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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. TSATSOS (Greece) (translated from French): The colonial era is a recent stage of world history the last vestiges of which are rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth. That is a fact that no one doubts today, and from that fact certain problems arise. But before examining them, and in order to dispel any misunderstandings—which are all the more undesirable as the atmosphere in which we live is already heavy with suspicion—it might be useful to define the historical notion of colonies and colonialism.
2. The modern understanding of the term "colony" is very different from what it was in ancient times. A colony is the result of the forceful domination by an organized people having its own territory—hence a State—over a people living in another territory, irrespective of the legal form the domination takes and the organization it involves. "Colonialism" is the body of circumstances relating to the establishment and maintenance of colonies in modern times. This definition of "colony" and "colonialism" may be too narrow for some to accept, but it has the advantage of not giving rise to serious controversy. It should be added that colonialism is not the only possible form of domination of one people by another. Anyone who fails to condemn such domination in all its forms must be lacking in logic and moral consistency.
3. Oddly enough, before colonialism has quite disappeared, we already know the moral judgement that history will pass on it. To the extent that it impeded instead of hastening the development of peoples, it was one of the worst forms of domination of man by man, and in that sense it was a prolongation of slavery. But to the extent that it enabled the colonial peoples to attain a higher cultural and social level, colonialism was a positive factor in world evolution. In any case, it is now fated to disappear, and on this world public opinion is in unanimous agreement, for I do not suppose that there is a single nation in our great world family which wishes to or can contend that there is or could still be any justification for colonialism.
4. The ending of a historical era always raises the same problem: What should be remembered and what forgotten? Generally speaking, the memories of colonialism evoke in the minds of all peoples, but

especially those that have been colonized, a profound bitterness, the legitimacy of which cannot be denied. This bitterness disturbs the unanimity with which the world conscience today pronounces its condemnation of colonialism. To be able to forget the evil done to us is sometimes a necessity. It is an especially vital necessity in politics. And it is particularly important today, at least for those who have no psychological complexes to blind their eyes and divert them from their goals and who truly wish to strengthen the unity needed to hold the international community together and maintain world peace.

5. No one could possibly doubt that the principle of freedom for individuals and peoples cannot be deemed to have been realized in practice if it has been applied in only one part of the world. It is only when it is world-wide and the entire globe is mantled in its royal purple, that this freedom will become a reality. This no one would venture to deny. Indeed, that declaration itself gives us a glimpse of one of the finest victories awaiting mankind, a victory which will be all the greater because it will be won, and won gloriously, under the sole moral impetus of the idea of freedom.

6. It will be recalled that in the two Americas, both North and South, colonialism yielded before the patriots' boldness and courage and before the force of arms. Later, in Asia, it had to beat a retreat mainly because of the magnificent moral resistance displayed by the Asian peoples. Finally, in Africa, the accession to independence of so many peoples, whose worthy representatives we are proud to have among us today, was due to part, of course, to these peoples' resolve to win their place among the free nations, but it was also partly the result of the ripening in Europe of the great liberal and peace-minded climate of opinion that led to the political changes which are bringing the colonial era to a close. It would be both unjust and dangerous to try to overlook this fact which, moreover, as we are bound to admit, offers the only genuine guarantee of the final and enduring victory of freedom in a world without war.

7. The end of colonialism in Africa and wherever else it still clings on is only a matter of time. No one doubts this, but it would be ingenuous to believe that the end can be instantaneous. To undo the evil, while taking pains to preserve the good, to remove what has been accumulated over many decades, is an operation on the largest scale, and if it is to succeed it must be executed without procrastination but also with prudence and with a deep sense of responsibility. Each case has features particular to it. The Charter itself provides for several different paths of development. What is essential is to guarantee that in each case the decisive factor is the freely expressed will of the people. That is the common denominator in this vast operation to sweep away the remnants of colonialism. Those who claim that a lightning attack on colonialism could be carried out on a world scale are setting an impossible

goal for themselves. We trust that the course of our debate will demonstrate that it is not the wish of the Assembly to compromise the possible by demanding the impossible.

8. But if the end of what remains of colonialism cannot be instantaneous, it can—and since it can, it must—be rapid. Furthermore, it must be recognized that to the extent that this process is not moving along at the accelerated pace one might wish, the blame for it rests in the first instance with certain colonial Powers which have adopted a policy running counter to the current of history and to the real interests of these Powers themselves, viewed in the light of their own future. Hence it is the bounden duty of all colonial Powers to speed up the emancipation of the peoples still under their domination and to do this by stages, on the basis of a detailed plan. I should like to repeat that this is not only the bounden duty of the colonial Powers, but it is also in their own interests, for only in this way can they give decisive proof of their good faith, proof that they are acting not by force of circumstances but because their own conscience makes it morally necessary for them to put an end to colonialism as quickly as possible.

9. If to achieve this goal the colonial Powers need our confidence, let us give it to them. I am thinking not of a mere gesture. My argument runs deeper than that. If the African victory had been won on African soil alone, if it had not become part and parcel of the European conscience, the confidence I speak of could justly be withheld. But, as I have pointed out, the African victory was won not only in Africa itself but also in Europe. I believe this fact to be of capital importance. It enables us to see the problem, as it will develop in the future, in its true perspective, and this is the only consideration which should occupy our minds if we are to deal constructively with the question of wiping out colonialism. The fact that colonialism was fought on its own ground, that public opinion in the colonial Powers is almost unanimously opposed to the unjustified perpetuation of a system which the course of history has condemned, assures us not only that it will disappear, but that its disappearance will be quick and irrevocable. No Government, no power on earth can oppose this moral force which springs from the very depths of the popular conscience, a conscience which is by nature liberal.

10. The political maturity and the excellent grasp of history and sociology displayed by the representatives of the new African States give proof of the advancement of the African *élite* and demonstrate the possibility of a general development of their peoples. But we must note that there is a difference between the levels of political development and economic development achieved in a number of the former colonies. This gives rise to a problem which is very difficult to solve. What must be said, and said with emphasis, is that political independence must not be delayed until a corresponding degree of economic development has been attained. Consequently, the nations which have achieved a high degree of economic development bear a moral obligation—whose urgency is no whit lessened by its nature—to help the African world to develop its economy without interfering politically and without seeking any direct benefit. By acting in this way, countries would in the long run be accomplishing a double purpose: they would be acting at once justly and in their own interests, because it is only by bringing the African

world, on a footing of equality, as an active factor, into the world economy that a more stable and highly developed world economy can be achieved.

11. Although I am an Athenian, and proud of it, I have a high regard for Sparta and laconic speech. I have tried to be brief, and I have but a few words to add. I know that there was a time, and it was not so long ago, when the word "never" would have been the only reply—tinged possibly with some contempt—to idealists who might have undertaken an anti-colonialist campaign and asserted then what all of us nowadays regard as an obvious truth. But those who are an active element in the shaping of world history should know that it is a serious mistake to use the word "never".

12. Ancient Greece created the idea of liberty and the ideal of democracy. We are proud of that. But we are even prouder of the example which, ever since its rebirth at the beginning of the last century, modern Greece has given to the world by its sacrifices and its devotion to the ideas of liberty and human dignity. The Greek nation greets the end of colonialism as a human conquest of world-wide importance, to the achievement of which it has contributed to the fullest extent of its ability.

13. Mr. PETER (Hungary): As an introduction to what I am going to say I wish to invoke an old African proverb: "When minds are the same, that which is far off will come." The saying goes back to the ancient life of the East-African peoples. It is still current in the Swahili language and has a direct application to this debate.

14. By quoting this ancient proverb I wish to pay at least symbolic tribute to the living heritage in the thinking of peoples emerging from the shadows of colonial ages. However long and disastrous the centuries of slavery were in many parts of the colonial territories, old human traditions were preserved everywhere in the form of legends, songs, proverbs, written or engraved words, popular customs and monuments—all rich in cultural values. The peoples have not forgotten their own ancient history. It is being transmitted orally from generation to generation. We are already and will go on witnessing a resurgence of national life, a revival of old cultural values with the coming of independence and a rebirth of the consciousness of peoples everywhere, which will be effectively instrumental in shaping the economic and political life in the new age of their existence. This national renaissance will add to the cultural treasure of the family of nations as a whole.

15. The proverb I have just quoted expresses something essential regarding the present collapse of the colonial system. A few years ago one could hardly have imagined the speed with which the peoples of the old colonial territories would regain their freedom and independence. Among the many factors which have contributed toward this happy development, one of the most striking has been the joint effort of those who for generations have struggled against colonial rule. The minds of peoples and those of their national leaders have become the same and so that which seemed to be far off has come.

16. Now, in the present debate in this Organization, we are about to achieve an even greater unity of all minds and forces in order to complete the liquidation of every kind of colonial rule. The peoples of Africa and Asia have become so strong and united in their

struggle for independence that they would be powerful enough to rid themselves by force of what is left from old colonial times. The very fact that this session of the General Assembly is debating this question shows that there is a real possibility of a peaceful solution of remaining problems. The greater the unity of minds willing to put a definite end to colonial rule, the brighter will be the prospects of finding an immediate and peaceful solution to all colonial problems. In this connexion we may say that when minds are the same here in this hall, that which is still far off will soon be reached.

17. We should find it easier to reach a common understanding if we could all accept the same interpretation of the colonial system which peoples having experienced colonial rule for generations are giving to it. For beyond all its connotations the word "colonialism" has two essential meanings. These two meanings are confronting each other in this debate whenever the discussion becomes controversial. The meaning of colonialism is not the same for the colonial Powers and their successors as it is for the peoples under colonial rule. For the colonial Powers there is nothing dishonest in colonialism. Not so long ago in Europe the possession of as many colonies as possible was one of the main criteria for the international and worldwide authority of some States. As a child under the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, I saw that beyond subjugating a whole series of nationalities, one of the main objectives was to acquire by conquest or otherwise the richest possible territories in Asia or Africa for colonial administration. The attack in the thirties by Mussolini's Italy on Ethiopia was one of the last displays of appetite for colonial territories. Unfortunately, those bad old days are not entirely past. There are still governments which do not consider it dishonest to have colonial offices and ministries for colonial affairs, and to train officials to regard it as an honour to serve in a colonial administration.

18. But the other aspect of colonialism is entirely, essentially different, in fact just the opposite. In the eyes of peoples that have experienced colonial rule, colonialism is the most detestable evil of human life. It would be worth while to reiterate what has been already said by Asian and African delegations about the tragic conditions of colonial times, because for the sake of a better future it is as well not to forget the past and the vestiges of the past. Yet I will not do so. Instead, I will sum up the general impressions left by their statements.

