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

**AGENDA ITEM 87**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. COMAY (Israel): In the earlier stages of this debate several Arab speakers tried to drag into it the differences which unfortunately still persist between Israel and the Arab States. In its statement before the Assembly on 2 December [933rd meeting], my delegation deliberately refrained from reacting to these attacks, and did not refer to them at all. We felt that the subject of this debate was of such deep and serious concern to the world, and especially to the new States, and to those who are still subject peoples, that we should disregard attempts to exploit it for propaganda purposes. Unfortunately, this self-restraint was one-sided. I would refer particularly to the statement made on 6 December [937th meeting] by the representative of Lebanon, which, as a piece of mudslinging against another Member State of the United Nations, was just about as offensive as anything yet heard from this rostrum. My delegation feels obliged briefly to exercise its right of reply. We shall do so in relation to three points which have been raised, although none of them, in our opinion, are really relevant to the item under discussion.

3. Firstly, we repudiate as morally unworthy and historically stupid the attempt to equate Zionism with colonialism. Zionism is one of the noblest, the most moving, the most constructive national movements in human history. Behind it lies a unique and unbroken connexion, extending over 4,000 years, between the Jewish people and Palestine. No Jew could dwell in Israel as a stranger or an alien, for there is not a foot of its soil unhallowed by the bones of his Biblical ancestors. It was here that the moral and spiritual genius of our people gave birth to Judaism, from which also sprang the Christian religion. It was here that our people enjoyed national independence, which they lost and regained and lost again; in the perpetual struggle against the great colonial empires of that time. The vital bond between the Jewish people and the land of Israel is the very essence of our long and often tragic history.

4. In modern times, spurred by the twin forces of nationalism and persecution, our people dreamt of rebuilding its ancient homeland, and organized the Zionist movement to promote this ideal, both by gaining understanding for it amongst the nations, and by constructive pioneering work in what had become a backward corner of the Ottoman Empire. This idea gained support at one time from Britain, for which we were grateful, and the concept of a Jewish National Home was expressly written into the terms of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine. In the end, however, Israel gained its independence through a bitter struggle against British rule, and a further struggle for survival against invading Arab armies. We stand ready today, as we always have been, to live in peace with our neighbours. But we are not ready to have the nature of the Zionist movement perverted to serve demagogic purposes.

5. These labels of "colonialism" are blatantly meant to influence other new States in Asia and Africa which have relations with Israel. In the statement in reply made by the Israel Foreign Minister, in the general debate, on 17 October, Mrs. Meir dealt with this point, and I would take leave to quote a few sentences:

"We know that this is nonsense. The Arabs know that it is nonsense and, what is more important, the Africans themselves know that it is nonsense. The leaders of African countries are not to be frightened by meaningless slogans. They can be relied upon to judge their relations with other countries by the behaviour of those other countries towards them, and not by propaganda speeches in New York." [907th meeting, para. 87.]

6. It is not Israel but certain other States who profess to be the brothers of the African peoples, but meddle in their affairs and act as Trojan horses for new imperialisms in Africa. As to who these States are, the African peoples will judge for themselves, in the light of recent experience on their continent.

7. Secondly, the representative of Lebanon wept crocodile tears over the treatment of Israel's Arab citizens, of whom there are a quarter of a million, both Moslems and Christians. Here again, I would refer to the statement by the Israel Foreign Minister on 17 October, in which she again pointed out that Israel Arabs enjoy exactly the same political rights as do Israel Jews; that their economic, social and cultural standards have risen rapidly since the establishment of the State of Israel; and that "no Arab State can point to the achievement of a standard of living for the masses of its population that may be compared favourably to the standard of living of the Israel Arabs" [*ibid.*, para. 83]. Our country is open to the world, and anyone is free to visit it and verify these facts for himself. Tens of thousands of visitors have done so; their impressions are on record, and they refute the calumnies which have been repeated here.

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8. Thirdly and lastly, the representative of Lebanon had the effrontery to suggest that Israel was one of two countries in which vestiges of slavery remained. The charge itself is too silly to be taken seriously. Israel's Constitution and way of life ensure equality and freedom for all its citizens without distinction of race, sex or religion. But, if I were an Arab representative, I would be very hesitant about raising the issue of slavery, in the context of a debate on colonialism. Does he think the African peoples have forgotten the black and ugly record of the Arab slave traders on their continent? Does he think they are unaware that there are Arab countries in the Middle East in which African men, women and children, and especially young girls, are still bought and sold like cattle? If he himself is unaware of these facts, I would advise him to read the many reports which have been published on the matter in recent years, including those of the Anti-Slavery Society.

