government with money and military equipment to continue the war in Algeria. Furthermore, the American monopolies cherish the hope of seizing the African inheritance which the colonialists of Western Europe are obliged to relinquish, and the same is true of other colonies

previously held by Europeans. Along with the establishment of military, air and naval bases, the United States Government, through so-called advisers and missionaries, is setting up in the African countries a vast espionage network for the purpose, among others, of carrying out sabotage.

30. Africa, however, has completely changed and is today no longer what it was before the Second World War. The people of Africa are well aware of their rights and their interests, and they know where they stand; they can distinguish between their friends and their foes, whatever mask the United States of America may wear.

31. The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America are well aware of the methods by which the imperialists hope to carry out their colonial policy and of how really dangerous that policy is. That is why they are resolutely intensifying their struggle to throw off the colonial and imperialist yoke regardless of the form it may assume.

32. The Albanian people know from their own centuries-long experience what foreign domination means. They have always sympathized with and supported the struggle of peoples for independence.

33. This spirit of deep sympathy which the Albanian people feel for people under the colonial yoke and their whole-hearted support for those people in their heroic struggle for national liberation are the reasons why the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania firmly supports the declaration of the Soviet Union on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1].

34. The elimination from human society of colonialism in all its forms constitutes not only a recognition of the inalienable right of all people to live in sovereign freedom and equality, but also a prerequisite for their progress towards political, economic, cultural and social maturity.

35. The accession of all colonial peoples to a free and independent existence is an irresistible and irreversible process. The world is changing before our very eyes at an incredible speed. The shameful system of colonialism is drawing to an end and only deserves a place on the scrap-heap of history. The decisive factor in this process of change is, of course, the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples, who have the sympathy and support of all those who believe in progress.

36. It is nevertheless the supreme duty of the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, to do its utmost to ensure that this inevitable liberation is accomplished within the shortest possible time. The General Assembly should demand the immediate and final accession to complete independence and liberty of all countries under colonial domination and of all Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

37. The United Nations should demand and even take action to ensure that the imperialist Powers refrain from any form of interference with, and that they strictly respect, the sovereignty and independence of the newly independent States, and of those which will become independent after the adoption of the declaration now under discussion.

38. The United Nations cannot afford to remain indifferent before the spectacle of the poverty and suffer-

ing at present being endured by the colonial and dependent peoples.

39. No one can doubt that the radical and final elimination of colonialism would be of considerable importance for international economic co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. That would assist in the creation of the conditions necessary for normal international relations based on understanding and good-neighbourliness and would thus contribute directly and effectively to the relaxation of tension and the strengthening of international peace and security.

40. Hence the adoption by the General Assembly of the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would be a substantial contribution to the efforts of peace-loving countries for the improvement of international relations and the strengthening of universal peace.

41. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French) In this debate we are watching the countries which want to hold on to their colonial possessions, come what may, at bay, facing the final attack of the world conscience; we are watching their last rearguard action and their last desperate struggles.

42. The colonial story is an old, old story, as old as the world itself. It is the eternal story of the exploitation of man by man by brute force. Homo homini lupus, as the ancients used to say.

43. Man was exploited by man in our African land by Europeans, first of all through the establishment of the slave-trade some centuries ago. Millions and millions of men were torn from their native land. They were transplanted to America and elsewhere, and were thus involved in a whole series of frightful miseries and sufferings. Out of the ten million men thus transplanted, scarcely a million survived.

44. But, just as man's injustice to man is constant, so is the progress of the human conscience. A few centuries later, voices were raised in protest, voices which expressed the highest values of the human conscience. To give only a few examples, the first voice to be heard was that of the great thinkers of the French Revolution of 1789; and in the United States, it was the voice of a man like Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the War of Secession. These voices rang out condemning slavery, demanding its abolition; but their effect was not to be felt until more than a century later, about 1848. Even later than that, when most of the European nations had accepted the principle of the abolition of slavery, there were still some recalcitrants, some backward people, set in their ways, who continued the slave-trade as pirates. The most sincere European nations had to police the seas in order to enforce the abolition of slavery by other European States, and even by their own nationals.

45. Slavery was finally abolished, at last. But scarcely had it been abolished than the exploitation of man by man was reborn from the ashes of slavery under the guise of colonialism. There was no more transplanting; the exploiters went to Africa to do their dominating and exploiting on the spot.

46. This colonialism, which flourished also for more than two hundred and fifty years, was condemned year after year as the conscience of mankind steadily developed and also thanks to the gradual awakening

of the colonized peoples who, little by little, became aware of their own dignity and their national feeling. These colonized peoples gradually abandoned the intellectual, cultural and artistic livery they had worn under colonialism and went back to the sources of their own individual and original genius to draw from them the strength they required to regain their individuality and also their sovereignty and independence. This is a movement of humanism and renewal that some have called "negritude".

47. It may be as well to state here also that this movement of renewal, humanism and liberation at all levels has never had any racial tinge, has never involved the rejection of any other culture or of any other civilization, of the benefits of any other culture or of any other civilization, whatever it might be, whether Graeco-Latin, American or Chinese.

48. At last, in the course of years, human progress triumphed over this second form of the exploitation of man by man, this neo-slavery called colonialism; and considerable progress has been achieved, particularly since the end of the last World War. Particularly in Africa, in less than fifteen years, we have witnessed liberation and the achievement of national independence by three-quarters of the dependent peoples that were once colonized.

49. However—as I emphasized just now—in spite of the abolition of slavery by declarations of principle and through laws enacted by the European countries, there were some recalcitrants, set in their ways, who continued to make slavery a prosperous concern. What happened with regard to slavery is now happening with regard to colonialism.

50. In the field of colonialism also, there are some backward people, some hardened cases, people set in their ways, who wish to maintain their positions in spite of everything and regardless of the trend of history. They will be swept away by the irreversible torrent of history; they will be swept away like straws.

51. But to await the ineluctable future is not enough for the United Nations. Here, at another focus of world conscience, we must take a positive position; we must start a new crusade and this time, in order to police, not the seas, but the continents and to ensure that colonialism and the exploitation of man by man shall cease.

52. That is why the delegation of Senegal has agreed to join in sponsoring a draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] calling for the end of colonialism in Africa and everywhere else, and for the dependent nations, in Africa and everywhere else, at last to become free, sovereign and independent.

Mr. Zorin (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

53. **Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia):** The large number of speeches that we have heard so far and the even larger number that are to come are some evidence of the interest, in the international community here in this Organization and among the peoples that we represent, in the carrying-out of the obligations that are laid down in the Charter towards Trust Territories and towards non-self-governing areas. The Covenant of the League of Nations represented a statement in a formal international document of a new principle, the principle of international accountability, for the administration by Powers over

the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under their control; and this doctrine, this movement, was carried a step further at San Francisco in the Charter of the United Nations. There are very important chapters of the Charter, integral parts of the whole organization that became the United Nations, and in the drafting of those chapters and the working-out of the substance, Australia and New Zealand played a very large part. They were in the forefront of those Powers that were pressing for a clear recognition and acceptance of wider international responsibility and accountability than had existed before the war.

54. After the Charter came into effect, Australia proceeded to place under the International Trusteeship System the mandates which it had held under the League of Nations. Furthermore, although the Charter does not lay down as an obligation the submission of political information on Non-Self-Governing Territories the Australian Government has, from the very beginning, voluntarily submitted this information to the United Nations. We have, throughout, co-operated with the United Nations, we have explained our policies in the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth Committee, and we have endeavoured in the last fifteen years to discharge our obligations under the Charter faithfully. So we do not come before this Organization now, or at any time, in a reluctant way. We come on each occasion to give an account of what we have voluntarily undertaken and, indeed, gladly undertaken.

55. Colonialism is, like all institutions, a human institution. It varies in different parts of the world; it varies with human beings; it can be bad; it may sometimes be bad. But, at its best, I submit, it has been and is continuing to be a necessary transitional phase, and many of the wrongs that have occurred under colonialism—and some of them have been outlined here in this debate—are really examples of man's inhumanity to man, which we find in so many international and so many human institutions.

56. I have felt when I have heard some of the problems that have been posed here and in the Fourth Committee that they are common problems that we are facing in all our countries—that they are part of our common drive for the betterment of mankind by the raising of standards of living throughout the world, for the observation of human rights and the fostering of human rights everywhere. Many of these problems are problems of humanity.

57. It seems to me that one essential point in considering this question is that we cannot think of all colonies as being exactly the same. They are different not only in their physical conditions, not only in the nature of the inhabitants, not only in the nature of the administering Powers: they are different in their historical background, and in so many other respects. Some of the countries that became colonies were old civilizations, old cultures, perhaps large political groupings. Some of them were not nations but, nevertheless, were aggregates of substantial social groups—perhaps large tribal structures of many, many thousands, even tens of thousands. And then in other cases the colonies consisted of groups, very small in number, disorganized, perhaps unrelated to one another, scattered, unconnected. And our approach to the problems of colonialism can, I think, be fruitful only when we recognize that there are different sorts of colonies, just as there are different sorts of administering Powers, different sorts of

problems to be overcome and different sorts of ways of meeting them.

58. Nor is it true that in all cases colonialism has meant taking independence away from people who would otherwise today be living at the same standards of living as Western Europe. That may be true in some parts of the world, but in other parts of the world it obviously is not true. In some places, before the present administering Powers came, there were no national entities, there was internecine warfare and tribal fighting, there were no human rights, and there was slavery—because slavery is not just an institution that Europeans have practised on other peoples. Slavery is an age-old institution that we have to fight wherever it occurs and whatever the peoples which may be practising it.

59. We have heard in this debate, at various stages, fanciful phrases about the lash of the overseer, about the crimes of the colonialists. And when I heard them I thought that they might be true in some times of history and in some places in this world, but they are certainly not true of any territory that has been administered by Australia, and it is for Australia that I am speaking. I am not speaking for any other administering Power, but it might be useful, and perhaps even helpful, to this Assembly if I said something about eastern New Guinea, for which Australia is responsible.

60. Eastern New Guinea has long been isolated from the rest of the world. Its people had no contacts with other peoples for hundreds of years—probably for thousands of years. It was, therefore, different, for example, from the peoples of Africa who, at various stages over a long period of time, have had fruitful contact with other cultures in other parts of Africa, in parts of Asia and in various other parts of the world. New Guinea was a completely isolated series of communities cut off from cultural and other contacts. Even today it contains fewer than two million people. The population has been growing steadily in recent years, but it is still fewer than two million, and between them they speak 510 languages and some thousands of dialects; and the people who speak one of those 510 languages do not understand anyone who speaks another, so that one has a large number of groups unable, for all practical purposes, to communicate with one another—people who have had no concept of a nation, people who have had no concept of the size of the island that they inhabit and the fact that there might be some common interest, even some common bond, between them and the other people on that island. They have lived primitive lives. On the whole their way of life consisted of gathering food and eating it rapidly. Storage of food, for example, was an idea that barely entered into their way of living. They were dominated by sorcery and witchcraft. In many cases they practised cannibalism.