19. If human sufferings were measurable and comparable experiences, it could be argued that centuries of colonial slavery had caused human societies even more suffering, loss, devastation and impoverishment than all the wars fought during the whole history of mankind, and let us add that wars have mostly been fought against peoples under colonial rule and at their expense. But even if human sufferings are not comparable the comparison has its meaning, and it does stand to indicate what colonialism meant to those familiar with its inside story.

20. Any resolution resulting from this debate can have real value and can mean effective help to peoples under colonial rule only if it is based on a true interpretation of the meaning of colonialism as understood by those whose fate lay or still lies under the shadow of colonialism. Both the declaration presented by the Government of the Soviet Union [A/4502] and the draft

resolution submitted by a number of States [A/L.323 and Add 1-5] are based on this interpretation. The latter should be made to coincide more closely with the former mainly as regards the means of implementation. The more delegations there are which understand the real meaning of colonialism as seen by the peoples of the colonial territories, the greater will be the possibility of formulating the results of this debate in such a way as to be really effective against colonial domination.

21. Mr. President, before venturing to suggest the main characteristics of a possible resolution likely to prove effective, I should like, with your kind permission, to say a few words about the basic principle guiding my delegation in the common effort to achieve the best possible results from this discussion. Only one motivation is justifiable in the eyes of those on whose behalf this whole debate has been initiated—only one, namely, the consciousness of human solidarity. All the delegations which in this debate have stood up for the immediate liquidation of all the remains of the colonial past have borne witness to deep human solidarity. The best guarantee of a helpful attitude in this matter is unconditional solidarity with those peoples for whose sake this item has been placed on the agenda. Any attempt to avoid or postpone an effective resolution or to sidetrack the debate indicates that the true feeling of human solidarity has relinquished its decisive role and certain other interests have taken its place—interests alien to the cause of liquidating all types of colonial rule. Mr. President, as you may know, the Secretary-General was good enough to provide an excellent illustration of this attitude by distributing a so-called report by an extremely distinguished special representative. But I do not wish to elaborate on this point. On the basis of human solidarity an effective stand by the General Assembly on the problems of colonial countries and peoples should be characterized by a genuine and meaningful document designed to avert all possible attempts at embellishing the picture of colonialism and to condemn unreservedly the ages of colonialism and make it clear that the United Nations will not tolerate colonial rule any longer.

22. To embellish the picture serves no justifiable or unjustifiable purpose. It does not even serve the interests of the colonial Powers. It is no use trying to embellish the picture. The peoples familiar with the intimate picture of colonialism will never accept any misrepresentation of that true picture. It may be that persons of colonial origin who have lost every organic contact with their peoples will be taken in by such embellishments, but it will be impossible to mislead the peoples themselves. On the contrary, any attempt at embellishment merely helps to aggravate the situation in every respect, both in the colonial territories and in the United Nations also. Here is an example to illustrate this.

23. A recent report by an American (Negro) writer on the situation in Africa, based on a journey to Africa last summer, gives an astonishing account of a talk with a white settler in Kenya who is a political figure, and even a person of some importance, having taken part in the Lancaster House conference. Speaking to this American (Negro) writer about the prospects in Kenya, he said:

"I think Kenya should be independent. I think the Africans must one day run the country. But first I

think the British Government should give us £10 million to launch a full-scale education programme for these Africans. That will take from ten to twenty years. That is the only way to do it. I have said this on the floor of Parliament and I have told it to the Colonial Secretary. Now I realize I will get nowhere with this. So I have asked Mr. Mboya and his African friends to give us Europeans the following assurances: a promise that land and properties will not be confiscated once Africans are in control, and a promise that we will be free to send our children to schools of our own choice. And I have asked the British Government to impound certain Kenya money to guarantee that Africans will respect and honour such an agreement once it is made." ^{1/}

I think it would be rather instructive to quote other parts of that talk, but I do not propose to do so as they are of an even more inflammatory character.

24. To realise all the dangerous and even tragic implications of such a tragicomic attitude, we must remember that the talk to which I have just referred took place in Nairobi, Kenya, at exactly the same time as the crisis which broke out in Leopoldville. The attitude of certain prominent figures in the colonial territories largely reflects that of the colonial Powers themselves and their allies, who thus make official or semi-official statements designed to redress the colonial past and present. All such attempts at embellishment will only provide new motives for renewed tragedies. The march of history hits back in a merciless way at all who venture to trifle with the real forces at work in a historical process.

25. Here is another example to illustrate my point, and which refers to an experience common to all of us in this hall.

26. During the last two or three weeks we have seen that on some controversial issues, for instance in connexion with the Congo, the Western Powers, although opposed by the majority of Asian and African delegations, have succeeded in attaining majority votes with the help of their military allies. The smell of victory has been in the air—and what a smell! But those who want to embellish the situation do not realize that such actions carried out against the common will of the majority of Asian and African States will only contribute to widening the gap and sharpening the contradictions between Asian and African countries and the Western Powers. If we, from the point of view of the socialist countries, looked upon these happenings in a cold-war spirit, we would feel gratified to see the way in which some Western Powers undermine their own relations with Asian and African countries. But we are not guided by a cold-war spirit. We are not gratified when we see many delegations from Asia and Africa becoming embittered by the power-policy of the cold war. No, we are not. We are so anxious for peaceful coexistence that we wish former colonies to be on good terms with their former colonial masters, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We desire the peaceful coexistence of Cuba and the United States, of the two States of the Congo and France and Belgium, and so on. Hence, the illusions created by an embellishment of colonial conditions even work against the very interests of the Western Powers. To conclude: for the sake of peace, security and the peaceful

coexistence of former colonies and former colonial Powers, a real, helpful and effective document should condemn the colonial systems, with a view to liquidating all their remains.

27. The second main characteristic of such a real, helpful and effective document, following logically from the condemnation of colonial rule, should be to stress the urgent need to liquidate all existing colonial systems. Any delay will only aggravate the situation. In the general debate on the subject in this hall, the First Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, Mr. Janos Kádár, as Chairman of my delegation, spoke as follows:

"The foundations of the colonial system have been shaken so much that any attempt at obstructing the progress of liberation will not stop but accelerate it." [883rd meeting, para. 30].

Yes, accelerate it; any attempt to halt or divert this process will result in renewed forcible action on the part of peoples under colonial rule. In the present world situation real conditions prevail for an immediate and peaceful solution of these problems. It is not a sheer coincidence that this world Organization is dealing with problems of general and complete disarmament and problems of liquidating all kinds of colonial rule almost at the same time. The two issues are interdependent and the feasibility of both rests on the present international situation, where the new balance of power is in favour both of disarmament and the liquidation of the colonial system. In view of the great political, moral and material forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in general, present international relations are not such as to favour the colonial Powers if they try to thwart the independence movements of colonial peoples. The forces of the colonial peoples, together with those recently liberated in Asia and Africa, are so powerful that they could achieve their demands by forcible action, and this will certainly happen if the solution comes too late. And it is almost too late—as we see now from recent events in the Congo. The peoples of the former colonies and of those still existing, together with their leaders, would like to avoid the use of violence and to act in a peaceful way. If the present session of the General Assembly heeds the signs of the times, they will be helped to implement their goodwill. To conclude: for the sake of a peaceful solution, a real, helpful and effective document will make clear the urgent need for finding a solution to the problems of the colonial territories.

28. Many previous speakers have underlined how important it is that the proposal of the Soviet Union on the problem of colonialism as a whole should become a main concern of this Organization. The Government of the Soviet Union has thereby rendered a service not only to the colonial peoples by bringing their case to the attention of the General Assembly but also to this Organization, and even to the colonial Powers—even to them. This Organization has been given a great opportunity to say what it should so as to usher in a new era for all mankind, and the colonial Powers have been offered friendly aid in liquidating a dishonest heritage of the past in a decent, honest and peaceful way.

29. The results of re-establishing the independence of all colonial countries will be of tremendous benefit not only to the countries concerned but to all of us, and this for two reasons. This new situation will help to

^{1/} Louis E. Lomax, *The Reluctant African*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1960, p.71.

eliminate tensions and create more relaxed international relations beneficial to all countries, large and small, without exception. At the same time the family of nations will be enriched by the participation of the newly independent nations in international endeavours. Peoples and their representatives, inspired by their struggle for independence, peace and human existence, usually bring a powerful and constructive element into international organizations, and this promotes the honest solution of such controversial issues as peace, security and social progress. May I be allowed to express the hope that the present debate will serve this end.

30. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, may I intervene at this point to say that, according to the best information available to the Chair, if the Assembly were prepared to sit until sometime after 2 o'clock—which I think would not be later than 2.30 p.m.—it would be possible to dispose of the list of speakers inscribed for today and an afternoon meeting would not be necessary. The Chair would propose, with the agreement of the Assembly, to pursue this course.

It was so decided.

31. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): The important item being discussed now deserves the closest attention of my delegation—particularly because its common interpretation requires some points of clarification—and this is the reason for my intervention. Either directly or indirectly, many speakers from this rostrum during the present debate have attempted to include Portugal in the problem of the elimination of colonialism in the world. However, the more I heard about colonialism as an economic and political system, the more I heard about its fundamental characteristics and the different facets it presents, the more it became manifest that Portuguese nationhood was completely alien to the practice of colonialism. Whatever the confused reasonings, misunderstandings, innuendoes and insinuations advanced in good or bad faith by some, in connexion with the moral, political and juridical structure of my country, the fact remains that no type of colonialism is practised within the Portuguese nation.

32. Portugal has been for centuries a unitary nation and it has always been recognized as such by the international community. We are, like many other nations, multi-racial; our land and our people are dispersed over several continents, as is also the case with other nations. But we form only one unit, completely independent and solid—politically, juridically and socially, one country with the same strong national feeling. Nowhere in my country is there any subjugation of peoples to foreign domination because all our people, wherever they may live, are themselves the body and soul of the nation. From the point of view of economic initiative, no one part of the nation enjoys any special privilege or benefit with respect to other parts or to the whole, and all Portuguese nationals, whatever their race, origin or religion, enjoy identical economic privileges on a footing of absolute equality, wherever they may find themselves.