9. My delegation has intervened again in the debate with reluctance. We have no desire to engage in controversy on these matters. On the other hand, the impression should not gain ground that any Arab representative can, with impunity, utilize the forum of the United Nations in order to besmirch the State of Israel.

10. The PRESIDENT: A number of delegations have asked to explain their vote before the voting. I propose to call on these delegations in order. I give the floor first to the representative of Sweden.

11. Mrs. RÖSSEL (Sweden): The Swedish delegation will cast its vote in favour of the draft declaration submitted, in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, by the African-Asian countries. We will do so because we find that it is in full accord with the spirit of the Charter provisions on self-determination, self-government and national independence. The Swedish Government and the Swedish people have followed with intent interest and great sympathy the historical process by which the large majority of formerly dependent peoples have come to enjoy the great boon of national freedom. If the declaration will help to keep the desire for freedom burning in men's minds everywhere, it will serve a useful purpose.

12. The attitude of my delegation does not mean, however, that we are entirely happy about the language used in some parts of the draft resolution. In fact, there are some paragraphs that seem to us to leave room for different interpretations, while other paragraphs, in our view, are too categorical or too rigid. Let me give you a few examples to illustrate my point.

13. The last preambular paragraph of the draft resolution states that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory". The application of this unimpeachable principle in practice could surely become a matter of controversy. We all remember how, during the recent debate in the First Committee on the problem of Mauritania, there existed different opinions even among those countries sponsoring the present draft declaration on how this principle should find expression in that particular case.

14. The same principle is also laid down in paragraph 2 of the draft declaration, which declares that "all peoples have the right of self-determination". One may be allowed to wonder whether the practical implication of this general principle would be, to take only one example, that provinces of the Republic of

the Congo (Leopoldville) would be justified in claiming the right to separate from other parts of the Republic. Or should another paragraph of the draft declaration be applied in such cases, namely paragraph 6, which opposes "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country"?

15. Another observation which comes to our mind when studying the text of the draft declaration is that there are in some parts of the world dependent territories which are too small and too isolated to be able to lead a successful life as independent States. Also, it seems to my delegation that we should not overlook the fact that too rapid a transition of a territory from colonial status to independence may cause serious difficulties for its population. A transitional period may be necessary.

16. The comments I have now made do not deter us from supporting the draft declaration. We understand it to be meant as a statement of general objectives and not as an act of legislation which would place immediate juridical obligations on Member States and which is designed to be applied literally. The General Assembly does not have the competence to adopt acts of legislation which are binding on the Member States. From a legal point of view, the draft declaration would, therefore, seem to be of the same nature as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

17. In making a comparison between the two declarations it is, perhaps, appropriate to draw attention to the fact that while the goals set out in the earlier declaration, that is, to further the observance of human rights in the whole world, are still very far from being achieved, the aims pursued by the present declaration, that is, to secure the right of the peoples to national independence, have already largely been attained as far as the former colonial empires are concerned. Without wishing to diminish the importance of this new declaration, one cannot escape the conclusion that it will not play the same constructive and instructive role as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which, ever since it was adopted in 1948, has no doubt served as a useful model for legislation in many countries and as a constant reminder of certain noble principles which are all too often honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

18. In the light of the observations which I have made, the Swedish delegation is, as I said before, prepared to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the African-Asian States as a whole and in its present form, and will vote against other draft resolutions and amendments.

19. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): The problem of colonialism is the chief focus of international attention at this session; it is accompanied by an avalanche of documents and a torrential flow of words which often call to mind the heated atmosphere in which the equally important questions of disarmament and under-development were discussed. In theory, colonialism as we have known it in the past when it sought by false, erroneous and sophisticated reasoning to justify the domination of one Power over another and exalt to the level of a dogma the privileges and prerogatives which certain reputedly superior races had arrogated to themselves, has irrevocably and undoubtedly had its day.