61. These are not people who, until recent times, formed a nation with a highly sophisticated political or social structure. I am not one of those who confuses civilization with Western ways of living, but I know that there are many Members of this Organization in many continents who have within their borders small groups of peoples living primitive lives, with limited traditions, and with, up to the present, limited opportunities. And I ask the representatives of those countries to imagine an island every one of whose inhabitants is a person of that background.

That shows the immensity of the task. It is a question of bringing men in a few years from the stone age up to the modern complicated civilization. And this is not a problem that confronts any country in this Organization. It is not a problem that has confronted the Members of this Organization in recent times. This is almost a unique situation—unique in the size of the people, whose standard is such that they have quite a way to go before they can take their place among us. This view is not based on any feeling of racial superiority. The people of New Guinea will be able to attain their place alongside everybody else. The relatively backward state in which they found themselves is a product of long isolation from the rest of mankind. It is the result of historical circumstances.

62. Australia has had the great task—and it is a task which we have gladly accepted, and one which we have chosen to accept—of bringing these people into the twentieth century, of making them peaceful neighbours of Australia and of the other countries in our Western Pacific region, people who will be partners of all of us in a peaceful world.

63. Profit has not been our motive. As far as Australia is concerned, the task of administering New Guinea and of advancing the indigenous inhabitants has been a heavy economic and financial burden, and it is a burden that will continue. Therefore, the classical ideas of the economic exploitation of colonies do not apply in the case of New Guinea.

64. The people of New Guinea are our neighbours. The island of New Guinea is next to us; we live with its people cheek by jowl in this world. We want to be friends with them. We want them to be partners with us in a common endeavour and in the interests of our common peace. We look forward to bringing them to nationhood. We have accepted and have gone beyond our obligations under the Charter to bring them to nationhood.

65. Let me say something about the problems that have confronted Australia in a country like New Guinea—and, when I say this, perhaps it will answer questions that could arise in your minds as to why it is taking some time to achieve our objective.

66. Australia has had the Trust Territory of New Guinea for forty years. That is the lifetime of one individual. Before that, it was a German colony. Australia also has a Non-Self-Governing Territory to the south of the Trust Territory, where we have been somewhat longer. But I shall speak about the two together because we are applying common policies, we have a common aspiration of giving self-determination to the people in both territories.

67. New Guinea is in the tropics. It has a rough terrain. It has a jungle that is frequently impenetrable. When you think of New Guinea, perhaps you could put it alongside the Amazon as a vast area which it is extremely difficult to penetrate. That is one of the reasons why it has taken a long time to open up the country. Even today there are areas that are not yet under administration. It has been a hard and a long task. We must remember that all the resources that are available today were not available forty years ago, or even twenty years ago. I am thinking in particular of aircraft and of the bulldozer. It often takes a man on foot many, many days to go a very few miles. We have been able to overcome this problem of space and of impenetrable jungle by using aircraft.

Australia did a lot of the pioneering work in the world in opening up a territory by aircraft. In the late twenties and in the thirties, we built a whole town in the mountains of New Guinea, supplied completely by air—the town of Bulolo—and in those days that was quite a feat. It was something from which other countries learned, but it was something that was not possible until we had mastered the use of aircraft for the transport of heavy machinery and heavy goods. Even today there are settlements in New Guinea where a substantial part of the supplies and communications have to come in by air—an expensive and sometimes a difficult project because, in addition to this jungle, there are high mountain ranges and there are various indentations of valleys. Many people who have come to New Guinea, including some of our United Nations colleagues and visiting missions, have been quite alarmed at the conditions under which they have had to fly from place to place in New Guinea through mists and fogs, a condition that is quite normal in the lives of those who have to live and work in New Guinea.

68. And then we had, in the middle of our task in New Guinea, a war which devastated New Guinea. New Guinea was the scene of active fighting for five years. During that time, a large number of buildings, roads, wharves and docks were destroyed in shelling and other forms of warfare. The jungle swallowed them up.

69. I can remember going to Finschhafen, on the northern coast of New Guinea, where there was a big building of about the same size as the Delegates' Dining Room, with a floor of concrete six to nine inches thick. And yet, in a period of six months, that enormous slab of concrete had been completely destroyed by the jungle: trees had forced themselves up through the concrete, splitting it in two. And so, by the end of five years of fighting, there was very little of a material nature left in northern New Guinea, and we had to start off again from scratch in a material sense. Quite apart from warfare, of course, this great tropical growth of New Guinea imposes enormous tasks upon us annually in maintenance. The task of maintaining roads and buildings is very great.

70. Then there has been the problem of overcoming disease. The whole coast of New Guinea was an area in which malaria was prevalent, an area of great sickness for the indigenous inhabitants and for any Australians who came there. We have gradually overcome that. But it has taken a long while, because the knowledge and the drugs that exist today did not exist until comparatively recently. Here, again, pioneering work has been done in Australia by people like Sir Hamilton Fairley. The work done in New Guinea in coping with malaria has served as a lesson and has been applied in places like Burma and other parts of South-East Asia and in the continent of Africa. Nowadays, in the development of under-developed countries, we can take account of things like atabrin and paludrin. We have learned more about the importance of draining areas, where it is possible, and how to drain them. We have learned about using fish to swallow and keep in check the larvae of mosquitoes. All these things have gradually been learned over the years and applied throughout the world. But, until some of these things were learned, there were serious impediments to the development of many parts of the world and certainly to the development of New Guinea.

71. Scientific research has been needed, and in Australia itself a large part of our economic history has consisted of learning how to acclimatize to Australian conditions animals and vegetation from Europe. We had great problems in getting even sheep, which are now the backbone of our exports, to live in Australia. We had problems with wheat.

72. We have had the same problems in New Guinea. I have been up in the highlands of New Guinea in the last few years, where we have been experimenting with cattle and sheep and pigs—livestock which did not exist in those parts even five years ago, livestock which is still not at home in those parts and still not an economic proposition. The gradual application of research and experimentation will, we hope, make it possible for areas which at present can carry nothing to become productive areas, but these things take time. Even the breeding period for livestock is of some duration. We need time for these things.

73. I have said this because I know, and I have heard it said here, that the development of some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories has appeared to go slowly. But one reason in many cases, and certainly one reason in the case of New Guinea, has been the difficulties of the terrain, the physical obstacles that any Government would have had to overcome slowly and painfully.

74. We are making efforts, apart from the material work, some of which I have referred to, such as roads, bridges, hospitals and so on. We have applied ourselves industrially to carry out our obligations to prepare the peoples for self-government, and in this process, of course, there is a fanning out. We started off with nothing in this respect, as far as the indigenous inhabitants were concerned, but you build up a nucleus, and the nucleus itself can play a part in training others, and so you get a fanning out. You teach some teachers, and then the teachers teach other teachers. So, instead of political and economic development proceeding at a steady, uniform pace, we can look to it proceeding at a steadily accelerating pace.

75. In the political field, there is increased participation in the public service and in the central Government. This year there have been reforms in the Legislative Council which have increased the number of indigenous inhabitants serving in that Council. There has been steady development of local and regional government. This is not uniform all over the territories. We are not holding back one province because another province is not ready for a particular form of self-government, but in towns and in villages, and gradually in higher forms of organization, the indigenous inhabitants of the particular localities are playing a bigger and bigger part in running their own affairs.

76. Education is steadily growing. There are now 200,000 at school in New Guinea. As I have said, the total population of adults and children is less than 2 million. Technical training, not only in various forms of industry but in agriculture, is steadily being expanded. For example, I myself visited a large plywood factory in Bulolo in 1956 and again in 1957, and in that period I could see a steadily increasing proportion of indigenous inhabitants taking part in the operations of that establishment, operations which were highly sophisticated, with electric eyes and various operating methods that could be used in any city in the world.

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77. Health services have been expanded. This does not only apply to hospitals and so forth where European doctors and others could help, but we are training and preparing the indigenous inhabitants for health services on their own account. We are building so that the people themselves will take over these functions.

78. Law and order now prevails over nearly the whole territory. There are still some areas, as I have said, that are not under administration, but most of it is, and here is law and order where all the people of the territories can look to the protection of the courts against arbitrary action by individuals or arbitrary action by Government. The territory is subject to the rule of law, and the rule of law applies to all the inhabitants.

79. We are gradually reforming or amending restrictions imposed by tribal or religious custom. That, of course, is a complicated question, and many representatives here will have had personal experience and will have personal views on the extent to which an Administering Authority should interfere in old inherited customs. This is something where we have tried as far as possible to adapt ourselves and to adapt our laws to the wishes and the freely accepted desires of the indigenous people. As you know, local customs can make difficult the most economical use of land, to take just one example. However, with regard to land, the Australian Government has pursued the policy that no land can be acquired from the indigenous inhabitants except by the Administration itself, and then only under safeguards. The result is that 97 per cent of the land in New Guinea is under indigenous ownership, and less than 1 per cent is in use by or occupied by non-indigenous people. We have felt that, as part of our sacred trust—using the words of the Charter—we had an obligation to see to it that the lands in New Guinea remained in the ownership and at the disposal of the people of New Guinea.

80. As I have said, Australia has accepted the obligations of the Charter. These are obligations to the United Nations, to the international community, but they are also obligations to the indigenous inhabitants themselves. The Charter is precise on this. It is a treaty obligation.

81. Now we have before us, submitted by a large number of nations on the initiative of the African-Asian group, a declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. This declaration is different from the Charter. The Charter, as I say, is a treaty obligation and precisely worked out. This declaration is different even from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was carefully worked over in a commission and a committee and even then had no binding or enforceable status. It is difficult to be precise in a general declaration. It is designed to cover different types of territory; it is designed to cover different types of administrative régimes. But this declaration, not being able to override the Charter or go beyond the powers of this Assembly, represents rather a general statement of agreed aspirations.

82. Some here would have liked it to go further, as we have heard. Some would have liked it to go less far. Some would have liked it to be more precise. Others would have preferred different wording. There is, I imagine, no Member here who would not like to see some change in the draft declaration as it appears

before us, who would not have preferred different wording. For example, I do not think it is true that, as stated in the preamble, in all cases the continued existence of colonialism "impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples". I hope that what I have said about New Guinea indicates that there at least colonialism is helping the indigenous inhabitants forward and that without the Australian Administering Authority the people would have no immediate hopes of advancement and of self-government.

83. Operative paragraph 3, referring to pretexts for delaying independence, might perhaps be misinterpreted. There are parts of the world where the immediate abandonment by the Administering Authority would result in chaos, but I think we would all agree that as a pretext, as a false reason, unjustified by facts, the conditions in that paragraph should not be used.

84. There has already been reference by the representatives of Burma and New Zealand to operative paragraph 4 about armed action, and they have explained their interpretation that this is not intended to prevent the use of police in the normal maintenance of law and order.

85. There is also a paragraph stating that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers in accordance with the freely expressed will of the indigenous inhabitants. As far as we are concerned in our territories, Australia is taking steps—and it has been taking them—to transfer powers as rapidly as possible to the indigenous inhabitants, and we, I believe, are giving effect to that paragraph of this declaration.