33. Juridically, there is no distinction among the Portuguese in any part of the nation in their enjoyment of Portuguese nationality, with its privileges and its opportunities. Whatever their origin, race or religion, the Portuguese have always found in the law the means of enjoying the same rights and opportunities and of holding the highest posts, whether in government or

private enterprise, as well as in public and social life. A nation which has had as President of its Supreme Court of Justice in Lisbon a Portuguese national of a non-European race, born in an overseas province—not to speak of Cabinet Members and countless other high government officials—certainly is not a country which follows the tenets of colonialism. This tradition is long and deeply rooted; it was not improvised overnight to please some of the Members of this Assembly. It is a tradition of equality that has never faltered. The same fundamental human rights and freedoms are guaranteed to all nationals, and we draw justifiable pride from the fact that we have been pioneers of non-racism in the four corners of the globe during the last five centuries. On this score, we are certainly not prepared to accept lessons or advice from anybody, however well-meaning these may appear, especially from those who seem to have discovered only recently that racism constitutes disrespect for the will of God.

34. Politically as well as juridically, the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are, and always have been, an integral part of the nation and, as such, they enjoy administrative and financial autonomy and dispose entirely of their own revenues. Through their directly-elected representatives in the National Assembly, where they have been represented since 1821 when we held our first parliament after the Napoleonic wars, they play an active part in the formation and functioning of the central organs of sovereignty on a basis of absolute equality. This situation, resulting from a long historical process, is indeed remarkable, since it does not correspond to the outsider's preconceived ideas of paramount economic motives and feelings of racial pride which are often associated with the relations between peoples of different continents. The impartial observer, travelling in Portuguese territory, cannot fail to observe this complete identity between Portuguese populations of different races and religions, but with the same national ideal. The moral climate discerned by the impartial observer reflects the profound fact that only one nation exists in the minds of the people and is represented in their institutions and ways of life. Admittedly, the Portuguese nation presents a unique case which does not lend itself to alien standards of measurement—quite apart from the fact that such alien standards would not be applied for the benefit of our people, but for the selfish and hypocritical purposes of some outsiders. But here again, our particularism was not designed overnight as a matter of expediency; it sprang from the roots of our national character, was moulded by the circumstances of history, and consolidated in the centuries-old communion and brotherhood of our populations.

35. It was indeed a radically different process, an altogether different attitude, from that associated with the exploitation of the soil and sub-soil through commercial enterprises which did not call for permanent settlement by the European. In such cases, the States responsible for the administration of the territories concerned have always declared their intention of steering the local populations towards independence. When the Portuguese nation was set up and extended over other continents, usually on unoccupied or unused land, some very striking factors became apparent: to those peoples which had not yet conceived the idea of a homeland, it offered one; it also offered a common language, the guarantee of peace and an organized economic and community life without disrupting the indigenous way of life.

36. In his recent speech before the National Assembly in Lisbon, the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal declared:

"The idea of racial superiority is not ours, but that of human brotherhood certainly is, as well as equality before the law based on the principle of equality of merit, as is proper to progressive societies.

"In all these territories the mingling of populations was intended to aid the process of forming a multi-racial society. The most important element, however, the truly essential one, lay in the spirit of familiar contact with local elements, the recognition of possibilities of access in economic and social life, the principles of a more advanced culture and a higher moral code that, even when isolated, was the rule of public and private behaviour. These means have necessarily exercised a slow action, but where a community has been formed with a certain degree of cohesion by them, then we can say that the task has been successful: the independence and equality of the peoples integrated with their territories into a national unity.

"Inspired by that same ideal, we worked in Brazil for over three hundred years and what is to be observed there is truly extraordinary. Brazil opens its doors to people from almost everywhere in the world and welds them into the variety of its population. It absorbs them, assimilates them, and yet does not lose any of its own spirit. There is no country to whose formation different races have contributed that can compare with Brazil in the matter of so complete an absence of racial prejudices in legislation, in political organization and in social conduct. Brazil is the greatest modern experiment in a multiracial society and is at the same time a magnificent example of the transposition of Western civilization into the tropics and onto the continent of America. Peaceful, stable, dynamically progressive, Brazil, even when it improves upon its own creations, does not need to deny its origins or its homeland.

"A multiracial society is therefore possible, whether of Luso-American stock, as in Brazil, on a Luso-Asiatic basis, as in Goa, or Luso-African, as we see in Angola and Mozambique.

"There is nothing, there has never been anything, which could lead one to accept the opposite conclusion. The simple fact is that such a society excludes any manifestation of racism—whether white, black or yellow—and calls for a long development and the toil of centuries, within the principles that underlie the Portuguese community".

37. Later in his speech before the Portuguese National Assembly, Dr. Oliveira Salazar continued:

"It is possible to find many defects in our work, and we are the first to regret that our limited resources have not enabled us to make greater progress. Much remains for us to do, above all in communications, the spread of educational facilities, health organization. But, even in these, as in many other fields, when we compare ourselves with others we have no call to feel ashamed. Our towns and villages, our railways, our ports, the hydro-electrical schemes, the preparation of irrigated land and its distribution to white men and black, the exploitation of the wealth of the sub-soil, the installations of our public services—all have their merits. But a greater

achievement still is the atmosphere of security, peace and brotherly contact among the very different elements of the population, which is something unique in present-day Africa, for material progress can be attained by anyone who has money at his disposal, whereas this achievement of ours cannot".

38. The factors to which I have referred concerning the unity of the nation in the plurality of its territories also call for unity of political orientation, with the co-operation of all elements; but this principle does not affect certain problems which relate to administrative organization and to the greater or lesser degree of decentralization and autonomy. In this connexion, the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal stated in the course of his speech of a few days ago:

"In the last few decades the economy of the Overseas Provinces, especially that of Goa, Angola and Mozambique, has undergone a great development, while side by side with economic progress and the progress in education an increasingly large class of persons capable of administering the territories has come forward. This is, furthermore, a natural feature—the tendency for functions to expand in relation to growing needs and the means available. On the other hand, the vast size of the territories, and even the distances separating them, as well as the particular features of some of their problems, will make it inevitable for larger sectors of their administration to be handed over to local organs. This may represent a gain of time and even, at least theoretically, a truer appreciation of local circumstances; yet nothing can dispense with the need for the competent leadership of a large élite in the government services. One factor only would seem to me to belie the spirit of unity, and that would be the conception of a kind of exclusiveness or privilege whereby a Portuguese would be denied the right to work or serve in any part of our territory, according to his ability. Have we not Goans and people from Mozambique in Lisbon, Europeans and inhabitants of Cabo Verde in Guinea, people from Angola or Guinea in Mozambique, and people from Mozambique in Timor? So, I think, it should continue to be.

"The Government keeps an open mind as to all modifications in the administrative structure, except in the case of those which might endanger the unity of the nation and the general interest".

39. It is certainly deplorable that this Organization, created to uphold peace and harmony between nations, has been used as a stage and an instrument by some delegations for slanderous attacks and false accusations against a nation which, perhaps more than any other in the history of the world, had the foresight to build with faith and feelings of racial brotherhood and religious tolerance a political and human unity which, in these times of turmoil, lives and works in peace in four continents of the earth, without the slightest unrest among its populations a state of peace which no outsiders will be allowed to disturb. Some of the self-appointed champions of anti-colonialism allege that colonies cannot be integrated into a political unitary body simply by a stroke of the pen or a juridical fiction—I believe these were the expressions used by certain delegations, that Portugal has merely attached a label to its overseas territories as an expedient device to face the wave of anti-colonialism. Those who may have made such a statement in good faith—and I wish to stress that not all have necessarily done so—

reveal a total ignorance of the ideals and methods which inspired the formation of the Portuguese nation and of the history of its constitutional laws.

40. Some of our detractors attempt to convince the Assembly that we have hurriedly converted "colonies" into "provinces". Such an objection has already been answered. But if it is a question of technical nomenclature, I have no difficulty in answering our earnest but ill-informed critics: it simply is not true that Portugal has only recently named its extra-European territories "provinces". Anyone who will take the trouble to look into Portuguese constitutional history before attacking us on false premises can easily find out for himself the following facts:

41. The political and administrative concept of "province" is a tradition in Portuguese common law as well as in customary law. The great Portuguese historian João de Barros in the sixteenth century, as well as the other chroniclers of the time, refers to the lands beyond the seas as "Provinces". In the public documents of the following century, the seventeenth, the same designation is applied. Laws enacted in 1663 formalized the expression "Overseas Province". The designation has since been adopted by the Constitutional Laws of Portugal. For the enlightenment of interested parties, I should like to stress that the Portuguese Cortes, or Parliament, of 1820, which provided the basis for the first written Constitution, adopted the designation "Overseas Provinces" as being the most accurate and consistent with the principles of national unity. Clearly, the Portuguese legislators of 1820—140 years ago—were not thinking of the United Nations Organization nor of any other international body, when they referred to our Overseas Provinces as such.

42. The first Constitution, of 1821, says, in Article 132: "The administration of the provinces will remain as it is for the time being, until altered by law". Title X of the 1832 Constitution reads: "The Overseas Provinces". The same designation was adopted in Title X of the Constitution of 2 May 1842, as well as in the Constitutional Amendment of 1852, and again in the Overseas Legislation of 1867. The tradition has not been changed with the Republic. Title V of the 1911 Constitution was: "Administration of the Overseas Provinces". The 1933 Constitution, at present in force, refers in Article 135 to "The Overseas Provinces...". Furthermore, since 1612 the Overseas Provinces have been considered as being an integral part of the Portuguese nation. Portuguese Public Law has always followed this traditional pattern, which has been reflected accordingly in the acts of the administration. And Article 135 of the present Constitution says: "The Overseas Provinces, as an integral part of the Portuguese State, are united as between themselves and with Metropolitan Portugal". It is also evident that the attitude of the Portuguese from the very beginning of their communion with the peoples overseas was in advance of the times; the so-called "winds of change" came to us long ago. To those who express their incomprehension of the Portuguese attitude, we can only reply that we cannot sacrifice the sacred interests of the Portuguese populations in the national community simply in order to meet their desires or gratify their emotions.

43. The unitary Portuguese nation represents a unique historical realization which has always obtained international recognition. It was precisely that politico-social structure of a unitary state with its overseas

provinces integrated in the nation—it was precisely that political structure, I repeat—which was admitted unanimously as a Member of the United Nations. The personality of a State is inalienable and indivisible. That personality is made up of the spiritual values common to the populations as well as of the material values, that is, the territories which constitute the physical body of the State. Thus, the indivisibility of the State refers to the unity of its spiritual values as well as to the physical components of the whole. It is, then, the integrity and unity of the Portuguese State, as well as of any other State admitted to this Organization, which all Members of the United Nations have committed themselves to respect and protect. This has been the attitude invariably adopted by this Organization and very recently reaffirmed in resolutions of the Security Council and of this Assembly. Certainly no unitary or federal State Member of this Organization would tolerate a request for the disintegration of that State. No delegation, no matter how obsessed by the results of propaganda has the legal or moral right to go so far, and we solemnly protest against those who come here with such preposterous suggestions.