20. It can no longer continue to function as an economic or politico-economic system, that is, as a kind of area

reserved for the home country guaranteeing it a market sheltered from all competition and freely open for the full expansion of its foreign trade. This form of exploitation of man by man, accompanied at times by episodes which do little honour to those who have raised the ridiculous claim of the inequality of races—this situation individuals and the passage of time have undertaken to liquidate.

21. But, when this thorny problem is mentioned, I would be loath not to mention the United Nations, this great crossroads which for fifteen years past has served as a happy meeting-place between peoples, a kind of melting-pot of humanity where the course of history has perhaps been speeded up in a different direction.

22. But ideas, generally speaking, take a lot of killing. Those people, who, as they recall their reading, remember the pages on scientific subjects bequeathed to them by great writers, realize the long process of their development, as well as their authority and their strength, when they merge into our subconscious mind. Ideas might be compared to a tree with numerous, long-living roots. Merely to cut down the trunk without uprooting the tree would sometimes do not more than retard its growth.

23. All those who, in a remote or recent past, have suffered from colonialism, know this. Therefore, steps must be taken to prevent its return, not so much in the impossible form it assumed in the past, as in the pretentious, distinctly dangerous—yes, I would add, extremely dangerous—form it assumes in the present day world, full of malice, guile and trickery, like a wolf in sheep's clothing.

24. I confess that these are reflections which an authentic son of the Republic of Haiti could not help but feel as he listened to the charges levelled by certain self-constituted public prosecutors, lifting the veil off the policy of neo-colonialism, of which Alfred de Musset, if he were still among us—yes, Musset, the delightful poet of those immortal nights we all used to sing about in days gone by—would say: "but it all looks as much like you as your brother."

25. The struggle against this new type or new form or structure of colonialism must be our constant concern and we must fight it wherever it sets itself up.

26. I confess I fear it just as much as I do its older brother, which did such great harm to my ancestors and to the men of my race. As a more pernicious phenomenon, characterized by great astuteness, because it assumes the guise of both wolf and shepherd, it wins over simple minds nowadays by offering them not gifts of gold, as formerly, but something rather more subtle—the magic and the seduction of the promises latent in the new organization of the world of tomorrow, securing the well-being and the dignity of all men in order to put an end to the economic inequalities from which they have so long suffered.

27. To destroy colonialism in order to have it replaced by another evil—let us agree to call it neo-colonialism—would be to reject as hopeless the lessons of history, of experience, of human intelligence and even the need for freedom and independence felt by all those who have been deprived of it for so long; it would be like saying: "Get out of there and let me in."

28. My delegation would like to congratulate all those who have so clearly discerned the danger of neo-

colonialism in all its forms. True to the anti-colonialist policy of the great Dessalines, who founded the Haitian nation, faithful also to the policies of the father of my country's republic, the distinguished Alexandre Petion, who in 1811, inspired by the same lofty sentiments and high ideals which animate us all today, assisted Bolívar in his fight for liberation from Spanish domination, my delegation, as heir to the political testament of those giants in the history of my country, will vote in favour of any draft resolution which condemns colonialism, demands independence and freedom for some, while at the same time devising means of protecting others, by forestalling the introduction anywhere in the world of neo-colonialism in any shape or form.

29. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I have asked to speak in order to explain my vote on the various proposals which are now before the General Assembly. This explanation will be given in the light of the statement which I made in the general debate [935th meeting] in which I expressed the views of my delegation on the principles to which we adhere and which guide us in taking a position on any action by the Assembly with respect to this item. Afghanistan is a sponsor of one draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], and we have explained our reasons for sponsoring it. My explanation of vote will therefore refer to the other draft resolutions of which we are not sponsors.

30. With respect to the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2], we hope that, in view of the nature of this draft, it will not be pressed to a vote and will be withdrawn. However, if it is put to the vote, my delegation will be compelled to vote against it. We are opposed to this draft resolution because, in the consideration at this stage by the General Assembly of the item before us related to the abolition of colonialism and domination in all its forms as soon as possible and, in our view, immediately, the presentation of such a draft is completely out of place. We do not think that it would serve any useful purpose, and we therefore do not believe that it should be adopted by the General Assembly. We shall vote against this draft resolution.