86. This debate has been useful in revealing the currents of thought and in demonstrating the feeling, not only among those of us who are here, but among those whom we represent here. The most effective speeches—if I might say so—have been those which were restrained and which balanced good and bad. None of us would say that there is no good or no bad in this institution of colonialism. But we are all agreed that we should bring it, as rapidly as possible, to an end in the form of self-government for all the peoples of the world.

87. I have tried today to make Australia's position clear as an administering Power. I have tried not to mislead the General Assembly, but to show the difficulties and the aims that we have in our territories, how we are trying to cope with those difficulties, and how we are trying to pursue those aims. The Prime Minister of Australia said in this very Assembly hall on 5 October 1960: "... we regard ourselves as having a duty to produce as soon as it is practicable an opportunity for complete self-determination for the people of Papua and New Guinea." [888th meeting, para. 46.]

88. Mr. MIYAZAKI (Japan): The question of the abolition of colonialism is no new issue. In the Covenant of the League of Nations, we have seen the idea of a mandate, the forerunner of the international accountability of dependent territories. In the Charter of the United Nations this is more clear and precise. The provisions on Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories in Chapters XI, XII and XIII envisage future self-government or independence of these Territories.

89. In point of fact as well, since the United Nations came into being, former Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories, totalling more than thirty, attained independence in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter. This is no mean record for the United Nations, and with seventeen newly independent nations among us here at this session, the trend and the urge for independence are all the more mounting and pronounced.

90. My delegation shares the view that the question of colonialism is one of the most important problems of the day. There should be no time lost in bringing the whole question to a reasonable perspective. Unrest in more than one part of still dependent areas in Africa and the situation in the Congo compel our urgent attention to this question.

91. We have three declarations on the end of colonialism before us. All are so phrased as to be applicable throughout the world. My delegation attaches great importance to the scope of application. It is the conviction of my delegation that a declaration of this nature should be universal in its application, that is, such a declaration must be applied to every part of the world without exception.

92. My delegation wishes to point out, however, that although universal in its scope, actual application must be flexible. In a sense, universality of application necessitates flexibility. Especially with regard to the timing of independence, no wholesale determination is practicable or even possible.

93. I submit this because we have to recognize great differences in the conditions obtaining in Africa and those in the Pacific Ocean. In Africa, territories awaiting independence are invariably land masses of considerable size and population. In the case of the Pacific areas, there are thousands of small islands, separated by sea and many of them sparsely populated. Some of them may be too small as a unit of an independent State while, more often than not, cohesion among islands and propensity towards national unity are yet to come. Such peculiarity of the Pacific area was already forcibly and eloquently expressed in the Fourth Committee by the representative of the Philippines. My delegation, also representing an insular nation in that part of the world, fully shares his view and congratulates him on speaking out concerning what is rightly worrying this Government.

94. It may, therefore, be unreasonable to expect a mechanically uniform implementation of the declaration in all territories of the world. Chaos and void, through which anything might creep in, should never be allowed in that part of the world which has, so far, been spared from turmoil and remains true to its name. This caution on the part of my delegation does not imply lack of sympathy for those people on the islands in the Pacific. On the contrary, we hope that those people on the Pacific islands may eventually be enabled to formulate freely what status they shall assume in the future, to give full sway to their own genius, and to enjoy the fruits of their labour to the full.

95. My delegation should like to take this opportunity to pay attention to some considerations necessary for nations which have newly emerged on the international scene.

96. Since the sixteenth century the billows of colonialism stormed my country, but with staunch determin-

ation we maintained our independence against formidable odds. After emergence from three centuries of seclusion, my country encountered the harsh realities of international life. At that time there was no League of Nations or United Nations to lean upon and my country had to see through early days of contact and confrontation with the rest of the world entirely single-handedly.

97. Modernization of political structure and educational institutions, inauguration of industries using machines and electricity, had to be done solely on our own resources. It was a hard road that my country had to trudge along, but will and determination carried us to a position among the nations of the world that is not easily influenced by outside forces.

98. Because of our own experience, we in Japan have a deep sympathy not only for the independence of colonial countries, but also for the inevitable future that awaits them after the attainment of independence—a hard climb uphill taxing them, requiring every bit of will power and arduous work. Today, with the United Nations standing by all Member nations and ready to extend a helping hand where it is reasonably necessary, things are considerably easier. This is surely an advancement of our international society in which we live today. Nevertheless, in spite of all the aid and assistance at the disposal of young nations of today, the mainstay of orderly progress should rest on the self-help of each nation.

99. As I mentioned before, there is a sense of urgency among non-independent peoples today. My delegation fully sympathizes with it. It goes without saying that we must not dally and tarry in bringing about independence or self-government to all the peoples. On the other hand, hatred and mistrust towards colonial Powers linger among some peoples who have experienced the humiliation of subjection under the colonial régime. We perceive this from the tone and vocabulary of some of the speeches in this Assembly. It is understandable and we cannot but sympathize with such feelings.

100. Recollection and recounting of the past with rancour serve little purpose in our march towards freedom and independence. We had better look ahead. We have come to agree that colonialism is a matter of bygone days. The scramble for colonies, which was the order of the day in past centuries, does not and should not exist now. With the change of the times and human thinking, and with the United Nations and its Charter among us, the rules of the game of international society have definitely changed. We should exhort administering Powers to recognize this change of the rules. Accusations, if they should be made, may only be directed to those who refuse to acknowledge the change of the times and spared on those who are quick to acknowledge this and act accordingly.

101. A chain reaction of accusation, impatience, haste and violence is deplorable, to say the least. There is no gainsaying that transition from a status of dependency to independence had better be smooth and peaceful. My delegation, therefore, sincerely appeals to the administering Powers to respect fully the desires of dependent people. Any attempt to delay unduly the progress towards independence or self-government should never be countenanced. At the same time, to the dependent people, my delegation

makes an appeal to have patience and to choose the way of peaceful transition, based on goodwill and co-operation.

102. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its earnest hope that adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on the end of colonialism will put a final period to the era of hatred and antagonism and open a new era of harmony and co-operation in the history of mankind.

103. Mr. COMAY (Israel): The most exciting feature of this historic debate is that it could not have taken place a generation ago. It is five centuries since the vigorous and intelligent nations on the western fringes of Europe started setting out to discover and conquer new continents. They became the masters of the known world, from the vast and nearly empty plains of North America to the ancient civilizations of Asia. One hundred eighty years ago the tide started turning, when a shot was fired at Concord which rang around the world. The American Revolution was followed by the liberation of Latin America, and by the evolution within the British Empire towards Dominion status.

104. What marked this phase was the emancipation, by force or consent, of communities of European stock no longer willing to live under the control of distant parent countries. It was in a much more recent phase that the process extended to the indigenous non-white peoples of Asia and Africa. It is only since the end of World War II, and the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco fifteen years ago, that national independence on these two continents has become an irresistible flood, changing the political face of the earth so radically that the school atlases we used as boys, with the different empires each painted in with its own special colour, have now become museum pieces.

105. Even in the short span of these post-war years, Africa lagged behind Asia, and it now remains the one major field for what has come to be called "decolonization". That is why we have all felt such genuine joy at the spectacular change which has taken place in the last year or two, marked by the admission of so many new African Member States at the present Assembly session. For too long Africa has been the forgotten continent, languishing in poverty and backwardness, its resources squeezed to enrich others, the outside world too often reaching into its depths only in the frightful guise of the slave-trader, whose traffic in human flesh still persists to this day in certain parts of the Middle East.

106. It is only in our time that the philosophical ideals of human freedom and equality are at last being turned into practical international policies. Men will only be brothers in the real sense of the word when the pigment of their skins and the shape of their features are no longer relevant to their individual position in society or to the status of their people.

107. My delegation agrees with what was said by the representative of Argentina in his eloquent statement—namely, that:

"To draw up a balance-sheet of colonialism might take us much further than we want to go. The important thing to note is that whatever judgement may be passed on the system now or by future his-

torians, colonialism no longer fits into the political structures of our time. It is a type of relationship which has ended forever." [927th meeting, para. 17.]

Whatever that balance-sheet may be, there is no question that the earlier record of colonialism is stained with oppression and exploitation. There can also be no question that the contemporary policies and outlook of the two major colonial Powers, the United Kingdom and France, are based on an honourable desire to bring their colonies to self rule. For proof they can legitimately point to the many seats which their former subjects now occupy in this United Nations as sovereign and equal States. Acknowledgement of this fact should not be withheld through proper resentment of the evils of an earlier colonial era.

108. Where new States wish of their own free will to maintain an association with the former metropolitan country, on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and where they find such links to be beneficial to them, there is no need to label such a relationship as "neo-colonialism". This is a matter which the new States must decide for themselves, in the exercise of their own sovereign prerogatives. What is important to stress is that there is no special merit in achieving independence in circumstances of conflict and chaos if the transfer of power can take place in an agreed and orderly manner, as has happened in many cases and as we hope will happen very soon with all the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

109. The principle of national independence, spelt out in the draft resolution in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5, is one which touches the deepest sentiments and the most venerable memories of the people of Israel. Thousands of years ago we were struggling for our independence against the great colonial empires of the ancient world. Time after time their marching armies trampled our freedom into the dust. Time after time the standard of revolt was raised again, for a people can never be finally conquered so long as the love of freedom remains alive in their hearts.

110. This recurrent struggle is enshrined in the Hebrew calendar. Every year, at the Feast of Passover, Jews recall the time, over three thousand years ago, when Moses led the children of Israel out of their bondage in Egypt so that they could live as free men in the Promised Land. Every year, on the ninth day of the month of Av, religious Jews fast in mourning for the destruction of our national independence by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in 586 B.C., and again by the Roman Legions under Titus, in 70 A.D. Chanukah, the Feast of Lights, commemorates the revolt of Judas Maccabeas and his brothers against the domination and the religious and cultural suppression of the Syrian-Hellenist empire. On Lag B'Omer, the eighteenth day of the month of Iyar, we remember the heroic and bloodily repressed Jewish revolt led by Bar-Kochba and Rabbi Akiva against the imperial power of Rome, in the second century A.D.

111. These events were the historic background to Israel's renewed independence in 1948, after a bitter and painful struggle against what had in effect become a colonial régime—a struggle which involved deportations, loss of life and the detention of our leaders and thousands of our people. But I do not want to

dwell upon that conflict now, for throughout its course we kept intact our belief in the basic decency of the British people and our regard for what it has contributed to civilized values, and we are glad that there are today good and friendly relations between the United Kingdom and us. Our only purpose in mentioning our ancient and modern experience is to explain why we so passionately reject any concept of superior or inferior races and any belief that one country, nation or people has the right to rule over another.

112. Who has better reason than we to "reaffirm faith... in the dignity and worth of the human person" or to hate and reject "all practices of segregation and discrimination"? Down the centuries, our people have been classic victims of these practices and have survived through many dark and bloody episodes, reaching their climax in our own lifetime in the Nazi design to procure what they called a final solution to the Jewish problem by genocide—that is, by the extermination of a whole people.

113. We cannot forget past suffering, and we would not suggest to others that they do so. What we have, however, urged upon ourselves and do suggest to other newly independent States is that we and they should not dwell too much in the past, but should instead concentrate on building the future.