44. Using an alleged colonialism as an excuse, some of the delegations in this Assembly have addressed slanderous attacks against my country. But their true intentions are perfectly clear to us. Their aim is to spread disorder where peace reigns, to encourage subversion where perfect harmony exists, and to create new problems artificially so as to make even more difficult the solution of the complex ones already facing the world, and for which the countries represented by the delegations I have in mind are mostly responsible. I am not going to address myself to these malevolent delegations whose partisan motives are transparent. I have listened to them with the contempt they deserve, as my delegation fully knows that such detractors are not interested in the truth. I am also convinced that one or two other delegations, moved by their customary hostility toward Portugal, will likewise not be interested in listening to me. But I particularly regret the remarks made by those who allowed themselves to be guided by their emotions—emotions inspired in political concepts which are alien and not adaptable to the Portuguese case. I have in mind particularly the allegations made by one or two delegations from the African States.

45. First of all, I should like to address myself to those African delegations to tell them of the very sincere desire and intention of the Portuguese nation to maintain the most cordial relations with all the African States in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness—principles which have always been traditional in our policy. My Government firmly believes that the great changes which have taken place in the political structure of the territories adjacent to my country in Africa—due to the welcome access to independence of those new States—should not hinder in the least the relations of mutual trust and friendship which have hitherto existed between our respective peoples—indeed, that such relations will have an effective bearing on the necessary contacts and commercial and cultural exchanges between neighbours. In our relations with the new African States, we shall always be inspired by the scrupulous application of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Together with the new African States, we are deeply interested in the return to normality of the en-

tire African continent, to an atmosphere of harmony and joint constructive effort that will permit the solution of existing problems in peace and goodwill and the building of a future of mutually beneficial work and prosperity. Certainly, my country's interest in solving the problems of Africa is no less than that of the most interested parties. The accusations directed against my country by one or other of the African States are entirely without foundation. As I prefer to believe that those delegations which are responsible for them would not act in bad faith or merely on a whim, I am convinced that the reason for their accusations lies in the distorted or fabricated information somehow placed in their hands.

47. My Government has always, and scrupulously, respected its international obligations. We have been dealing with other countries and Governments for many centuries and our record of living by the law and of observing the rules of international conduct is blameless. We are not going to change our attitude as a responsible and sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations simply because those delegations attacking us appear to forget the principles of parliamentary responsibility. We could, if we wanted, be as fertile as the representative of Liberia, for example, in the matter of gratuitous accusations. After all, the easiest thing in the world, under the immunity afforded by this Assembly, is to make accusations the accuracy of which need not be proved. But we shall not embark on that easy path, because we hold self-respect in high esteem and we continue to believe that the spirit of this Organization deserves more respectful treatment.

48. It must be admitted that in the last few weeks the irresponsible or malevolent accusations voiced against Portugal in this Organization—particularly during a recent debate in the Fourth Committee—have had a considerable effect in my country, though certainly not the effect our detractors had hoped for. Anyone who has recently travelled through Portugal—European or Overseas—or anyone who may read the Portuguese newspapers, will realise what a tremendous wave of indignation is sweeping the nation. There have been massive demonstrations, as impressive and intense in the Overseas provinces as in continental Portugal, to protest against the attempted vilification and verbal attacks directed against Portugal by various delegations. Such eloquent demonstrations, which have taken place daily in both the larger and smaller towns of continental Portugal, in Angola and Mozambique and in other Portuguese overseas provinces, are the natural outcome of genuine offended feelings. The Portuguese press, in Europe or overseas, printed, for what they were worth, the full texts of the accusations brought against us in this Organization. The effect was an immediate reaction of indignation and outraged feelings by the people, by the whole nation, against such attacks and the countries responsible for them, and the reaffirmation of the profound patriotism and brotherhood which unites all Portuguese, regardless of origin, race, colour or creed. From one end of the Portuguese nation to the other, from the Atlantic islands of Cape Verde to the distant shores of Timor, on every parcel of the national territory where the Portuguese people of all races live and work in peace, there has been a simultaneous protest and absolute rejection of these vile accusations, and the united and determined voice of the entire Portuguese nation has never been stronger.

49. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): We are at present discussing a historic document—the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4502], submitted for our consideration by the Soviet delegation. As the Declaration states, the immediate abolition of the colonial system and the transformation of the present colonies into independent States will pave the way for replacing relationships of domination and subjection by relationships based on the principles of equality of rights, friendship and mutual respect.

50. But that will be impossible while colonialism and the discrimination against entire countries and peoples which it involves still exist. As has been rightly pointed out in the statements made earlier in the debate by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Ceylon and other countries, the immediate liquidation of colonialism would be a signal victory for the forces of peace, progress, freedom and independence in their fight against the forces of reaction.

51. In his statement made on 23 September, during the general debate at the present session of the Assembly, Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, said:

"...there is no means and no force which can halt this struggle of the peoples for their liberation, for it is a great historic process, one of ever-growing and invincible power. It may be possible to prolong the dominion of one State over another for a year or two, but just as in the past the bourgeois order of things came to replace feudalism and as, now, socialism is replacing capitalism, so colonial slavery is giving place to freedom. Such are the rules of human development, and only adventurers can believe that mountains of corpses and millions of victims will delay the advent of a radiant future." [869th meeting, para.172]

52. In these few brief words the historically inevitable development which is taking place in our era is defined. It must be pointed out that whatever the colonialists do to preserve their dominion over the colonies, their efforts will fail. The abolition of colonialism would undoubtedly be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and security throughout the world, and a vital step towards reducing international tension. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an immediate end to this evil.

53. We are living in remarkable times, times in which we can witness with our own eyes the irresistible struggle of countries and peoples to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke. Many representatives in this chamber have raised the banner of freedom and national independence in their own countries and are taking an active part in the struggle for the emancipation of hundreds of millions of oppressed people from colonial slavery. Let me venture on behalf of the Byelorussian people to congratulate them on their glorious victory. In the fifteen years since the end of the war, forty new States with a population amounting to 1500 million—or more than half the population of the world—have come into being and are successfully developing.

54. Asia, in particular, has been transformed unrecognizably, thanks to the great successes won by its peoples in their struggle for national liberation. Since the war, sixteen new States have come into being in

Asia, among them such great States as India, Indonesia and Burma, which are carrying out a policy of independence and neutrality and are successfully strengthening their independence and sovereignty.

55. Great events are taking place in our era on the African continent. The heroic fight of the peoples of Africa for their freedom and independence has borne its splendid fruit. When the United Nations came into existence, Africa was represented in the Organization by only four States; today it already counts thirty Member States, with a population of one hundred million. At the current session of the General Assembly alone, we have had the opportunity to admit as Members of the United Nations sixteen new African States [resolutions 1476 (XV) to 1488 (XV) and 1490 (XV) to 1492 (XV)]. How true has proved the great Lenin's prophecy that "In the history of the world, tomorrow will be the day when the peoples oppressed by imperialism, now awakened, will open their eyes once and for all, and when the decisive, long and laborious struggle for their liberation will begin."

56. Colonialism has been sentenced to death by history: its day is over. The disintegration of the time-honoured colonial system now taking place bears unmistakable witness to the truth of Lenin's prophecy. The question of the complete and immediate abolition of colonial systems has been placed on the order of the day by life itself; for all objective conditions are ripe for the downfall of colonialism—that black page in the great annals of history.

57. But it would be premature to conclude that the colonial system of imperialism has breathed its last. The Western colonial Powers still retain their domination over vast territories, territories which are of great importance from the standpoint of economics and military strategy.

58. At present, more than a hundred million people in Asia and Africa are still suffering under direct colonial oppression. In Asia, more than fifty million people are suffering under the colonial yoke. And more than sixty million indigenous inhabitants of Africa are still being oppressed by the colonialists. Thus, the liquidation of the colonial system is not yet complete. Imperialism and colonialism still exist; they are trying to turn the wheel of history back and doing everything in their power, stopping at nothing, to preserve their domination. As Mr. Sukarno, the President of Indonesia, has said in this chamber, "Imperialism is not yet dead... the dying imperialism is dangerous, as dangerous as the wounded tiger in a tropical jungle." [880th meeting, para. 63]. The disintegration of colonialism is being accompanied not only by the constructive process of the formation of new independent States, whose admission to membership in the United Nations we here welcome fervently and with all our hearts, but also by determined efforts on the part of the colonialists to preserve their domination in the colonies in new forms. These activities of the colonialists are giving rise to an extremely tense situation in Asia and Africa, and are creating the danger of new conflicts which could have serious consequences.

59. But the advance of the peoples of Asia and Africa towards immediate independence is an impetuous and irresistible one. As Mr. Khrushchev said last autumn from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly.

"The last strongholds of the decaying colonial system are crumbling away for good, and that is one of the most significant factors of our time. If we look at the map of Asia and Africa we shall see the spectacle of the liberation of hundreds of millions of people from foreign exploitation after centuries of repression."^{2/}

60. The grandiose events taking place in our era confirm the truth of Mr. Khrushchev's words. The knell of colonial robbery has sounded. But if even the very idea of colonialism is to become a thing of the past, the United Nations, in accordance with the spirit of its Charter, must help the peoples and countries which are still groaning under colonial oppression to win their independence more rapidly. At the same time, it is important that this process of liberation should not take place to the sound of the alarms of war and the groans of human beings; for emancipation from colonialism has in the past cost many peoples too much blood and too many lives. We must see that the conditions which permit the colonialists illegally to continue their domination in foreign countries, on the pretext that the colonial peoples are not mature enough and not yet ready for self-government and independence, are done away with for good. We believe that any people can govern itself; all that needs to be done is to give it the opportunity to do so—and that means to abolish colonial oppression and colonial domination.

61. The representatives of the United Kingdom, Portugal and other countries have enlarged here on the "civilizing mission" which they profess to have carried out, and to be carrying out, in the colonial and dependent countries. They have cited statistics on the development of industry, agriculture, public education, public health and transport in their colonies to convince us that they have made a great contribution to the prosperity and culture of the peoples concerned. But what, in point of fact, have the colonialists of Europe and America brought these peoples? Let me quote some facts which illustrate the results of former colonialist rule.