31. With respect to the amendments submitted by Guatemala [A/L.325] to the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, we have no objection in principle to them but we think that the provisions of these amendments are covered in paragraph 6 of the draft declaration of the African-Asian countries. We therefore believe that these amendments are superfluous and we shall abstain in the vote on them.

32. The Soviet Union has submitted two amendments [A/L.328] to the draft resolution which we have sponsored. These amendments are useful and constructive, and my delegation will vote for them. The contents of these amendments are quite simple, but they bring out certain points of which we want to take particular note, and that is why we shall vote for them. The first point recognizes in substance the right of the rightful representatives of peoples and nations to enter into negotiations on the basis of self-determination, a principle to which we have always adhered in all cases related to dependent peoples. Secondly, these amendments contain the element of the time-limit, which expresses what we had asked for in the general debate, namely, the immediate abolition of colonialism and domination in all its forms and manifestations. Thirdly, these amendments emphasize the implementation

of the resolution on the abolition of colonialism, which, to us, has always been the true and only effective aim with respect to the question of the abolition of the colonial system.

33. I come now to the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union (A/4502), which we have considered very carefully. We would have preferred to have the substantive part of this draft put to the vote, and not the whole declaration. If the entire document is put to the vote, I should like to request the President to put it to the vote in two parts. We suggest that a separate vote should be taken on the part beginning with the words "... the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaim the following demands:" and including the numbered paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. A separate vote should be taken on the rest of the document.

34. When the separate vote is taken, my delegation will vote for the substantive part to which I have referred, and we will vote for it without any reservations whatsoever. When the rest of the document is put to the vote, my delegation will support it because we do not see any objection to the principles contained therein; but we would like to state, in explanation of our vote, that our vote in favour of that part of the document should be considered as being confined to the principles contained therein and only to the principles which would help the immediate abolition of domination and colonialism.

35. Secondly, we would like to state here that in supporting this part of the document, it is our understanding that the territories to which specific reference has been made in this document do not constitute a complete list of the territories or peoples which are under alien domination, and should not be taken as such. By this we mean that the implementation of this draft declaration at any time should not be confined to the territories and peoples which, as a matter of example, have been mentioned in the document, and that the provisions should apply to all territories and all peoples under any form of domination in any part of the world, even though they have not been mentioned in this document.

36. With these two reservations, we would like to state once again that our support of this document should be considered as being confined to the principles contained therein.

37. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): I am taking the floor in order to explain the position of my delegation on the Soviet draft declaration contained in document A/4502 and on the amendments to the African-Asian draft resolution of which my delegation is a sponsor.

38. The forty-three Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] is the outcome of thorough consideration and wide consultations. It was drafted in a way which would respond to the universal call for freedom and independence and which would, at the same time, secure the maximum possible support in this General Assembly. We certainly do not claim that it contains all the views and wishes within the scope of the national aspirations of the peoples. My delegation considers that the Soviet amendments contained in document A/L.323 and the Guatemalan amendments contained in document A/L.325 contain some of these views. In accepting or opposing these amendments, my delegation, as one of the sponsors of the African-Asian draft resolution, wishes to avoid any procedure which

might lead to a reduction of the support for this draft resolution, but in this case the question of principle is involved. In the case of the Soviet amendments and the Guatemalan amendments, my delegation feels that it should give priority to the principles contained in each of these amendments rather than to the technicalities to which I have referred.

39. The Soviet amendments contain a principle which my delegation fully supports, and we shall therefore vote in favour of them. The Guatemalan amendments include the principle of the right of nations to recover their territorial integrity; they also provide that the principle of self-determination of peoples may in no case impair the right to territorial integrity of any State. We know that there have been certain cases in which the territorial integrity of nations was impaired. The usurpation of a part of the Arab territory of Palestine by the joint aggression of colonialism and Zionism is an outstanding international question. We uphold the right of the lawful people of any territory to recover their territorial integrity. We shall therefore vote in favour of the Guatemalan amendments.

40. With regard to the Soviet draft declaration contained in document A/4502, we are told that this document is going to be put to the vote as one unit. We are ready to support most of its parts, but we cannot subscribe to every paragraph in it. In one of the paragraphs, reference is made to my own country. In another place, China is mentioned, and it is known that my country recognizes Nationalist China. Therefore, if this draft declaration is put to the vote as a whole, my delegation cannot support it.