114. All of us who are newly emergent States have discovered in turn that the proclamation of independence is not an end, but only a beginning. On the morrow of the celebrations, the leaders of each of us have had to face difficult internal problems and looming external dangers, and each of us has suffered failures and frustrations. That is so not only for recently independent countries. We have listened in this debate to sober and mature statements by representatives of Latin American countries which liberated themselves from colonial tutelage over a century ago and are still engaged today in the battle to fill the frame of their sovereignty with the content of human welfare.

115. Speaking in the general debate on 10 October 1960, the Foreign Minister of Israel said:

"We, the new countries, have gained our independence in an era of man's greatest achievements. In parts of the world the standard of living and development has reached fantastic heights. We should not be told to go slow in our development; we should not be told that the advances of the developed countries have taken generations and centuries to attain. We cannot wait. We must develop quickly....

"... we will never be really free as long as our children need to be fed by others. Our freedom will be complete only when we have learned to bring forth from our own soil the food that we need. The cry that goes out from the African and Asian continents today is: share with us not only food, but also your knowledge of how to produce it. The inequality in the world today is not only in the gap of material things, but what is even more frightening, in the gap between those who literally reach for the moon and those who do not know how to reach efficiently into their own soil to produce their daily needs.

"To satisfy the hunger of the mind is no less urgent than to satisfy the hunger for bread. The question is how the world can organize itself to span the time-lag of generations and share this

knowledge with those who need it." [897th meeting, paras. 128-130.]

116. The aching gulf between the political sovereignty of their countries and the actual conditions of life of their peoples is fully understood by the statesmen of the new countries, as has been reflected in the views expressed here by their delegations. I would mention, in particular, the stress laid by the representative of Ghana on the economic and social factors in the great anti-colonial revolutions of our time, on the creative energies released by independence, and on the need for sound economic relations between the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, and the great industrial countries of Europe and America. My delegation fully agrees with these views.

117. National independence is essential but it is not enough. No nation can be an island unto itself. We inhabit one world in which all peoples must learn to live together or must perish together. In his Introduction to the Israel Government Year Book, published a few weeks ago, the Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion writes:

"Nations of every size, long under foreign rule, some with ancient cultures, others for centuries untutored, are casting that yoke aside and grasping independence. The day cannot be far when all peoples, no matter what their colour, race or culture, will be members of mankind's family, equal in rights, sovereign and free.

"Yet all nations, whatever their strength or stature, are growing more and more dependent each upon the other. There is hardly a State, large, rich and powerful though it be, that can do without the co-operation and support of others."

Beyond the independence of each people lies the interdependence of all peoples.

118. We have carefully studied the wording of the proposed draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5, and we shall vote for it and support its aspirations. To us, these aspirations are already foreshadowed in the sublime and universal vision of Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other ancient Hebrew Prophets, who preached the equality of all men and all nations. In the words of the Prophet Amos:

"Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord."

119. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Guatemala, pursuing the course that it has always followed both inside and outside the United Nations, wishes to declare once again that it is in favour of the freedom of peoples and the abolition of the historical phenomenon known as colonialism, which has definitely been on the decline for some time.

120. We have not come here to make accusations of any kind. As a nation that emerged into independent life after a long colonial period we Guatemalans have learned to love liberty; we jealously guard our independence, and we are firmly convinced that all peoples are capable of self-determination and self-government—the best means of developing their cultural heritage, promoting their welfare and exploiting their natural riches for their own benefit.

121. We would be unjust if we included only those Western nations which possess, or have until recently

possessed, colonies, among the colonial Powers. In our opinion, colonialism began when man first exploited man; when the first tribes subjugated neighboring tribes; when the great empires of antiquity were formed through the conquest of more or less distant nations, which were yet within reach, using the means of communication available at the time. Colonialism was brought by Alexander the Great and his conquering hosts that overran the Middle East; colonialism was practised by ancient Rome, which conquered so many different peoples along the shores of the mare nostrum and converted them into provinces of its vast empire. It was by colonialist methods that such great countries as China were formed, and Holy Russia, which extended its conquests into distant Siberia, the extreme east of the continent of Asia. Neighbouring peoples were brought under their dominion and the frontiers were widened as their conquests were consolidated. Colonialism and imperialism are two terms which overlap and have the same meaning.

122. Advances in the art of navigation and the progress of science enabled the peoples who possessed this knowledge to reach distant continents. The discovery of America charted a new course for colonialism. With the advent of transoceanic communication the Europeans, with their technical skills, overflowed first into America, then into Asia, and finally into Africa and other regions.

123. This is no place to relate the long history of colonialism in modern times. However, as technical knowledge spread and nations became less isolated, colonialism began, paradoxically, to decline until in recent years it reached a point of almost complete disintegration.

124. Now that over a hundred years have elapsed since we became independent of the mother country, we have come to understand that not everything was bad in the colony; that we did receive inestimable spiritual benefits from Spain which form our cultural heritage and give us strength to face the vicissitudes of life. Those new countries, too, which are emerging to independent life today will have to realize that hostility and resentment must give way to understanding and healthy co-operation, which does not mean subjection in any sense, nor disguised exploitation. The road before them is a rough one and is full of stumbling blocks.

125. The liquidation of colonialism, a process which had its feeble beginnings after the First World War when the Mandates System was applied by the League of Nations to the colonies of the defeated countries, took a tremendous step forward with the ratification of the United Nations Charter, establishing the right of peoples to self-determination and instituting the Trusteeship System for the territories formerly under mandate, for the territories taken away from the enemy States during the Second World War, and for those territories which were voluntarily placed under trusteeship by the States responsible for their administration. The provisions relating to the Trusteeship System clearly state that its objectives are to promote 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 the freely expressed wishes of the peoples

concerned. The Charter also contains a special chapter on Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although in this case the provisions do not go so far, nothing else could have been expected, in view of the great political and economic interests of the colonialist Powers. Yet that was the beginning of the end. The Powers undertook to transmit information on those territories when they accepted the sacred trust of administration, and they made binding statements recognizing that the interests of the inhabitants were paramount and obligating themselves to promote self-government and the political aspirations of those peoples.

126. The result of these wise provisions has been definitely encouraging. Of course, the fate of all dependent territories could have been decided at that time by a single stroke of the pen. But the political conditions were not sufficiently favourable and great decisions of that kind are not arrived at suddenly. There is always much reluctance on the part of the colonizing countries to accept the loss of their privileges. That is why the fight for independence is always a bitter one and why in most cases victory is won only after a violent struggle.

127. We should therefore rejoice that in recent years the liquidation of colonialism has developed for the most part along peaceful lines, thanks to the spirit that reigned at the San Francisco Conference, and we should also rejoice that this process is now in its final stage.

128. My country, to its great satisfaction and pride, was a member of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. We believe that we have discharged a great humanitarian duty by watching over and working for the development of the dependent peoples and the achievement of their independence. We have continued to fulfil these duties in the General Assembly.

129. My delegation has witnessed with the deepest satisfaction the entry into the United Nations of many new Members, States which were previously colonies or Trust Territories. The best proof of this process of "decolonization" is provided by the fact that when the United Nations was founded, fifteen years ago, there were in all fifty-one Members and now we are approaching one hundred, or nearly double the original number. If we were to compare a map of the world as it was at the end of the war, showing in different colours the various dependent territories, with a map of today, we should realize how encouraging the prospects are, and that we may now speak of the last remnants of colonialism.

130. Therefore, my delegation believes that the liquidation of colonialism will not take long, and that the matter should not be exploited for demagogic purposes in the cold war, but treated with the seriousness and good sense that the times call for. Above all, we must prevent the countries on the threshold of independence from becoming the victims of the cold war—pawns in a dangerous game, bearing the label of independence but suffering worse subjection than when they were colonies.

131. We should not disregard the praiseworthy efforts of the recently emancipated countries in favour of the total abolition of colonialism. This is the same seed that flourished in America, when the moment for independence spread over the whole continent. It is the same force that was exerted by the Latin American

peoples at the very beginning of the United Nations, for the successive liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa; now these efforts are being taken up by those peoples themselves, so that colonialism may be done away with once and for all.

132. The spirit that reigned at our famous American Congress of 1826, convened on the initiative of the liberator Simón Bolívar, is the same spirit that was manifested at the Bandung, Accra and Addis Ababa Conferences, so dear to the hearts of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

133. We have heard the demands of these peoples for the liquidation of colonialism in their continents. But there are still vestiges of colonialism in free America, a heritage of former times, which should also be done away with. In the West Indies, in the Guianas, and in part of the Guatemalan territory unlawfully occupied by the United Kingdom, our own territory of Belize, colonialism seems still to be deeply rooted. We were encouraged to hear the statement by the United Kingdom representative [925th meeting] to the effect that his country is in entire sympathy with the feelings and aims of the African-Asian delegations as regards the earliest possible achievement of independence by all the peoples not yet enjoying it. These are our own feelings, and I trust that the United Kingdom, honouring its own statement, will decide to put an end to the century-old controversy with Guatemala regarding our territory of Belize and will respect the territorial integrity of a country which, because of its weakness and lack of resources, has no other weapon than the justice of its cause.

134. I do not wish to tax the patience of the Assembly with this particular question and I shall therefore not go into it in detail. However, I must declare that in conformity with Article 1 of our Constitution, Belize is part of the national territory and we consider its reincorporation to be of vital importance.

135. If colonialism cannot be justified anywhere on earth, it is unthinkable that there should still be remnants of this odious system in the American continent, which was the first to accede to independence and to give the world its greatest lesson in liberty and self-determination. In a century and a half of independence we have learned to love freedom, and despite our political wranglings we jealously guard this heritage from our liberators and have devoted our efforts and our enthusiasm to the liberation of other countries. We hope, therefore, that justice will be done also in regard to the American claims. The breath of freedom, which is today a strong wind that blows over the whole world, must also reach America, where it started, and sweep away forever the last remnants of colonialism. We are sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa will respond in the same generous spirit that has been shown by the Latin American countries for the independence of those distant lands.

136. My delegation is firmly convinced that, if we are to implement effectively the provisions of Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, especially in respect of the fundamental aim of maintaining international peace and security, colonialism must be abolished. The subjugation of one people by another inevitably leads to constant irritation between the oppressor

and the oppressed. This irritation is reflected in friction and struggle and sometimes in long, cruel wars which leave behind them a legacy of hatred that is hard to dissipate. There can be no true international co-operation on the basis of the subjection of one people by another or the violation of territorial integrity. For these essential reasons colonialism is an anachronism and if we are to respect the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter these forms of domination must cease to exist. The well-known pretext that those peoples are backward has no justification. We have seen how peoples regarded as backward are reborn, assimilate modern techniques, and join the universal movement of progress. The struggle against economic and political domination and against racial discrimination in any form is the sign of the times, and nothing can halt the march of the under-developed nations towards their complete economic, political and social liberation.