62. I have recently read a highly interesting book. A Hundred Countries and One-and-a-Quarter Billion People, written by the present Managing Director of the United Nations Special Fund, Paul Hoffman, an American, and published this year in Washington^{3/}. It deals with the problem of economic assistance to the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to the author, there are over one hundred such countries in the world, numbering more than 1,250 million people. The annual average income per person in those countries, Hoffman says, is at present \$100, whereas the corresponding figure for the United States and most of Western Europe is \$1000-2000, or ten to twenty times greater. These figures show what merciless exploitation and robbery the indigenous populations have suffered.

63. According to the report^{4/} of the United Nations Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, drawn up this April for the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, per capita personal income in the African territories for which data are available for the year 1957 was among the lowest in the

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, fourteenth session, plenary meetings, 799th meeting, para. 35.

^{3/} Albert D. and Mary Lasker Foundation, 1960.

^{4/} A/4371, Supp. No. 15, Fifteenth Session.

world. In Nigeria the figure was \$67, in Uganda \$43.34, in the former Belgian Congo, \$42.2 and in Kenya, \$35.55. Thus per capita income in the United Kingdom is some tens of times greater than per capita income in Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya. These figures, which would be difficult to deny, speak for themselves.

64. As we see, then, colonialism is in essence a repulsive mixture of unprecedented exploitation, discrimination of various kinds and deprivation of elementary human rights. By the blood and sweat of the indigenous peoples the colonialists amass vast riches out of which all they leave the peoples they exploit is a few miserable crumbs. The export of their wealth, the accumulation of fabulous profits, hunger, poverty and arbitrary law—that is what the colonialists bring the indigenous peoples.

65. Let me quote a few figures which illustrate the sharp contrast between the incomes of the indigenous peoples and those of the European settlers. According to the report I have mentioned, per capita personal income in the former Belgian Congo in 1957 was \$42.2 for the African population, and \$2973, or eighty times more, for the Europeans. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, European incomes were 43 times greater; in Kenya, 30 times. Such are the fruits of Western "civilization" in Africa.

66. Representatives of the colonial Powers who have addressed the United Nations General Assembly at various sessions have said not one word about the profits they make from their "benevolence". They have deliberately failed to mention such horrifying facts as the almost complete illiteracy which exists in the colonies and the fact that they have the highest death rate and the lowest life-expectancy in the world. Whereas life-expectancy in the United Kingdom is sixty years, in Nigeria, which has only just freed itself from colonial rule, it is substantially less than thirty. Relatively speaking, the population of Nigeria has sixty times fewer doctors than that of the United Kingdom; and it has only one dentist per two million inhabitants. The wage of the Negro worker in this former British colony is twelve times smaller than the average wage of the British worker. The United States has an average of 1.1 doctors per thousand inhabitants. The corresponding figure for Africa is 0.11, which means that Africa has only thirty-six doctors per million inhabitants. The illiteracy rate among the population of Africa is seventy to ninety per cent. In Algeria the illiteracy rate among the Moslem population is ninety per cent, whereas in 1830, when France conquered Algeria, there was less illiteracy there than in France. Such are the "achievements" of the French "civilizers" in that colonial country. Hunger and sickness, brutal exploitation and forced labour—all these have brought about the extinction of entire peoples. During the half-century of Belgian domination the population of the Congo has been almost halved; in Madagascar, sixty years of French domination have more than halved the population. I have taken these figures from the American journalist John Gunther's book *Inside Africa*^{5/}, published in New York in 1955. Gunther, who is a spokesman and theoretician of American neo-colonialism, was compelled to acknowledge the existence of the frightful colonial practice of mutilation—the amputation of the hands or feet of Negroes for bad work in the plantations and mines—and to publish photographs illustrating it. These barbarities prac-

tised by the Europeans are in no way different from the barbarities perpetrated by the Nazis during the Second World War.

67. The efforts of the colonial Powers to preserve their weakened positions in Africa are explained by the fact that the African continent possesses enormous mineral resources and is a vital market and source of raw materials for the capitalist countries. According to United States figures, Africa accounts for 98 per cent of the world's output of diamonds, 81 per cent of its cobalt, 59 per cent of its gold, 42 per cent of its antimony, 40 per cent of its chromite, 36 per cent of its manganese and 27 per cent of its copper. Africa provides more than four-fifths of the capitalist world's output of uranium ore. In the Sahara, petroleum has been discovered in huge deposits amounting to thousands of millions of tons. Africa possesses more than 40 per cent of the world's resources of water-power. Many African territories have rich deposits of bauxite, manganese ores, iron ore, nickel, zinc, lead, phosphates and other minerals. That is why Africa is of such great importance both to the United States and to Western Europe; for it is one of the greatest world producers of certain scarce raw materials.

68. However, the interests of the colonialists differ from those of the indigenous inhabitants of the African territories. The representatives of the monopolists look upon the Africans as cheap labour, labour which can be mercilessly exploited. The so-called plans for the industrialization of the African territories mean nothing more than the development of sectors of industry—in particular the mining industry—which the colonialists find profitable. But there is not a word in these plans of the colonialist Powers about the creation of a heavy industry—the essential foundation of any genuine independence for the new States.

69. At the same time, Africa plays an essential part in the colonial Powers' strategic preparations, which envisage the use of the continent as a powerful base and rear echelon of the West Atlantic bloc. In his book *L'Eurafrrique—notre dernière chance*^{6/}, the French author Pierre Nord writes:

"Strategically speaking, no one would dare to attack the geo-military complex of Eurafrika: Eurafrika, a vaster living-space than Siberia; Eurafrika, a safer industrial base than the Urals; Eurafrika, where in a few years we shall be able to produce atom bombs over the deposits which provide their raw materials."

70. Thus the purpose of the association of Europe with Africa, in this author's mind, is the creation of a mighty bloc of States designed to combat the national liberation movement of the African peoples and to solve the internal difficulties of the metropolitan countries at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants of the African territories. The white settlers, according to the colonialists' plans, are to be assigned a privileged position and to perform the function of defenders of colonialism. The author is a zealous advocate of the theory of "collective colonialism", the object of which is to preserve Africa, by the combined efforts of the industrially advanced countries of Western Europe and America, as a colonialist base.

71. Such are the words and the deeds of the present-day colonialists. Thus there is no justification whatsoever for the appeal addressed to us by Mr. Macmillan,

^{5/} Harper and Brothers.

^{6/} Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1955, p. 11.

the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, when he called on us in his statement to the plenary meeting of this General Assembly held on 29 September to "free ourselves from old and worn-out slogans and obsolete battle-cries"—which is how he sees the words "colonialism" and "imperialism". [877th meeting, para. 98].

72. No, Mr. Macmillan, these are not old and worn-out slogans: to put an end at once to the remnants of the shameful heritage of imperialism is the real battle-cry of our era. The sacred fire of struggle for freedom burns in the hearts of all the colonial peoples, and of the peoples of all the other dependent territories. And in this fire the fetters of slavery are melting away and real independence is being forged. All the world knows of the heroic struggle of the people of Kenya for their freedom and independence. The revolt they began in 1952 was brutally crushed by the colonialists after four years of colonial warfare during which 10,000 of the people of Kenya were killed and 150,000 thrown into prison. Kenya has 6 million African inhabitants, and 63,000 British settlers. Yet the British own the most fertile areas, having cleared them of their indigenous inhabitants and settled them with 12,000 British farmers. Each of these farmers owns an average of 2.5 square kilometres of land, whereas the indigenous inhabitants of Kenya live in reservations in which the density of population is as high as 400 per square kilometre. No wonder, then, that the average annual income of an indigenous Kenyan is thirty times smaller than that of a British settler. Ask any indigenous inhabitant of Kenya whether the immediate abolition of colonialism is an obsolete slogan. His reply, I venture to think, will be that it is far from obsolete; that on the contrary it is a highly topical and vital slogan.

73. Mr. Macmillan, singing the praises of his action in the British colonies, declared from this rostrum:

"Our aim is...clear and constant: to build the people of these countries, or help them build up, societies in which all these, the people, of whatever race, tribe or religious persuasion, may live and work harmoniously together. To that purpose we are pledged, and for that purpose we shall continue to work." [*Ibid.*, para. 106].

74. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the United Kingdom representative, told us roughly the same thing, though in different words, when he addressed us here on 28 November. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Ormsby-Gore tried to represent themselves to us as good "fatherly" men and to depict the colonial peoples as children, who need to be taught, prepared to go out into the world, to be sent to school. Naturally, therefore, they said nothing about the acts of brutality and repression and the other deeds perpetrated by the British colonialists in their colonies, of the sufferings, want, arbitrary rule and harsh exploitation to which they have subjected them. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Ormsby-Gore were silent about the guns which are at present thundering in the ancient lands of Oman—representatives of which are here among us—Nyasaland and Rhodesia. The whole world knows that the independence achieved by the former British colonies is not the fruit of "British magnanimity" but has been won by the bloody struggle of the peoples of those countries. To assert that the independence of these countries is the result of the colonialists' solicitude for their "progress" is to falsify history. The liberation of the peoples of the colonies from colonial oppression and the collapse of

the colonial system are part of an objective historical process which no repression, no guns and machine guns can arrest. The colonialists are trying to stop this inexorable historical process, and even to turn it back; but they will not succeed.

75. As you know, the proposed Declaration [A/4502] calls for the immediate grant to the oppressed colonial peoples of complete independence and freedom. Only in conditions of genuine independence, as is convincingly demonstrated by the manifold development of the young African republics, including Guinea, Ghana and other States, can all the political, economic, social and cultural problems involved be solved. What we are witnessing is the efforts of the monopolists of the Western countries and the United States to make up for their defeat in Asia at the expense of Africa. Immediately after the Second World War they began the policy of pushing forward their expansion in Africa. The Rockefeller, Morgan and Mellon monopolist groups now have huge investments in Africa.