41. Mr. SUGAIR (Saudi Arabia): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people, embodied in document A/4502. In the opinion of my delegation, it is in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as with the principles of human rights. Our vote, therefore, in support of this draft declaration signifies our endorsement of the basic principles contained therein. This does not mean, however, that we are in full agreement with certain conclusions made or with certain of its phraseology. Worthy of particular mention is the question of the status of Nationalist China.

42. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) (translated from French): My delegation has already had occasion to set forth, in detail and without equivocation, its attitude on all the aspects of the problem of the unconditional liquidation of the colonial régime. Consequently, my explanation of vote will bear solely on the Soviet amendments [A/L.328], the Guatemalan amendments [A/L.325] and the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2]. In so doing, I shall try, more particularly, to reply to certain objections made yesterday [945th meeting] by the Soviet representative to the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

43. The Soviet delegation considered that the forty-three-Power draft resolution was obscure on certain points and might give rise to ambiguities as regards how it could be interpreted. My delegation, which took quite an active part in drafting this draft resolution, does not think that is so.

44. Indeed, I feel that the principles we wanted to defend are set forth rather clearly. I am prepared to agree with Mr. Zorin that the points in question can be variously interpreted. But, quite frankly, what text,

for this draft of principle amendments. The delegation feels that the text contains a number of technical amendments which should be included in the text.

The principle which all therefore amendments should recover provide that the text may in no way be impaired by any territory of colonialism and question. We shall therefore amendments.

The declaration contended that this text be as one unit, in parts, but we shall not do it. In one of our own country, and it is known in China. Therefore the vote as a

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in the context in which we are operating in this Assembly, could fail to give rise to different interpretations? The interpretations that we attach to a text must always be deduced by the majority of the members of this Assembly and, above all, by the sponsors of the text submitted. The interpretation of this draft resolution has already been amply expounded, particularly by its sponsors, who have given their explanations on the matter and who have, almost all of them, done this fairly clearly.

45. Almost all the members of the African-Asian group have, after all, interpreted this document as one which must solemnly proclaim the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the need never to delay the granting of independence on the pretext, for example, of inadequate preparation in the political, economic, social or other fields, and, lastly, the need for immediate steps to be taken to transfer power to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence.

46. We have tried, in the text now before you, to state as clearly as possible the principles that we wanted to defend. But I must tell the Soviet representative that, for reasons which will be easily understood and which will derive from the special circumstances of each State, we did not want to specify how these principles should be applied. For example, the Soviet representative has pointed out that an exact date or time-limit should have been specified for countries to attain independence. In preparing this text we felt that we should not fix a date arbitrarily but should simply state the need for putting an end, speedily and unconditionally, to colonialism. We considered that, in certain cases, it would be advisable even that the transfer of power should not be effected immediately, for it would be essential beforehand to make sure that this transfer was made to the genuine representatives of the population in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. Some latitude should also be left; some countries, for instance, demand an immediate technical transfer; others demand a rather short interval for the transfer of power. So we thought that, in a general declaration of this kind, it was better to confine ourselves to laying down the principle. This principle is clear: it is the principle of unconditional and speedy independence, leaving it to the various committees to decide how the principle should be implemented in each particular case. Consequently, the fact that we have not, in our draft resolution, specified a date or fixed an exact time-table does not in the least mean that we were opposed to fixing such a time-table in certain particular cases or that we intended deferring independence in any way whatsoever. It simply means that we felt that the fixing of a rigid target date—the same date for all the countries—would smack of artificiality and would not suit the differing and individual circumstances of each particular case.

47. Moreover, there were divergent views on this point among the sponsors. One delegation, for instance, thought that the date should be an immediate date, say 1960 or 1961; other delegations considered that the dates should be in the very near future. Therefore, as I have just said, we left it to the various commit-

tees which deal with the problems attaching to each particular case to decide on these dates.

48. Another objection raised by the Soviet delegation related to the problem of universal suffrage and elections. Here again we thought it was essential not to lay down a hard and fast rule, which, however unexceptionable it might be in general, might raise certain special problems within the context of the special nature of the development of each State fighting for its independence. Some delegations even thought that, in some cases, the organization of elections by universal suffrage might ultimately be used as a pretext for delaying independence. Hence the need to specify the principle of the transfer of power, as I have pointed out, in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of the peoples. This will, of course, can and in most cases should—I emphasize, in most cases—be expressed by organizing a plebiscite or elections on the basis of universal suffrage held in due and proper form and preferably—and wherever it is possible—guaranteed by the presence and supervision of the United Nations. Nevertheless, this should, as I said just a moment ago, be decided for each State according to the special circumstances of its development.