137. It is also obvious that colonialism is in open conflict with any sound legal and philosophical conception of human rights. How can the empty pretexts which are advanced to justify colonialism be reconciled with the glorious declarations on human rights made in this august Assembly twelve years ago? What arguments, what legal concepts can be raised against the precept, which is but a recognition of the truth, that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights? The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude, but what is the basis of colonialism if it is not slavery and servitude? Therefore my delegation, in condemning all forms of colonialism, also condemns all its disguised forms, imposed upon countries which once were independent, against which it cannot be said that they lack preparation for independence, countries in which respect for the dignity and freedom of the individual and for great spiritual values has been suppressed. For these reasons, we were surprised that the Soviet Union should propose the abolition of colonialism since it has obdurately opposed any consideration of the case of the nations which have fallen victim to Russian neo-colonialism.

138. Let us then accomplish our task in favour of human liberty, conscious of doing our duty, without demagogical arguments or futile recriminations. My delegation is pleased that in the near future many more countries will take their place in this Organization, after achieving full independence, in fulfilment of our aim of universality and of unity in freedom, now that man, having made prodigious scientific discoveries, faces the choice between his own destruction and the exploration of new worlds. Let this be a sign for man to choose the path of reason and justice.

139. We were pleased at the submission of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-5 sponsored by a large number of countries, especially those of Africa and Asia, and including many of the premises necessary for the abolition of colonialism. We find this draft resolution constructive, and its general lines are in agreement with our point of view. We also welcome the draft resolution introduced yesterday by the delegation of Honduras [A/L.324], calling for the eradication of colonialism and the appointment of a commission to visit the territories which are still dependent and make recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly on the most rapid

and efficient ways of wiping out the colonial system. We shall devote our most careful attention to these draft resolutions and we reserve the right to speak again when they come up for discussion.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

140. *Mr. BENITES VINUEZA (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish):* In this hall are assembled the representatives of ninety-nine States. It might well be said that this is indeed what has been called the Assembly of Humanity. We are the representatives of the peoples of the United Nations, so speaks the Charter, and this is tantamount to saying that we are the representatives of the peoples of the world. Yet there is a gap in our ranks here which is, paradoxically enough, an accusing presence. I refer to the absence of those who are suffering under the colonial yoke—the subject peoples of the earth.

141. That absence is all too grave an accusation levelled against our consciences as free men, because it confronts us with an inescapable dilemma: these people are not here either because they have not been granted the freedom they deserve or because there are in the world conditions of cultural under-development which do not allow them to exercise their rights to self-government. One way or the other, this signifies the open acceptance of an injustice.

142. While I have heard the representative of a great Power declare that, on colonial questions, he would listen with attention and respect to what the countries of Asia and Africa have to say, I believe that the countries of Latin America also have something to say on this problem. Surely the representative to whom I am alluding is aware of the great contributions in money and blood made by the United Kingdom to the countries of Latin America more than a century ago for their political emancipation, and he is also aware that in America there are still dependent territories and territories claimed by more than one State. I do not, however, think it necessary to invoke special prerogatives in order to speak on the injustice inherent in the colonial system.

143. The State which I represent lived for three centuries under a system of alien domination which, despite the fact that it was actually feudal, is usually referred to as colonial. To achieve emancipation, we had to wage a cruel war of twenty years' duration. That war called for incredible sacrifices, including economic sacrifices which bore heavily upon our future development. We do not want the peoples now striving towards their freedom to have to shed blood, to make sacrifices or to jeopardize their long-range future. We do not want them to have to repeat our painful experiences, and this is as valid a reason as any for coming to this rostrum.

144. As I stand here, I feel the weight of a heavy responsibility. The subject we are dealing with signifies human suffering. A deep and simple thing is expressed in those two words, but there is nothing more sacred than the suffering of man. That is why my delegation cannot consent to this being turned into a means for propaganda or a lamentable instrument of the cold war. We refuse to allow it to be turned into a jugglery of colonialist dialectics; but we also reject its becoming a battle cry of the purveyors of democracy, who are selling their magic recipes for collective happiness in all corners of the world.

145. First, I must express on behalf of the Government of Ecuador, the profound sympathy that we feel for the peoples oppressed under the colonial yoke. Generally speaking, colonialism is a type of racism and has been so throughout its history; the State I represent is based upon a multiracial society that passed through a colonial status. The indigenous society of Ecuador was multiracial; it suffered under the colonialism of the Incas for almost two generations and had to shake off that oppressive domination. Spain, which held its position of colonizer during three centuries, was also a multiracial society, being composed of Celtic, Iberian, Greek, Phoenicians, Roman, Gothic, Hebrew and—lastly and gloriously—Arabic elements. The African contributions were also multiracial—those men and women who were brought over in the slave ships to satisfy the slave-owning rapacity of the white man. Thus we know, from our remote pre-Hispanic past, what is meant by colonial domination, and in the one century of our life as a republic we have known how heavy is the weight of that past.

146. I have hesitated, however, to refer to the three-century domination of Spain in America, and thus also in my own country, as colonialism. The phenomenon of the expansion of Spain beyond the seas is original and unique in history. It did not at all resemble the establishment of ports of call for trading purposes by the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean; nor did it resemble those city states which Greece founded as foci of its marvellous culture, which was based on a system of slave labour; nor, again, did it resemble the Roman colonial system, a masterpiece of organization for the exploitation of tributary lands. Spain yearned to form America in her own image and likeness. It sought the souls of the indigenous inhabitants as the supreme object of its colonizing task in order to save them and, according to its Christian conception, to incorporate them into the Kingdom of God. It was a feeling of tenderness towards this newly-discovered human being, whom through a naive mistake was called the Indian, that, long before Grotius, led Spanish jurists such as Suárez and Vitoria to create a system of international law based upon respect for the dignity of the human person and the denial of the right of conquest. It was this urge that led Spain's jurists to establish the most humane code of laws that any colonizing people has ever formulated—the "Leyes de Indias". Spain raised no barriers between races, but joined with them, creating our mixed society. True, there were injustices; undeniably there was cruelty, but if there was harsh domination, it was the fault of irresponsible people and occurred against the will of the mother country, which always considered the lands in America to be overseas provinces.

147. Colonialism as we see it in the modern world is based on principles contrary to those adopted by Spain. It is founded, in the first place, on the assumption of the inequality of human beings as a basis for economic exploitation. There is an underlying racism in its doctrine or, at least, in its historic basis. The mariners of ancient times on their voyages of discovery believed that when they reached the equator their skins would become black, like those of the men who lived in Africa. This fear of becoming black continued to exist in the subconscious minds of the descendants of the slave-traders who, of course, were never Spaniards. I do not wish to draw unpleasant conclusions or to cite concrete cases, but, obviously,

complied with by the administering State, but rather an inescapable obligation to lead the administered peoples toward self-government. The administering State is responsible for the fulfilment of this condition, and the Organization, as the mandator, has the power to insist upon this without regard to the exception provided in Article 2, paragraph 7, since that State has voluntarily placed itself under international jurisdiction by accepting the obligations of the Charter, which is a multilateral treaty.

158. Seven years ago, in 1953, I had the honour to expound this interpretation of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter in the Fourth Committee on behalf of the delegation of Ecuador.^{1/} We held at that time, and we continue to hold, the firm hope that the problems of colonialism can be settled by juridical means through a correct interpretation of the principles set forth in the Charter. Many of the sovereign peoples of today, whose representatives honour this Assembly with their presence, were at that time petitioners. We heard some of them speak, and the fact that they are now sitting among us is a clear proof of the rapid decline of colonialism.

159. I must admit that the presence here in this hall of the representatives of those territories, which at that time were dependent territories but which now are sovereign States, is to a large extent due to their courage, their constancy, their clear fighting spirit, their love of liberty and their tenacity in achieving it. Once again we pay them a tribute. But we cannot ignore the fact that their emancipation has been due also to the efficacy of the principles of the Charter which have helped them in their purposes, and to the understanding shown by many of the administering States which have fulfilled the conditions for leading these peoples towards the final goal of self-government. The wisdom of the representatives of those former colonies which today are independent States is eloquent proof of the concern which, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, has been shown by the one-time administrators to ensure for them steady educational progress.

160. These facts strengthen the faith of my delegation in the juridical solution of colonial problems in and through the United Nations. Our Organization is the mandator, and it is in the power of the mandator to bring the mandate to an end if and when the conditions are not fulfilled or there are unwarrantable delays in their fulfilment. We accordingly believe that each case should be examined in the light of its own merits and circumstances and against its own background, and that it should be measured in its own consequences. Emancipation "en masse" does not seem to us a good method, any more than is condemnation "en masse".

161. I have so far referred to what is usually called "classic colonialism", but we cannot ignore the fact that colonialism, like Proteus in the Greek myth, is multiform. It has mimetic powers, and it is obvious that there exist forms of neo-colonialism which need to be destroyed at the source.

162. I shall pass now, like the salamander over fire, to a new form of political and economic colonialism which subjugates peoples while leaving them with a self-government which appears to be genuine but is

jealously watched over by military forces ready to drown in blood any attempt at rebellion. I shall not refer to the countries which are suffering under exclusivist political parties. Nor shall I refer to those new "mitimáes"—an old Quechuan word for describing the peoples that were transported wholesale for collective work under the totalitarian imperialism and colonialism of the Incas. There was brainwashing in those days too—a fact that bears out Solomon's remark in Ecclesiastes that there is nothing new under the sun.

163. My delegation feels that in order to combat this neo-colonialism, whether it comes from the left or the right, the Charter sets forth methods which the United Nations should develop and perfect. The methods in question refer to the growing application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. Anything which guarantees its exercise, anything which contributes to implanting its existence, will prevent the development of neo-colonialism. This principle must, however, be exercised broadly without discrimination and without admitting exclusivist subtleties or fallacious exceptions, whether from the side of classic colonialism or of neo-colonialism, and whether from the left or the right.

164. There is, finally, an insidious type of colonialism against which it would be well to arm ourselves. I refer to the so-called economic semi-colonialism which endeavors to preserve a state of under-development in order to retain sources of cheap raw materials and outlets for expensive manufactured goods. It is essential, in this case, to increase international co-operation in the field of economic aid.

165. I will now refer briefly to the draft resolution which has been circulated as document A/L.323 and Add.1-5. Its generous spirit, the wisdom with which it presents the problem and the noble feeling for humanity which pervades it deserve our tribute, because it aspires to be a declaration of the rights of colonial peoples which will complement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

166. I am bound to examine it in the light of the ideas which my delegation has just submitted, and on this point I must say that I find certain discrepancies. I shall overlook the purely doctrinaire discrepancies, such as that set forth in the fifth preambular paragraph referring to the role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would seem that this paragraph seeks to assign the United Nations an active role as a mediator in colonial problems, placing it in between the dependent territories and the administering States. My delegation has held that the juridical relationship between the United Nations and the Administering States must be that of mandator to mandatory.

167. In the operative part, which takes the form of a declaration of principles, my delegation has certain doubts regarding paragraph 3. These doubts have both a juridical and a practical basis. My delegation believes that the indispensable condition for the attainment of self-government is that dependent peoples should have reached a sufficient degree of cultural, social and economic development which in each case must be assessed against the background of its own circumstances. The declaration in paragraph 3 might lead to a massive emancipation, even in the case where the stage of development necessary for the

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Fourth Committee, 325th and 344th meetings.

granting of self-government has not been reached. The practical difficulties of independence for a people that has not attained the requisite degree of social, economic and cultural development would obviously be very serious indeed.