76. Direct private investment by American companies in Africa was estimated to amount at the end of 1958 to \$789 million—three times the figure for 1950. At the end of 1959 about 200 American companies "had interests" in Africa, most of them companies engaged in the extraction of industrial raw materials, especially strategic raw materials. With its rich natural resources and the exceptionally low wages of its workers, Africa offers the United States monopolies prospects of profits and wealth that are extraordinary even in the conditions of colonialism. Interesting data in this connexion may be found in a report, published in 1959 in Washington, compiled under the African Research Programme of Northwestern University for the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to the data it provides, while the average rate of profit on American capital invested abroad as a whole is 26 per cent, the figure for Africa is 30 per cent. The report shows that American monopolies are taking a direct part, together with Western European monopolies, in exploiting the peoples of Africa and extracting profits from Africa. In the Congo, for example, the United States, according to American data, every year takes out of the country 60 per cent of its output of cobalt, 64 per cent of its manganese, 79 per cent of its tantalum, 87 per cent of its diamonds, and nearly 100 per cent of its uranium ore and lithium. In addition, part of the Congo's resources is diverted to West Germany's war industry, which is controlled by the United States. It must be clear to everyone that this penetration of United States capital into Africa is barefaced neo-colonialism, which represents a new form of enslavement of the African peoples. And close on the heels of the American monopolists come the West German industrialists, some of whom recently toured the African countries. In the international consortium set up under the name of "Konsafrik", the German Deutsche Bank is a partner with Belgian, British and French banks. German monopolies have a predominant influence in this consortium, which has interests in the iron ore, manganese, aluminium and other mineral deposits of the Congo and other African territories. Since the Congo's basic mineral resources are at present exploited in Katanga, any talk of recognizing Katanga as a separate State is a manoeuvre of the Belgian and United States colonialists aimed at preserving the main source of their high profits—the exploitation of Katanga's natural resources. The Byelorussian people, together with all the other peoples of

the Soviet Union and with progressive mankind as a whole, believes that the day is not far off when the natural resources of the Republic of the Congo will advance the people of that country to the forefront of the struggle for the progress of all Africa and of the entire human race.

77. The struggle for national freedom and independence is continuing and spreading in Oman, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, in the Belgian Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, in the South African colony of South West Africa, in the United States colony of Puerto Rico and in many other areas.

78. The colonialists are trying to preserve their rule over the countries they have enslaved at all costs, and are using a wide variety of means to that end. As the Soviet Declaration [A/4502] rightly states: "they compel the colonial peoples to maintain foreign troops and a foreign administration in peacetime, i.e. to pay for the chains in which they are held." They make extensive use of the old system of "divide and rule", setting tribe against tribe, as at present in the Congo. They also use subtler methods, manoeuvring and making apparent concessions, such as extending the franchise for Africans; and they engage in the large-scale bribery of African leaders, so as to have others to do their dirty work for them. Referring to the new methods at present being used to preserve colonialism, Mr. Nasser, the President of the United Arab Republic, rightly said from this rostrum that "The aggression on Suez was the end of unmasked imperialism and its graveyard. Today we find the Congo presenting us with masked imperialism, which does not shrink from exploiting the United Nations itself in order to realize its hidden designs and aims." [873rd meeting, para. 120] We entirely agree with that statement.

79. Nowadays the colonialists are even going to the length of granting their colonies political independence; but they retain the key positions in economic affairs, finance and the armed forces for themselves, and not infrequently select traitors to their own people to place in power as their puppets. There is no fundamental difference between all these methods; all of them are identical in purpose: to preserve, or at any rate prolong, their colonial rule and the spoliation of the colonial peoples.

80. People all over the world are alarmed at the news of the forcible seizure of the person of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congolese Government, by Mobutu's armed gangs. This act of gross violence and lawlessness against the legal head of the Government of the Republic of the Congo has been committed despite the presence in the Congo of United Nations forces sent there at Mr. Lumumba's request. The mission of the United Nations is to carry out the Security Council's decisions; yet the policy actually being carried out is one of appeasing the illegal and dictatorial régime of Mobutu, the henchman of the Belgian, United States and French colonialists.

81. The Byelorussian delegation wishes to protest emphatically, from this rostrum, against the savage, arbitrary and illegal arrest of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, and demands his immediate release. We believe that conditions must be created in the Congo such as to permit the Parliament of the Republic to resume its activity...

82. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker at the rostrum. I hope, however, that he is not going to take advantage of his intervention in this essentially general debate on the subject of colonialism to discuss the present situation in the Congo, a subject upon which the General Assembly has decided to adjourn discussion. I am afraid that any detailed statement of views on the situation in the Congo would not be in order in the present debate. I would ask the speaker to continue, taking account of the statement I have just made.

83. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): I have said what I had to say. I will continue.

84. The abolition of the colonial system also implies the abolition of its twin—the trusteeship system. When, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the trusteeship system was established, the assumption was that the Administering Authorities were under the obligation of promoting the development of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. Yet fifteen years after the adoption of the Charter, only four of the eleven Territories originally under trusteeship have attained their independence. So far as concerned the other Trust Territories, no firm dates have been set for their independence. The largest of them are Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and New Guinea; and the vast African territory of South West Africa has been annexed by the racists of the Union of South Africa. The colonial Powers responsible for "trusteeship" are in reality, and in defiance of the United Nations Charter, preserving the colonial regime in the Trust Territories, brutally exploiting the local peoples and despoiling their natural resources for the benefit of their own monopolies, holding back the economic and political development of the Territories and savagely repressing all who demand independence—including those who send petitions to the United Nations. The United Nations receives thousands of petitions from the peoples of the Trust Territories, which are examined by the Fourth Committee. They speak for millions of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. These petitions, many of them written in human blood, constitute an indictment of the policies of the Administering Authorities. The facts they cite arouse the anger and indignation of the public all over the world.

85. As the Soviet Declaration rightly says, "The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism" [A/4502].

86. The representative of Portugal, who addressed the Assembly just before me, asserted in defiance of truth and of the facts that colonialism is alien to his country. Such fairy-tales, surely, must be addressed to innocents, and are intended to pull the wool over people's eyes. The whole world knows that in the Portuguese African colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, which have an area equal to more than half that of Western Europe, with a population of 11 million, there is not a single institution of higher education, and virtually no secondary or primary education. The Portuguese colonialists pursue their policy of oppression and racial discrimination behind the smoke-screen of a policy of "assimilation". According to them, the Africans are progressively being granted civil rights, and even Portuguese citizenship.

87. But to acquire these advantages Africans must know the Portuguese language and must satisfy educational qualifications and a high property qualification. In the five centuries of their rule the colonialists have "assimilated" less than 0.3 per cent of the African population; the remaining 99.7 per cent have no rights of any kind and are mercilessly exploited by their oppressors, who can even drive Africans off any land that pleases them. If the Africans resist and protest, the Portuguese authorities resort to repressive measures of the most ferocious kind. In 1959 the Portuguese Government was even obliged to dispatch aircraft and warships to Guinea to beat down the population. Those facts are known to the Portuguese representative and to the whole world.

88. I should like also to speak briefly of the United Nations Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, which has a population of 5 million inhabitants including 6,000 Europeans. In connexion with this Territory the General Assembly adopted recommendations [1413 (XIV) and 1419 (XIV)] under which Belgium was to fix a period during which the Territory was to be prepared for political independence; but the Belgian Government has not complied with these recommendations.

89. In Ruandi-Urundi monstrous racial discrimination is practised in all its forms, political, legal and social, and flogging still exists as a judicial penalty—in our era! According to UNESCO data, about 400,000 of Ruanda-Urundi's 600,000 children do not go to school. The result of more than forty years of Belgian rule is the general impoverishment of the local population. In November 1959 the masses of the people, reduced to despair by the oppression of the Belgian colonialists, rose in revolt, but were crushed with the use of parachute troops. Violent methods of repression were used, causing hundreds of deaths and the burning of some tens of villages. All this was reported in the American Press. Many other facts could be cited; but those I have mentioned are enough to show that the nature of colonialism has not changed. Africa has a population of more than 200 million. Of this figure, only 5 million are Europeans, or 2 per cent of the population.

90. The flames of freedom are sweeping through the African continent and will rapidly consume the strongholds of colonialism. The colonialists are offering stubborn resistance, manoeuvring, and attempting to arrest by fire and sword the onrush of the national liberation movements. But the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence is constantly expanding and deepening. There is not one corner left on African soil where the ground is not burning under the colonialists' feet. Whatever means of repression they use, the colonialists will not be strong enough to halt the course of history. We believe that the day is not far off when Africa will be free.

91. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in dealing with the national question shows that the cause of close co-operation among the peoples can be served only by granting all peoples genuine equality of rights and the opportunity of free national development.

92. The United Nations could effectively promote the abolition of colonialism and racism. The United Nations must make its contribution to the abolition of the colonial system, in accordance with the provisions of

its Charter proclaiming the right of nations to self-determination. It could best make this contribution by adopting the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" submitted for our consideration by the Soviet Union. The Declaration provides that all States Members of the United Nations should solemnly proclaim the following demands:

"1. All colonial countries and Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories must be granted forthwith complete independence and freedom to build their own national States in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial system and colonial administration in all its forms must be completely abolished in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government.

"2. Similarly, all strongholds of colonialism in the form of possessions and leased areas in the territory of other States must be eliminated.

"3. The Governments of all countries are urged to observe strictly and steadfastly the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Declaration concerning the equality and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception, allowing no manifestations of colonialism or any special rights or advantages for some States to the detriment of other States." [A/4502.]

The Declaration also provides that Powers which have colonial possessions should enter into negotiations on an equal footing with representatives of the peoples of the colonies and reach agreements on the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial countries, definite and early dates being fixed for the negotiations and any possibility of coercion and aggression on the part of the colonial Powers being eliminated.

93. In the opinion of the Byelorussian delegation, the Declaration represents a programme of action that could and should, in present conditions, be followed by the United Nations with a view to the abolition of the colonial system. It lays down general principles by which all States Members of the United Nations should be guided in dealing with this problem. Naturally, we do not expect the Western colonial Powers to support the Soviet Declaration. They have thought up every possible idea, have resorted to every possible "argument", in order to distort the sense and the motives of the Soviet Declaration.

94. I should like to comment briefly on these "arguments". We have heard the old, hackneyed argument that this is all "Soviet propaganda". We are all, I think, used to the United States and its military partners crying "propaganda" whenever the Soviet Union presents any proposal designed to reduce international tension. I have heard that accusation here year after year. But what prevents the Western Powers from carrying on propaganda of the same kind? Clearly, they have nothing in store to set against the Soviet proposals; and that is inevitable, for the Soviet Union has truth on its side, and there can only be one truth. In asserting that the Soviet Declaration is "propaganda" they are giving themselves away; they are showing that they have nothing to oppose to it because in reality they are against the abolition of the colonial system and for continuing the looting of the colonies. No juggling with words will help them here.