49. For example, at the present moment there are two draft resolutions before the Fourth Committee, one on Ruanda-Urundi [A/C.4/L.664] and one on Western Samoa [A/C.4/L.663], in which it is proposed to apply these principles, in the light of the local conditions and special circumstances, to those territories. The committees concerned will take up the matter and will see that the general principles are applied with the maximum flexibility and with due consideration for the special situation of each of these Territories.

50. Speaking as a member of the group which drafted the forty-three-Power draft resolution, I would like to assure the Soviet Union representative that we spent a long time weighing the pros and cons of each sentence, each phrase and each word. We did so because we never forgot that we had to frame a text that reflects as closely as possible the general aspirations of the African and Asian peoples—aspirations which we are very glad to have the Soviet representative's assurance he also shares—as well as the sometimes complicated conditions surrounding the liquidation of the colonial régime.

51. I must admit that this is not a perfect text. But in a collective task of this kind, where allowance has to be made for the complicated nature of the problems and the differing points of view held about their solution, it is, humanly speaking, very difficult to arrive at a general text which will best express the collective aspirations of the African and Asian peoples.

52. As regards the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2] and the Guatemalan amendments [A/L.325] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution, I should like to make a brief comment.

53. The draft resolution submitted by Honduras, though it pursues praiseworthy aims, seems to us at the present moment rather remote from the immediate objectives which the anti-colonial Powers are pursuing in the present circumstances; the Honduran text does not, we feel, satisfy current requirements.

54. Regarding the amendments submitted by Guatemala, I admit that we are in agreement with the inten-

tions behind it. However, I should immediately add that, in so far as these intentions relate to the objective of the present declaration, they are stated and expressed clearly enough in paragraph 6 of the declaration in our draft resolution, which reads as follows:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

55. In conclusion, I would like to add once again that this text was the result of lengthy discussions and exchanges of views, which took a very long time to materialize. It represents an important piece of work and its particularly delicate balance has been achieved as a result of the fixed determination of the African and Asian Powers to express the aspirations of their peoples through a historical text which—and this is most important—would reflect the united front of these peoples and of all countries against colonialism.

56. Such being the case, we consider that the adoption, or even the insertion, of the amendments submitted might spoil this difficult and especially delicate balance that we have tried to maintain and would even threaten to split the unity of the African-Asian peoples on this question.

57. My delegation would be extremely happy if the sponsors of these draft resolutions and amendments, in the light of the explanations we have given, would not press for them to be put to the vote. If that should not be the case, however, my delegation, for the reasons already stated, but mainly in a spirit of African-Asian solidarity, would not be able to support them.

58. I would like to add one last word regarding the text of paragraph 9 submitted by the USSR in document A/L.328, according to which the General Assembly

would decide to consider the question of the implementation of the resolution at its sixteenth regular session.

59. Quite obviously, my delegation—just as much, I fancy, as any of the other sponsors of the draft resolution—has no objection in principle to this paragraph, but the reason why we did not think fit to include it is that we felt it touched on a point of procedure which, in our view, was out of place in a historical declaration which would virtually be a classic text to be studied in schools and in various kinds of organizations, that is, one in which a sentence of a technical character like the one proposed would really be out of place.

60. In my opinion this proposal might be made later by a delegation, possibly as part of another draft resolution, but we really do believe that it is out of place in such an important, such a very solemn declaration as that which we are at present discussing.

61. However, since on this procedural point we have no objection to raise in principle—all the more so as it would not in substance change the balance of the text in any way—we would leave its adoption or rejection, as it now stands, to the collective wisdom of the Assembly and will ourselves abstain from voting on this point.

62. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers on this item is now finally concluded and the Assembly, therefore, is in a position to proceed to the vote. In view of the fact, however, that the voting on the various proposals before the Assembly is likely to be a protracted process and that it is now a few minutes before the usual time of adjournment, the Chair proposes to adjourn the meeting now and to ask the Assembly to proceed to vote as the first item of business at its next meeting.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*