168. My delegation also entertains certain doubts regarding the usefulness of operative paragraph 4— not so far as the principles are concerned but because it appears to be redundant.

169. Despite these observations, my delegation is happy to congratulate the sponsors of this draft, although we do reserve our right to express a final opinion on it later. We nevertheless wish to state for the record that we unconditionally support two fundamental principles contained in the declaration, namely, the right to self-determination as the basis for the independence of States, and the condemnation of any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity or the territorial integrity of a country.

170. Self-determination is the indispensable premise in any ethical or political consideration of human beings, whether individually or collectively. It is, therefore, the fundamental condition for the existence of democracy. Determinism, which is the philosophical negation of self-determination, leads individuals to automation and peoples to slavery. Anything that is done to strengthen the principle of self-determination and guarantee its exercise will receive the fervent support of my delegation.

171. My delegation also condemns any attempt to disrupt the national unity or territorial integrity of a country as being contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the foundations of law and peaceful co-existence. Wars of conquest, the imposition of treaties that mutilate the territorial heritage of a State, and military occupation as a means of settling international disputes are all unfortunately the survivals of a retarded colonialist mentality.

172. May I be allowed to recall with a certain pride that, in the juridical development of the American continent as embodied in international instruments, the principle of self-determination is set down as the basis for peaceful relations between States and within the international community. The international doctrine of *uti possidetis juris* came into being at the same time as we attained our independence, since Simón Bolívar, our liberator, took it as the basis for the existence of States. On the basis of this principle, nationalities became territorial entities, and respect for this principle has been maintained throughout the course of our American juridical development. Thus, American international law condemns the dismemberment of States by armed intervention and conquest. We cannot allow the civilized world to resound to the tragic *Vae victis* of the ancient barbarians.

173. This is why we give our enthusiastic support to the the embodiment of this principle in the declaration contained in the draft resolution.

174. I must also refer to the considerable effort towards a solution of this problem represented by the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324]. A commission such as the one proposed would, through a detailed and careful field survey, facilitate an objective appraisal of the situation even though it might not itself provide a solution. My delegation feels that

there is a technical obstacle which will make it difficult for us to support the draft resolution, namely, that when speaking of colonies, it refers to a concept which does not have any legal basis in the Charter and which it might be appropriate to clarify so as to indicate whether the reference is merely to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories or also includes those overseas territories that some States regard as part of their metropolitan territory. We therefore consider that there is a certain vagueness about the terms used.

175. I believe that, in this matter of the liquidation of colonialism, we are on the right road; but we have not yet reached the goal. The goal is still very far off, and the road is beset with difficulties. A study such as the one suggested offers one possibility of reaching that goal but another would be to determine how the United Nations could obtain compliance with the measures for the furtherance of self-government when the administering States fail to comply with their obligations. Otherwise, we shall find ourselves in a vicious circle. It will be impossible to give independence to certain peoples because they will be regarded as not fulfilling the necessary conditions for self-government, and it will also be impossible to insist that the administering States achieve those conditions by constructive efforts. This would effectively kill all hope and would perpetuate an injustice.

176. I must again apologize for having spoken at such great length, but this is a sacred cause—that of the oppressed peoples. We do not want them to suffer what we had to suffer to attain our independence. For them we want an independence that is based upon the principle of self-determination, a freedom that is without subterfuge or limitation. We feel responsible for their hopes, and we cannot allow despair to lead them, by logical reaction, to accept the totalitarian Charybdis after having escaped from the colonialist Scylla. The independence of today's dependent peoples, based upon self-determination, will inevitably lead them by their free decisions, free alike from pressures and from blandishments, to their own unique forms of government. This, as far as my delegation is concerned, is the great responsibility of the peoples of the United Nations.

177. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): As all delegations are aware, the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" was originally proposed by the Government of the USSR [A/4501] and unanimously approved by the General Assembly for inclusion in the agenda of the present session. On 23 September 1960, Chairman Khrushchev formally presented the draft text of the declaration which is contained in document A/4502. During the debate on the recommendation of the General Committee to include the item and to allocate it to the First Committee, my delegation was among the first to give its support to an amendment proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/L.312/Rev.1] to have the question discussed instead in the General Assembly in plenary session. We were in agreement with the Soviet view that the vital importance of this question fully warranted its consideration by this body. We made it clear that, in our opinion, this item had a scope and significance much broader than that which had been indicated by the terms of the explanatory memorandum and of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet delegation. We accordingly rejected the notion that the General Assembly, in considering this

question, would be bound by the restricted and tentative terms of the Soviet draft declaration. We maintained that such a declaration must cover the cases of all countries and peoples anywhere in the world that remain under alien subjection, victims of imperialist domination both old and new, and in all its forms and manifestations.

178. It was upon the basis of this understanding that the Philippine delegation co-operated with other countries of Asia and Africa in the elaboration of the draft declaration which is to be found in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5. In accordance with the instructions of my Government, the Philippine delegation has joined the rapidly increasing number of co-sponsors of this proposal, which at the present moment, if I am not mistaken, number forty-two.

179. My country's profound interest in this question is easily explained. Our experience of colonial subjection, which lasted unbroken for nearly four hundred years, was certainly one of the longest in all recorded history. We have drunk of the bitter cup of alien domination to the dregs. But we also recall with relief and gratitude that the Republic of the Philippines was the first-born independent State of this revolutionary era of the United Nations—this era which will forever be distinguished in the annals of human civilization by the emergence into freedom and independence of forty-odd countries within a period of only fifteen years.

180. In his speech before the Assembly on 29 November 1960 [927th meeting], Mr. Shukairy, the representative of Saudi Arabia, was generous enough to recall that the Philippines was the only Asian country that in San Francisco fought for the inclusion in the Charter of the United Nations of independence as the just and rightful goal of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The colonial Powers at the time would concede no more than the principle that in these territories they would "develop self-government" and "take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples", and they tried hard to convince us that the general concept of self-government would include and would embrace the goal of independence. From this semantic confusion has sprung one of the seeming inconsistencies or, shall we say, one of the political curiosities of the Charter; for, whereas Article 76 of the Charter clearly establishes "self-government or independence" as the goal of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, Article 73 merely obligates the colonial Powers "to develop self-government" for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

181. It was the view of the Philippine delegation at the San Francisco Conference, and it still remains the view of the Philippine delegation now, that independence should be the common objective of all the peoples of dependent territories, whether Trust or Non-Self-Governing. We were assured in San Francisco that this was indeed the case, in the spirit if not in the letter of the Charter. We were vastly outnumbered in San Francisco and we lost the struggle for this one crucial word. But this word was not simply a word that could be made to disappear by sleight-of-hand or by incantation. It was a word so instinct with life, so dear and so near to the hearts and minds of so many millions of dependent people, so tightly woven into the fabric of the present and the future, and so linked to the purposes and principles

of the United Nations, that it could not for long be ignored or kept, so to say, in cold storage.

182. The forward movement of history could not be arrested by any kind of verbal legerdemain, however ingenious. Thus, today, we are in the process of adopting a "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" as a necessary follow-up and clarification of the "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" which is embodied in Chapter XI of the Charter.

183. Some may wonder whether this new declaration, by specifying independence, does not constitute a revision of the existing declaration in the Charter. This is a legitimate concern which it is well for us to consider. In this connexion, we would recall the assurances that were offered to us in San Francisco to the effect that self-government and independence were virtually synonymous—an interpretation which the dictionary as well as textbooks on political science tend to support.

184. Moreover, Article 73 b of the Charter obligates the colonial Powers "to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples"—an obligation which most of the colonial Powers have respected during the last fifteen years since the end of the Second World War, by satisfying the supreme political aspiration of any people, which is independence, readily and voluntarily in some cases, grudgingly and by making a virtue of necessity in others.

185. Considering that nearly forty countries have achieved independence since the Charter was promulgated, it is the colonial Powers themselves who have borne the responsibility for the progressive interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter. It is they who have dared to carry the letter of this provision of the Charter to its logical conclusion, and this new declaration which we are proposing does no more than confirm the wisdom they have shown in the face of ineluctable historical necessity.

186. The Philippine delegation stands four-square behind the terms of the declaration proposed by forty-two Asian and African States [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. If it be objected that this declaration is considerably more exuberant in letter and spirit than the corresponding declaration in the Charter, our answer is that the difference is due to the new complexion of the United Nations and the radically altered environment in which it operates today. In San Francisco the great Powers that won the war influenced and determined the form and character of the Charter; they understandably hoped to preserve what they then possessed for as long as possible and they were not in any mood for voluntary sacrifices and acts of renunciation. Their domination of the San Francisco Conference is therefore reflected in the rather conservative, though not ungenerous, language of Article 73.

187. But fifteen years have passed since then, and the membership of the United Nations has doubled since the Charter was written because of the admission of States newly emerged from colonial subjection. When these new States speak, as they do now, in the proposed declaration, the world must be prepared to hear a voice with strong undertones of remembered injustice and hurt, and vibrant with sympathy for peoples still waiting to be free.

188. Some doubt has been expressed in connexion with paragraph 5 of the draft declaration, which reads:

"5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

189. At first blush, this provision might appear to be in contrast to the philosophy of gradualism which underlies Article 73 of the Charter and is implicit in the words, "progressive development of . . . free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement". However, it is clear that what is enjoined in paragraph 5 of the proposed declaration is not the immediate transfer of all powers to the peoples of those territories, but rather the taking or initiating forthwith of steps which would lead to such transfer of power. What is intended to be corrected is a policy of deliberate procrastination and delay, of failure to launch a dependent people upon the road to independence—a policy which, as we have seen, has had such tragic results in the case of the former Belgian Congo.

190. Our support of this paragraph springs from our experience as a former dependent territory of the United States. After the United States had completed the conquest of my country at the turn of the century, the leaders of my people began to petition and campaign for immediate, complete and absolute freedom, and they asked the United States for repeated guarantees towards that end. The American people and Government gave us the guarantees we asked for, and although our independence was not recognized immediately from the moment we petitioned for it, still it was gratifying to recall that by virtue of the guarantees thus obtained there was never any doubt from the beginning that steps would be taken immediately towards the goal of independence.

191. In point of fact, on the exact date promised to us by the United States, on 4 July 1946, Philippine independence was granted and recognized, and all this was accomplished without need of shedding a single drop of human blood.

192. Had the United Nations existed then, my country would surely have benefitted by the moral pressure of the Organization, and the period of preparation would have been much shorter. What paragraph 5, and indeed what the declaration, means is that the deliberate delay or withholding of independence shall no longer be tolerated, having regard for the greatly accelerated pace of developments in the world today, the irrepressible aspirations of peoples for political and economic emancipation, and the irreversible march of history.

193. The heart of the forty-two-Power draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], however, is to be found in the words:

"The General Assembly,

" . . .

"Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

"And to this end

"Declares that:

"1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

194. By these forthright affirmations, we make it indubitably clear that we intend this declaration to apply to all subjugated peoples in any part of the world, whether in front of the iron and bamboo curtains, or behind them, whether dominated and exploited overtly or covertly by the methods of classical imperialism or neo-imperialism.