95. It is also said that the Soviet Declaration is too general; that the problem of the abolition of colonialism is a highly complex one, that one must bear in mind the "services" the colonial Powers have rendered to their colonies by establishing a link between the colonies and the metropolitan countries, and so forth. One speaker who took this line was Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the representative of the United Kingdom, in his statements during the discussion of the Soviet Declaration at the plenary meetings held on 12 October [902nd meeting] and 28 November [925th meeting]. So far as concerns the "services" rendered by the colonialists in the colonies, I have already dealt with that subject in some detail, and I shall not repeat myself.

96. It is said, too, that the adoption of the Declaration would entail amending the United Nations Charter, in its provisions relating to the trusteeship system. That assertion was made, in particular, by Mr. Shanahan, the representative of New Zealand, in his statements in plenary session on 12 October [902nd meeting] and 2 December [932nd meeting], as an "argument" against the adoption of the Declaration. But is it an argument? We drafted and signed the United Nations Charter, and we are equally entitled to amend it in the light of the radical changes which have taken place in the international situation. There is nothing eternal on earth. Governments change, so do States; social systems change, and even life on earth changes. *A fortiori*, the United Nations Charter can be changed.

97. Many Western leaders, particularly in the United States, are opposing the Declaration on the ground that it is an invitation to disturbances in the colonies. In his statement to the Assembly on 28 November, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the representative of the United Kingdom, went to the length of indulging in a gross distortion of the facts and a direct slander of the Soviet Union, when he asserted that the only purpose of the Soviet Declaration was "to generate hatred rather than friendship, violence rather than peace, and chaos rather than order". [925th meeting, para. 18].

98. These statements give their authors away; their meaning is that they fear the colonial independence movements, are putting obstacles in the way of the prompt granting of independence, and are trying to prolong colonial rule. It is precisely their policy and practice in the colonies which lead to disturbances. Such "disturbances", "violence" and "chaos" occurred long before the Soviet Declaration was submitted to the Assembly; they occurred, are still occurring, and will continue to occur so long as independence is denied to the oppressed peoples of the colonies and so long as the colonialists refuse to leave the colonies and go back to their own countries.

99. The great historical significance of the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" cannot be challenged; for the Declaration has raised an issue which should long ago have been disposed of—that of the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. It has met with an enthusiastic welcome among the peoples of the colonial and former colonial countries, and among freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

100. The United Nations, unless it is content to let the great historical process of the abolition of the colonial régime pass it by, must adopt recommendations designed to bring that system to an end. If it does not, then, as Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Govern-

ment, said in his statement to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly held this session on 12 October:

"... the peoples of the colonial countries will have no option but to take up arms. If they are not granted the right to lead an independent existence, to have a political and social system of their own choosing and to organize their life in their own country as they themselves see fit, they will win that right in combat." [902nd meeting, para. 13.]

101. Thus, it is the duty of all peoples which stand for the abolition of the colonial system to give every possible assistance to those who are fighting against colonial oppression, against the colonialists and imperialists; to give moral, material and all other help in order to bring the sacred and righteous struggle of the peoples for their independence to its consummation.

102. For its part, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, like all the other Republics of the great Soviet Union, faithful to its policy of peace and of supporting the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence—a policy proclaimed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State—has stood, still stands and will always stand at the side of the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial oppression and for freedom and national independence. To all these peoples we hold out a helping hand. Nothing can prevent the collapse of the doomed colonial system.

103. The Byelorussian delegation warmly supports the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" submitted by the Government of the Soviet Union for the consideration of the General Assembly at its present session. We call upon all States Members of the United Nations to support this Declaration. We appeal to the representatives of the Asian and African countries which have recently emancipated themselves from the colonial yoke, and to the countries of Latin America, and call upon them to vote for the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

104. I should like to conclude my remarks with a quotation from a poem by an African poet, Bernard Dadié, a native of the Ivory Coast, which speaks of the great march of events in present-day Africa:

"In the chaos of the century ancient Africa has
awakened;
People, be not weak!

At the crossroads, under the baobab trees,
In the prisons and in the huts of the workers'
districts

I shout to every man and woman,

To the poor people of my land:

You — you are the king of the factories! You
are the king of the fields!

You are the people,
You then are the Master!"*

105. Mr. KAKA (Niger) (translated from French): In taking the floor, Mr. President, may I be allowed to congratulate you, although it is a little late to do so.

106. As the Argentine representative pointed out with great relevance: "This predominance of colonial questions in the United Nations is not the result of chance nor is it entirely due to capricious or arbitrary

* Translated from Russian text.

manoeuvres. It is a reflection of the reality that confronts us today." [927th meeting, para. 1]. That reality has made this fifteenth session of the United Nations the session of Africa and of the many problems born of under-development and all its consequences.

107. My voice is that of a country which came out from the shadow of the colonial system only a few months ago, and it will not be a timid voice. I wish at once to declare solemnly that my country, which has fought for years to break the yoke of colonialism, is proud to add its name to the long list of nations which propose that this Assembly should adopt the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I said that my voice would not be a timid voice; nor will the tone be one of hatred. I should like it to be impassioned only when I speak of the right to freedom and the right to dignity, which are clearly recognized by the Charter and which must be granted immediately to the peoples living under foreign domination.

108. History teaches us that certain nations, at certain times, could no longer be contained within their narrow frontiers. Led now by a spirit of adventure, now by self-interest, they convinced themselves that it would be good to impose their science, their culture and their civilization on other peoples. Since they were masters of the world at the time, they resorted to the right of the strongest. The need to survive by bringing many kinds of influence to bear overseas, the need for markets to develop their economies and hence their industrial methods, and the search for resources to raise the standard of living of their people—these are the only justifications for their many misdeeds. I shall not abuse my right as an ex-colonial to censure them. Colonization is a fact of history, and every people represented here has known periods of greatness and periods of humiliation. Some have been driven from their lands, others have been crushed under the heel of blood-thirsty and ambitious conquerors, while still others were not merely dominated but "digested". None has escaped these tragic upheavals, which have marked the history of mankind from time immemorial.

109. When colonialism first began, international law was confined to the established nations of the old continent. A certain meeting, held at the end of the last century to discuss taking possession of Africa and cutting it up, affords a striking example of the spirit and conception of this law. This law was based on the "right of the strongest", which is unjust and which all here condemn, in its essence and right down to its least manifestations. But the narrowly circumscribed world of that day could create its own rights to suit its interests. Now that our world embraces the whole planet, and now that distances are so reduced that the opinion of any man, anywhere on the globe, weighs in the balance of human relations, colonization can no longer be justified.

110. The administering nations which have adapted or are adapting their ideas to modern life do not, I think, deserve the systematic and impassioned charges made against them. They certainly still have much to do, and the best thing they can do is to hasten the liberation of all the peoples they still dominate. It is not my purpose to justify any form of domination. But we are dealing with a historical fact. I intend to put it in its context, so that it can be appraised calmly and objectively. I know that, if we took all the modern cases of colonization, we should have a very sombre picture. Direct or

indirect domination, and imperialism in every shape and form, are by their nature hateful. There is no need for me to list the facts which condemn them. There are many in this Assembly who preach anti-colonialism and, since this discussion opened, most of the delegations of former colonies have had occasion to portray, with icy self-control, the misdeeds of colonialism. Yet there is one point I should like to stress.

111. Some colonialist methods, marked by a spirit of cynicism, consist in infecting the dependent peoples with the virus of a complex—a racial complex, an inferiority complex, an imperfectibility complex—deliberately maintaining cultural malnutrition and turning the person into a human wreck, incapable of initiative and of healthy and logical reactions. Man, in whom all dignity has been blunted, is thus morally diminished. Certain administering nations have come to commit this moral genocide in order to ensure perpetual domination. Shut up in their ivory towers, they imagine that no prying eyes can glimpse the consummate art with which they contrive to mould servile minds. While these nations in their folly continue secretly to plunder human resources, all mankind will rise up to say no.

112. We want—nay, we demand—the liberation of peoples and of individuals. Those who hold back, who believe they can escape from the realities of the second half of the twentieth century by subterfuges, will bear a heavy responsibility before history. Their contempt for human dignity carries in it the fertile seeds of conflict. With the passing of time, this senseless contempt will seem more and more intolerable. The principles of the United Nations Charter clearly set forth the right to freedom, and allow of no biased interpretation. It is unthinkable that otherwise brave and worthy nations, whose history has not lacked human greatness, should continue to practise dishonesty by following a policy different from that laid down in the United Nations Charter, which they have solemnly accepted before the eyes of the world. Such an attitude is indecent. The right of the strongest is out of date. It can no longer be a foundation for contemporary relations between peoples.

113. In conclusion, I appeal most earnestly, on behalf of my delegation, to the great Powers which divide the world into spheres of influence. The end of colonialism, for which all hope so fervently, is certainly one of the most important human problems that our generation has had to face. For the sake of suffering men deprived of their elementary rights and kept in servitude, for the sake of those destitute ones who have just broken free and whose first steps are still unsure, we ask you to protect us, at least for a time, from your cold war disputes. Decolonization cannot be used as an instrument to demonstrate the particular advantages of a social system. The young liberated peoples will need to find their bearings and, with the means at hand, patiently to build up their countries.

114. We know that there are some who yearn for the past, and think themselves shrewd enough and strong enough, where decolonization is concerned, to take back with their left hand what they have given with their right. We also know that some are chafing with impatience to replace the administrators of yesterday. These struggles for influence between friendly or hostile brothers are unrealistic. We are of age from the moment when we have the full use of our freedom. There are no countries which are under age when it

comes to the exercise of freedom. We firmly condemn colonialism in all its forms.

115. I need hardly say that the peoples which aspire to freedom and independence expect much of this august Assembly. I ask you, in the name of human dignity, whether you can say no to this natural and legitimate aspiration?

116. I am still convinced that all nations which love peace, justice and freedom will join us, and that this Assembly will adopt the resolution unanimously.

117. Mr. De FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): Before going into the heart of the subject, it appears to me indispensable to follow an ancient practice: to define what is to be discussed, namely, to establish the concept of colonialism. The first difficulty is immediately encountered, as current concepts of colonialism derive from different political philosophies.

118. There is, on the one hand, what might be called the expansionist definition of colonialism, for example that of Hobson:^{Z/}

"Colonialism, in its best sense, is a natural overflow of nationality; its test is the power of colonists to transplant the civilization they represent to the new natural and social environment in which they find themselves."

On the other hand, one might recall the old Pan-Germanistic definition of colonialism—only recently revived by Nazi-Fascism. Here we have the lebensraum theory: the power of peoples, who consider themselves superior, to occupy the space required for the accomplishment of their political aims. We could also refer to Lenin's interpretation of colonialism as the inevitable consequence of the development of capitalism and imperialism. Then there are those who look upon colonialism as the "white man's burden": the humanitarian mission incumbent upon certain powers to bring progress, technical know-how, education and material comfort to backward peoples. In most cases, this definition served to conceal naked imperialism. One could not overlook the most modern and highly aggressive form of colonialism: ideological colonialism. This is tantamount, as we all know, to the total domination of one people by another, through the imposition of an alien ideology upon the dominated people.

119. The colonialism that we are considering in this debate—to remain strictly within the limits of our agenda—refers to the political and juridical status of the territories which, in the terms of the Charter, "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". [Art. 73].

120. The classic forms of colonialism—sprung from the Industrial Revolution, capitalism, the spirit of adventure, need to expand and also from greed, often unscrupulous—have already completed their historic cycle. In this regard, it would appear to me not to be an exaggeration to attribute to the authors of the United Nations Charter the delivery of the coup de grâce to colonialism. The Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories—which was not contained in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, but which was wisely incorporated into the very text of the Charter [Chapter XI]:—deals with the juridical situation of the heritage of colonialism and establishes the conditions for its

^{Z/} J. A. Hobson, "Imperialism—a study", London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938, p. 7.

gradual elimination. Owing chiefly to the principles of the Charter, to its practical and political devices and to the moral impact of its decisions, the United Nations is gradually being transformed into the real instrument of the great revolution of our times: the liberation of the colonial peoples not only from political slavery but also from economic slavery. This is not the time to draw up a balance-sheet of the achievements of the United Nations in this field. But even the most casual onlooker knows that the United Nations has contributed substantially to the multiplication of the coloured flags which glorify this Organization.

121. In order to examine the colonial question in the light of the Charter, one should seek to face it with an open heart within the context of the political reality of the times. One should remember that we live in one world which is split into two rival political blocs and which is paralysed by the terror of a thermo-nuclear war. Consequently, the colonial question unfortunately tends to be examined in terms of ideological struggle and of power politics. This is a serious and dangerous error. To increase the areas of political tension, multiply points of friction, reinforce the walls of misunderstanding, signifies not only to prejudice the immediate and future interests of the colonial peoples, but also to weaken the possibilities of peaceful settlement of the problems which separate the rival blocs. This would also transform the United Nations, not into the instrument of the revolution of hope for which we, soldiers of peace, fight, but into the instrument of a revolution of resentment.

122. If one must separate the colonial question from the problem of the cold war, one cannot, however, separate it from the fundamental political problems of our time. The colonial question, for instance, speeds up the nationalist movement which is sweeping over Asia and Africa. The nationalist movement occurs at the same time as the ideological offensive of Communism throughout the world. Many fear that this coincidence might taint the independence of the newly independent peoples. Others fear that the old colonial Powers may seek to grant to the newly independent countries merely nominal independence, continuing to maintain over them a disguised political domination through economic control.

123. On the other hand, the scientific revolution of our day brings a new dimension to the nationalist movement in the colonial countries. The awareness of their misery coincides with the maximum utilization of the resources of the new technology in the highly industrialized countries. Instead of being at the service of the whole of humanity, the new technology widens the already so striking gap between the "haves" and the "have nots". To give one example, I would recall that the exploitation of nuclear energy today benefits very few countries, while its risks and dangers threaten every human being. The newly independent States join the international community with the fear that the cold war is going to delay the solution of their fundamental problems. In their despair, many States, under the delusion of accelerating their economic and social development and of appeasing the restlessness of their populations, might seek political solutions which could jeopardize their newly acquired independence.

124. I realize that it is most difficult to reason in abstracto when such grave problems weigh on the hearts of millions and on my own heart. But I am convinced that we in the United Nations have the obligation

to separate the colonial question from the battles and skirmishes of the cold war.

125. The San Francisco Charter, in its Chapter XI, outlines, wisely and cautiously, the course we should follow. I refer in principle to Article 73. It is incumbent upon us to implement its provisions with determination and, above all, with sincerity. To do so, it is necessary for the colonial Powers to admit that the legitimacy of a juridical situation cannot halt the nationalist explosion which sprang less from the physical distances existing between the metropolitan Powers and the colonies than from sociological and cultural differences and from unquenchable aspirations. It is necessary that the colonial Powers also convince themselves of the uselessness of any attempts to substitute indirect domination for classic colonialism. It is necessary that the former colonial Powers and the peoples who attained their independence from them join hands in the new struggle for the social and economic development of the latter. It is necessary that the world's two rival blocs refrain from considering the States reaching independence as a no-man's-land over which they might extend their influence in order to tip in their favour the balance of power. Lastly, it is necessary that the peoples still under a colonial régime convince themselves that independence is not just a magic word followed by a flag, an anthem and diplomatic representation, but the effective political, economic and cultural mastery of the country's wealth and heritage, their utilization in the service of the whole population, and the practice of liberty through political institutions based upon a representative régime with full freedom of opinion.

126. The obligation of the United Nations—our obligation—is to prepare the peoples still under colonial régimes for independence with the utmost speed. We would be failing in our obligation by delaying their complete emancipation. But we would be improperly fulfilling this obligation if we were to forget the provisions of the Charter by exposing these peoples indiscriminately and without the proper precautions—in the name of an independence which would therefore be fictitious—to the risks and dangers of two new colonialisms: the colonialism of the totalitarian ideologies, which suppresses freedom of the people, and the form of colonialism consisting of possible attempts by the former colonial Powers towards maintaining under a new guise their economic and political domination.

127. The statesmen who drew up the United Nations Charter had political vision and firmness in establishing the course to be followed. Having in mind the principles of the Charter and guided by the observations I have just made, the Brazilian delegation considers with sympathy the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] and will examine it in the light of the suggestions and remarks put forth during this debate.

128. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mexico in exercise of the right of reply.

129. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In his brilliant speech yesterday [933rd meeting], the representative of Guatemala referred to the future of the Territory of Belize. I have come to this rostrum for a few minutes to make some remarks on that subject.

130. My country has rights to Belize which it has claimed for many years, and I feel it necessary for me to reiterate its position on this occasion. Ever since

the people of Mexico attained their independence, the Mexican Government has fought for the total abolition of the colonial system. It looks upon that system as an anachronism which should not continue to exist in the world of today. It is thus pursuing the American road of liberty and justice for all, with which ideal it links the principle of non-intervention. We consider that every people must develop freely within the norms which it chooses for itself, in accordance with its understanding of history. We also consider that every people should create its own form of organization in conformity with its ideals, developed independently from those of other nations.

131. The great strides taken by the United Nations towards a final liquidation of colonialism are now bringing it toward its goal. Thus aspirations which have a long history in the annals of America are being fulfilled. The Inter-American Conferences have referred to the subject on many occasions; resolution 96 of the Tenth Inter-American Conference, held in Caracas in March 1954 in particular, is especially relevant. The American nations reiterate therein their conviction that self-determination for all peoples is an essential bulwark, and declare that it was the will of the nations of America that colonialism maintained against the desire of peoples, and the occupation of American territories, should be definitively ended.

132. The very next resolution of that same Inter-American Conference, namely, resolution 97, expresses the need that extra-continental countries having colonies in the territory of America should carry to completion the measures envisaged in our Charter in order to make it possible for those American peoples that have not yet done so to exercise fully their rights to self-determination.

133. These two documents embody the two key principles on which the position of the Mexican Government in respect of Belize is based. The first includes the historical and legal background of the Territory. The origins of British rule in this part of the American continent are quite humble: a concession granted by the Spanish sovereign for the cutting of logwood became with the passage of time a presumed and imaginary right. The repeated requests for the recognition of its sovereignty made by the Government of Mexico during the course of the nineteenth century fell on deaf ears. The great colonial Power awaited the advent of difficult times in Mexico in order to force on it the acceptance of an onerous treaty, in contravention of Mexico's rights; nevertheless, my country has respected that treaty scrupulously. However, that has not prevented it from repeatedly pointing out that if the status of Belize is altered, it has rights, based on legal grounds, which it can and must exercise.

134. The other and basic guiding principle for my country in the matter is founded on Article 73 of the Charter. As was well said by the representative of Guatemala yesterday [933rd meeting], the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories are paramount. In the case of Belize, my Government considers that the promotion of self-government and the fulfilment of the political aspirations of the people of Belize constitute a task which the international community cannot evade.

135. This, then, is Mexico's position with regard to Belize. My Government has declared, and reiterates here, that, should the present status of Belize be al-

tered, Mexico, while using only means in keeping with the peaceful and friendly procedures which characterize its international relations, will put forward claims which are based on well-known historical and legal factors. My Government recognizes, at the same time, that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory of Belize are paramount. It therefore holds that in the attainment of self-government by the Territory of Belize, the true and freely expressed political aspirations of its people cannot be ignored.

136. Consequently, as the Mexican Foreign Minister stated before this Assembly on 6 October 1958,^{8/} the Government of Mexico will not omit to take into account, when the time comes, that a solution to the problem of the future of Belize must be based on freedom and independence for the people of Belize.

137. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Belgium, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

138. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): Among the glaring misrepresentations concerning Belgium in the speeches made from this rostrum, I shall refer to only one today.

^{8/} Official Records of the General Assembly, thirteenth session, plenary meetings, 771st meeting.

139. People have taken pleasure in writing and saying that during half a century of Belgian colonial domination, the population of the Congo was reduced to less than half its former size as a result of punitive expeditions, famine and disease. It is absurd to compare current population figures with estimates for a period when the territory was unexplored and impenetrable in many places. It had to be open to traffic in all directions for decades before a census could be taken. That this is a glaring error of judgement becomes obvious if we analyse the drop in the mortality rate and the increase in the birth rate and if we consider that, as a result, the growth rate of the population quadrupled over twenty years, from 1935 to 1957, for example. On the eve of independence, half the population of the Congo consisted of children under fifteen, an exceptional sign of dynamic growth, especially if we remember that in the last century, unfortunately, one out of every two children born in the Congo died in infancy.

140. The error which I have just pointed out is but one example of the bad faith shown in some speeches, but this does not prevent Belgium from being proud of what it has achieved in collaboration with the Congolese people.

The meeting rose at 2.15 p.m.