195. We have no tears to shed as yet for the old colonial imperialism that has died. Of it we can say truly that the sooner it is finally liquidated, the better for mankind. But equally we have no words of welcome to offer to the new colonial imperialism that is arising to take its place. We feel we have a duty to warn peoples against the new colonialism which is weeking to impose itself upon weak peoples by force or upon unsuspecting nations by stealth. Constant vigilance is our only weapon against the resurgence of the old colonialism that is dying as well as against the new colonialism that is coming to birth.

196. By adopting the African-Asian draft declaration we shall give proof of our capacity to see through pretence and hypocrisy. We shall proclaim the integrity of our own judgement, uninfluenced by pity or flattery. We shall give notice to the neo-imperialists and to the crypto-imperialists that we are not prepared to accept any lessons from them in the matter of winning freedom and independence. But should they persist in the attempt we shall be constrained to say unto them: What you now do to destroy the freedom of human beings and the independence of peoples is so loud, so deafening, that we cannot hear what you say.

197. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is discussing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The vast dome of this chamber seems to have swelled with the passionate, emotional appeal for the complete and final elimination of the colonial régime in all its forms and manifestations. For the first time since its foundation the United Nations is resolutely declaring its convictions, intentions and demands to assist the still oppressed peoples in the colonies to win freedom and independence. The wise and vibrant words of the Soviet Union Declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1], to the effect that "peoples that oppress other peoples cannot be free", should be carved in gold letters in the granite entrance to the United Nations.

198. For several days now page after page has been read out from this rostrum telling with anger, conviction and pride of the broken chains of colonialism in Asia; of the great awakening in Africa; of the bonfires of independence already kindled and burning under the blue skies of Africa; of the disgrace of our century—the remains of the colonial system in the ancient lands of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania and the shores of the Caribbean, where colonialism is still rampant. Land and people, one hundred million people, still bear the colonial yoke of slavery.

199. The calm voices of the representatives of Africa and Asia conceal tremendous strength, the strength of struggle. Its slogan is, as it always has been, "independence and freedom". But the cunning yet cowardly lackeys of imperialism and even the colonialists themselves, with obvious dissimulation and a certain malicious intent, all sing the same tune about the aims and ideas of the Soviet Declaration: be on your guard, they say, the Soviet Declaration is a call for revolt.

200. One might think that the fires of popular revolt had never blazed forth in Africa and Asia; that struggle is not a natural expression of protest against national and social oppression but a sort of export commodity, presented moreover in the form of a "dangerous" declaration.

201. But it is useless to dissimulate: whoever puts chains on other persons, countries or peoples kindles the sacred flame of struggle in their hearts. Struggle, not submission. Struggle, not non-resistance to that most terrible evil, colonialism. It is this struggle, nothing else, that is pushing forward the frontiers of independence and freedom in Asia and Africa and in other parts of the world.

202. It is the duty of the free peoples, of the whole United Nations to help the still oppressed peoples to remove the barbed wire of colonialism wherever it still remains, protecting stagnation against progress, slavery against freedom, darkness against light. The citadels of the old order have always collapsed whenever the burden of the obsolescent became intolerable, whenever the old garments became too tight for the mighty and growing human society.

203. The great October Socialist Revolution in our country was the result of mankind's century-old struggle for freedom and progress. The revolutionary explosion of indignation of the multi-million masses of the former Russian empire was prepared by the whole course of historical development. A new era, an era of liberation of the working people from all forms of oppression—colonial, national and social—was born in the world to testify to the fact that mankind had become mature enough for the greatest historic accomplishments.

204. A most important constitutional instrument adopted by the young Soviet Republic—the "Declaration of the rights of toiling and exploited mankind"—proclaimed the elimination of all exploitation of man by man and repudiated the policy of enslavement by so-called chosen nations of "hundreds of millions of the toiling population in Asia, in the colonies generally and in the small countries". In the new historical conditions, that Declaration emphasized with particular force the need for a radical solution of the colonial problem in favour of the enslaved nations. Immediately after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the Soviet State, the great Lenin, expressed the firm conviction that the time was near when

"the popular masses of the East will rise as independent participants, as creators of a new life, because hundreds of millions of these populations belong to the dependent, under-privileged nations which, as far as capitalist culture and civilization are concerned, exist only as material for fertilizer".^{2/}

^{2/} V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Russian edition), vol. 30, pp. 138-139.

205. These words of Lenin, which sparkle with the clarity of his thought and foresight, are extremely noteworthy today. They can provide the key to understanding the reasons why the imperialists plunder the colonies and seek to maintain the colonial régimes, and also to understanding the fear which besets certain representatives of the colonial Powers in this Assembly. You will recall with what haste the United Kingdom representative, despite the staidness of the British character, used every effort to banish from his sight, like an apparition, the demands of the Soviet Union's Declaration. Such was his haste, indeed, that he declared his sympathy—whether warm or not, I cannot say—for the voices of Africa and Asia which, at the time he began to speak, he had not yet heard, as they had not spoken. I do not reproach him for this: I merely note the fact.

206. Subsequently, in the usual Western fashion, he lost his footing in the slippery task of contrasting the ideas, arguments and aims of the Soviet Declaration and those of the African-Asian countries, as he attempted in fact to dissociate those countries from the socialist countries with respect to their common views on the question of the complete and immediate liquidation of colonialism. These are favourite, though, to tell the truth, excessively straightforward tactics, that are being employed with particular emphasis at this session of the General Assembly. However, let the United Kingdom representative be heartened that, as he thinks, the African and Asian Members of the United Nations "do not . . . regard the Soviet contribution to our debates as a particularly serious one". May God grant him his daily illusion on this score! His statement, however, the Ukrainian delegation most firmly believes, makes one think of a straw in the flood of accusatory denunciations of the remnants of the colonial system and demands for their prompt liquidation. For that, indeed, is the whole tenor and burden of the discussion that is taking place in the Assembly in connexion with the submission by the Soviet Union Government, for the Assembly's consideration, of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1].

207. To return, however, to the main point: the peoples of Asia and Africa have awakened and are acting in the interests of the destiny of all mankind. That is now an irrefutable fact. Colonialism today, raised to the highest degree of parasitism, is the source of the peoples' calamities and sufferings. It plunders and sucks the blood of the peoples and places a blank wall between them and progressive development. During the years of their domination the colonial Powers have wrung untold wealth out of the subjugated countries. In the period 1955-1958, for instance, Belgium had a favourable payments balance in its trade with the Congo amounting to 373 million pounds sterling. Of this sum only 82 million pounds went back to the Congo in the same period. This means that in four years the clear profit extorted from the colony amounted to the enormous sum of 291 million pounds.

208. According to the most modest estimates, the United States monopolies made a profit of more than \$1,500 million in Africa alone in the post-war years 1946-1959, a sum sufficient to pay for the construction of more than one hundred and fifty 100,000-kilowatt power stations for the Africans.

209. For many decades, throughout the entire history of colonialism indeed, the economy of the colonial countries has remained dreadfully backward, and the colonialists are doing everything possible to perpetuate that condition. In all the African colonies and the dependent countries two economic sectors have been created, which differ both socio-economically and nationally: they are the highly-organized capitalist economy of the Europeans, in which foreign capital predominates, and the wretched subsistence and petty-commodity economy of the indigenous population. The foreign monopolies doom the economy of the countries they exploit to unnatural one-sided development, use the colonies as sources of cheap raw materials and labour, and pitilessly exploit them by means of an unbalanced system of trade between the countries.

210. However, as already stated, the plundering of the colonies is not only directed against productive capital. The colonial countries are doing everything possible to deny the colonies and under-developed countries access to the world market and are endeavouring to dominate completely the foreign trade and much of the domestic trade of the colonies, amassing great wealth in the process. For instance, in 1951 the cost of a ton of oil extracted in Kuwait was 73 cents, while the same oil was sold on the world market at the price of the most expensive oil, \$US17-18 per ton. In other words, the monopolies earned a profit of 2,000 per cent on each ton.

211. The colonialists are thus reaping a rich harvest, while the colonial peoples are becoming impoverished and are falling further and further below the level of the highly-developed countries.

212. I should like to draw the attention of representatives to an interesting document—the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/4371]. This report was prepared pursuant to resolution 1461 (XIV) of the United Nations General Assembly. The Committee set itself the task of formulating observations and conclusions on the progress achieved by the inhabitants of the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories in the past fifteen years. The objective sense of the Committee's report is that the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories essentially have the status of colonies, with all the ensuing consequences. The Committee reached the conclusion that to this day "the economy of the Territories remained, in general, at a low stage of development, based mainly on subsistence agriculture and, also, on the production of a few primary products for export" [A/4371, part two, para. 45]. The economy of these Territories is doomed to stagnation, since "the production of capital goods remained in its infancy" [ibid., para. 46]. The report contains striking illustrations of the fact that, in its words, "the per caput personal incomes of the indigenous population of the African Territories for which data were available for 1956 or 1957 were among the lowest in the world" [ibid., para. 53], and that there is an enormous disparity, measurable in factors of ten, between the incomes of the Territory's various population groups—and not, of course, in favour of the indigenous Africans, i.e., the indigenous population of the colonies. The report also acknowledges many other equally eloquent facts: the weakening of family ties among the indigenous population, an increase in juvenile delinquency, unemployment and underemployment, the spread of dreadful diseases, in many places wide-

spread illiteracy, deprivation of rights and racial discrimination.

213. Can such a situation be tolerated any longer? No; it cannot, if we cherish the interests of the cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress.

214. Each year the United Nations receives thousands of petitions from the inhabitants of so-called Trust Territories. These petitions are often the only form in which the dependent peoples can appeal to the international community for help. There are 20,000 such petitions buried in the dusty archives of the United Nations which should rather be published in millions of copies.

215. One of these petitions states that in South West Africa there is an organization known as the South West Africa Native Labour Association. This Association is authorized to sell (I emphasize the word sell) Africans from the Native reservations outside the territory.

216. I shall now quote from another petition:

"At this moment when the General Assembly of the United Nations is going into the details of colonial matters and discussing colonial administration in dependent overseas territories, we, the peoples' representatives of the British crown colony of British Guiana, would like to draw the attention of the Honourable delegates to our unfortunate plight.

"Hereby we, the frustrated people of British Guiana... take the opportunity of presenting our case before this world assembly. We want political independence. We want to run our national affairs, political, social and economic, according to the wishes and aspirations of our people and for a better Guiana. We place here before the Honourable delegates no indictment, as our intention is not of impeaching British imperialism. We only endeavour to show our national wounds, which the shoe of colonialism has made into our body politic. Ours is a cry of mortal agony and what we request is that Great Britain be asked by this distinguished assembly to be great enough and lift her shoe because where the shoe rests there happens to be more than half a million feeble Guianese throats."

217. There are other documents too, the documents of the Conference of Independent African States that was held at Accra. The Conference heard moving reports by representatives of the participating organizations of the brutal deeds of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent. It was told that through the activities of the imperialists the Africans have been deprived of the basic human rights, freedom of speech, of assembly, of movement, freedom to live in plenty. Wherever the remains of the colonial system persist there is dreadful poverty, denial of rights to oppressed peoples, the savage rule of ignorance and violence, and people dying off like burnt grass. Only those whose hearts are made of stone and who today stand guard for colonialism close their ears to this.

218. Document A/AC.73/3, which has been distributed to this Assembly, contains a number of statements which, we think, should also be published in a great many copies so that the whole world may see the foul visage of the champions of the colonial system. One of these statements alleges that "'Apartheid' is to the black people a perfectly comprehensible system which they employ among themselves" [A/AC.73/3,

petition No. 10]. In another equally shameful statement it is frankly asserted that "Once the natives govern themselves, we are convinced that the history of Africa will be turned back by 100 to 200 years" [ibid., petition No. 20].

219. In order to ensure that history is not "turned back", crimes are committed. The conscience of mankind winces at these crimes, whether committed in Algiers, in South West Africa or in the Republic of the Congo. Judging by the nature of the events that are taking place there, the Republic of the Congo has been chosen as a testing ground in which to raise the tree of neo-colonialism, no less poisonous than colonialism itself. Renegades of the Mobutu type are ploughing this ground with weapons. The example of the Republic of the Congo makes it clear to all that colonial fascism and neo-colonialism are twins and are attempting to stifle everything live, independent and national in the colonial countries.

220. A long time ago a "Tree of Liberty" was planted in American soil liberated from the British colonialists, and Thomas Jefferson said that for the tree to grow it had to be refreshed with the blood of tyrants. From American soil we have heard the fiery words of Walt Whitman who declared that a world in which masters and slaves existed had grown old, and who passionately believed that a new and mighty race of men with firm and regular step would remove from our planet the traces of oppression of man by man.

221. Today, however, other voices are heard from the United States of America. According to reports, the United States Congress intends to spend several million dollars on propaganda in Africa in the 1960-1961 financial year. Several thousand United States missionaries have already entrenched themselves in a number of African countries and the messengers of all kinds of "charitable foundations", such as those of Ford and Rockefeller, have gone there in droves. With no sense of constraint Senator Cross openly declared in the United States Congress that a propaganda campaign must be prepared for the African continent, so as to open up that vast new region where wealth lay waiting to be mined. With even greater candour the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs said that the United States would soon be able to make up for the comparative lack of success of its policy in Asia and the Middle East, that Africa afforded it the opportunity to get its revenge. What is involved, then, is the United States desire to establish its political, economic and military domination over Africa. Neo-colonialism, daubed with the paint and powder of imperialism, is being implanted to replace the old colonialism that is now discredited forever.

222. The words "get revenge" are a faithful reflection of policy and, behind this policy, of practical action being taken inside and outside the United States. Life, of course, teaches even the colonialists something: it has taught them—not all of them perhaps—to seek to gain their ends by more subtle methods. Today they do not say: colonialism is a boon and do not dare ask for its abolition. In their lexicon the words "independence" and "self-government" are employed only as indicating mere intentions that relate to the remote future. One speaker quite clearly and definitely indicated that there were no differences of intention between the colonialist Powers and the countries of

Asia and Africa; there were differences as to the methods and sometimes the time for granting independence and freedom.

223. But they have long been singing these odes to good intentions that have no reference to time, while the date for the complete elimination of the colonial régime is being deferred on various ridiculous and, I might say, demagogic pretexts. That precisely is the crux of the differences of principle. At one pole stand the colonial countries with their intentions, at the other pole the countries demanding immediate elimination of the colonial system. The declaration of the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], like that of the Soviet Union, solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. What need then was there for the draft resolution of Honduras [A/L.324]? It was needed by those who stand behind Honduras, and who they are it is not hard to guess. Its purpose is to prevent, if possible, the adoption of the declaration and thus prolong the life of the colonial system. Our delegation—and I say this with full respect for the countries of Latin America—would be greatly disturbed to learn that the Honduran draft resolution expresses the views of all Latin American countries.

224. That draft resolution in fact repeats the demagogic and slanderous assertion that the colonies are not prepared for self-government, that they lack the political and social leadership necessary to enable them to assume the functions of government.

225. The draft resolution, of course, proclaims the elimination of colonialism throughout the world. But it does not indicate when the eradication of this blot on the twentieth century is to take place. It is not difficult to understand that once again it is a question of intentions, and in order to mask those intentions it is proposed that a commission should be appointed. What is this commission to do? It is to visit the colonial possessions and draft recommendations for proposal to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. Recommendations about what? About the most appropriate, expeditious and effective way of achieving the complete abolition of colonialism. This is a mere meaningless collection of words. The same thing has happened before in the United Nations: as soon as it is desired to block any sound and progressive action by the Organization, a heavy-weight draft resolution, like that of Honduras, is got ready. For some delegations, perhaps, such a draft resolution is a sort of safety-valve or a shadow in which they can hide conveniently. For its part, however, the Ukrainian delegation wishes to state clearly that the Honduran draft resolution is unacceptable from beginning to end. We cannot support a draft resolution which has as its aim not the elimination of colonialism but merely the ascertaining, the verification of the readiness of the colonies for independence and self-government.

226. The peoples fighting for their liberation and the establishment of genuine independence have a tremendous strength which is set against all the cowardly stratagems of the colonialists and neo-colonialists. That strength is unity and solidarity. At Bandung, the Asian and African States formulated the basic principles of African-Asian solidarity. That solidarity is based on a common hatred of colonialism in whatever form; a common hatred of racism; and

a common desire for the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world. Since that time there have been similar meetings of the fighting peoples, at Accra, Tunis and Conakry. The voice of Latin America, embodied in the ardent appeals of the Havana Declaration, has reverberated throughout the world.

227. At the present time, on the initiative of the Soviet Union—a country of peace, a country of true fraternity and friendship of peoples, a country which, in the words of a distinguished leader of modern Asia, has laid the foundation of a new civilization in which the world can move ahead—the almost one hundred States represented in the United Nations are considering and discussing with deep emotion the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The liberation of nations and peoples from colonial domination will bring about an improvement in international relations and a strengthening of peace. The struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation cannot be halted. As Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev said in his statement at the present session of the General Assembly, "it is a great historic process, one of ever-growing and invincible power". We say, and we repeat, that full independence and freedom must be given to the peoples of the colonies and the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, not some time in the future, but today, without delay.

228. The free people and Government of independent Soviet Ukraine stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with all free peoples and give full and unqualified support to the lofty ideas and aims of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

229. Mr. CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (translated from French): The reason why my delegation feels impelled to take part in the discussion of the problem of granting independence to the colonial peoples is that it believes that the problem of colonialism is of exceptional importance. Some of the speakers who have preceded me have stressed that it was infamous that the colonialist scourge should still exist. Others have emphasized the progressive disappearance of colonialism and also the appearance of this scourge in a new form, aimed at perpetuating the domination of one country by another and the exploitation of man by man. They have all adduced abundant proof that colonialism in all its forms is a danger to international peace and security.

230. After the Second World War great waves of nationalism beat on the continent of Asia, shaking the colonial positions that had stood so firm in the past. Nearly a thousand million men have recovered their outraged dignity and freedom. There can be no doubt that the San Francisco Charter, proclaimed amid the rejoicing at the end of the Second World War, has accelerated the process of decolonization, because of its moral bases. The policy of the traditionally anti-colonialist countries, rapid technical progress and the increasing exchange of ideas have made the positions of the colonialist Powers untenable. Under the combined influence of these different factors, empires have broken up more quickly.

231. The Bandung Conference of 1955, which was a historic milestone in the relations of the peoples of Africa and Asia, gave a new impetus to the liberation movement in Africa.

232. After Asia, Africa, with all its wealth and human potential, is awaking to international life and, as every speaker here has stressed, quite rightly, 1960 is Africa's year. By its dynamic energy, Africa has already made an important contribution to our work.

233. Except for a few isolated areas where the colonialists are dominant and still the law-makers, it may be said that this is the end of the colonialist era. These few areas still exist, but the deeply rooted emancipation movement will soon sweep them away. For in this era of interdependence and of a peace that is one and indivisible, a dying colonialism can hardly survive.

234. The Laotian people, belonging to a Buddhist country, have always found all forms of domination, whether ideological or material, utterly repugnant. We feel that humiliation is worse than poverty, that a man can get used to hunger but never to humiliation. However, brought up on principles of tolerance and humanism, we refuse to look only at the dark side of this problem.

235. We strongly support the peoples who are struggling for freedom and independence. We feel that it is only through self-determination that the political consciousness of the oppressed peoples can be changed and harmony re-established. We are convinced the emancipation movement is irresistible and irreversible, but we are opposed to those who foster hatred, who use violent slogans for social or racial ends, or merely to divert attention from political difficulties, for we feel that these are debased ways of thinking which are incompatible with moral principles.

236. Let us take care, however, not to let ourselves be involved in demonstrations of hysterical racism through hatred of colonialism. It is not enough to denounce colonialism in verbal fireworks; the reasons for its continued existence must be removed so that it cannot return. Racism and xenophobia are in our opinion the two keynotes on which the supporters of colonialism play in an attempt to resuscitate their past grandeur and superiority. If such feelings were outlawed, the colonial Powers would be forced increasingly into isolation, and the very germs of colonialism would be destroyed. Newly acquired independence must not develop into blind dependence, for there is no alternative to freedom. We feel that the battle against colonialism must be fought at the same time as the battle for social well-being and economic progress, for to combat colonialism on only one front, while neglecting the problem of hunger and ignorance, would be useless and worse than a crime.

237. Our anti-colonialism must not blind us to the political designs of any ideological bloc which is trying to capture the new States while they are still weak and at a loss, and either bring them directly within its orbit or turn them into useful clients. Any State that falls into the traps set by this new imperialism runs the risk of becoming a mere cog in a machine. In that case, the independence for which it has struggled would be only second-class independence.

238. In the view of my delegation it would be pointless to indulge in controversy if we have not the same concept of freedom and human dignity. If the freedom and equality of peoples has not the same meaning, the same significance, everywhere, if it is merely an export for the consumption of the poor and ignorant

masses, to serve the cause of certain interests, then there is no point in passionately fighting the ancient scourge of colonialism here in the United Nations.

239. Our way to peace and harmony will always be strewn with obstacles as long as there are nations which, for all their talk of peace, freedom and emancipation, are really dreaming only of extending their pride and power beyond their frontiers either by force of arms, or by cunning and subversion, a worse evil than colonialism itself. These nations, over-sure of their philosophy, convinced that they have the key of the future and imbued with missionary spirit, use any means, even the most brutal, to impose their domination. These Powers, which are trying to give us a new version of the colonial saga, must be told that the dissolution of the colonial empires has now gone so far that only the most conciliatory and imagi-

native liberalism can replace past obligations by freely accepted links. The necessary adjustments must be made through a dispassionate appraisal of the present relationships between the Powers, by redefining interest, so that it excludes vulgar concepts of national grandeur, in order to re-establish confidence, friendship and peace.

240. My delegation is one of the sponsors of the forty-two-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] which has been submitted to this Assembly for its consideration. It believes that the structure and ideas of this draft resolution are a faithful reflection of the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. It hopes that the draft resolution will be adopted by the largest possible majority.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

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