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at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 87:</i> Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples . . . . .	981

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

**AGENDA ITEM 87**

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

1. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We, the representatives of almost one hundred States of the world, have gathered here to consider and take an historic decision on a question of vital importance for the whole world, the question of the final and complete liquidation of the colonial system and the liberation of all colonial countries and peoples.

2. Our descendants, when studying the development of human society, will have every justification for calling the middle of the twentieth century, after the great October Socialist Revolution, a significant epoch of construction of a new world, a world of freedom and independence of peoples.

3. The destruction of the most shameful phenomenon in the life of mankind, colonialism, has become the sign of our times. During the lifetime of our generation the colonial system has suffered crushing blows. Since the Second World War, India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea and many other countries have thrown off the domination of the colonialists. In 1960 alone, seventeen new States have burst their colonial bonds and gained independence. Now 1,500 million people, but lately languishing in colonial bondage, are following the path of national regeneration.

4. The liberation struggle has changed the entire face of modern Asia. Tremendous, indeed historic, changes have taken and are still taking place on the African continent. Profound processes of national liberation are going on in the countries of Latin America, whose peoples are rising with ever-increasing resolution to fight imperialism. Close at hand now is the complete collapse of the whole colonial system of imperialism, foreseen by the best minds of mankind and predicted by the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

5. But colonialism is not yet dead. Not all States and peoples by any means have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and enslavement.

6. Even those which have become independent are far from having done away with colonial domination,

with the attempts of the colonialists to regain their lost positions, as is graphically shown by recent events in the Congo, which have been the subject of heated discussion in the General Assembly.

7. There are still many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania that are languishing under the yoke of foreign usurpers. It would be a delusion to consider the struggle against the colonialists as ended. One has only to glance at a map of the world to see scattered upon it, like so many birth-marks of the past, the remains of the ruined colonial empires where the colonialists still succeed in keeping tens of millions of people in slavery. There, colonial wars continue to take their bloody toll. Hundreds and thousands of patriots, fighting for the freedom of their peoples, are confined in prisons and concentration camps there. As a result of the plundering carried out by the colonialists in the colonies, it is there that are to be found, side by side, the longest working day and the lowest standard of living, the highest illiteracy rate, the lowest expectancy of life and the highest mortality rate among the population. Repulsive racial discrimination, which insults and degrades the dignity of man, is practised there in its worst forms.

8. Can the United Nations and its Member States acquiesce in this? Who but we should speak out for the complete and prompt elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and thus fulfil the task entrusted to us of reaffirming faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equality of rights of all nations great and small?

9. On 23 September 1960 [869th meeting], the Chairman of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nikita Sergeevitch Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, expressing the will of millions of Soviet people, submitted a Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1] for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

*[The speaker then read the text of document A/4502 and Corr.1.]*

10. The extreme importance of the problem of liberating the peoples and countries still remaining under colonial domination should be obvious to all. The time has come to make an end of colonialism and free mankind from this shameful vestige of the past.

11. Statements to this effect have been made at this session of the General Assembly by Prime Minister Nehru of India [880th meeting], President Nasser of the United Arab Republic [873rd meeting], President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia [880th meeting], President Nkrumah of Ghana [869th meeting], Prime

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87.

Minister Castro of Cuba [872nd meeting], President Sékou Touré of the Republic of Guinea [903rd meeting], Mr. Shukairy, Chairman of the Saudi Arabian delegation [879th meeting], and many other representatives.

12. Speaking in this chamber on 12 October 1960 [902nd meeting], Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, emphasized that the General Assembly should be fully aware that unless the most urgent measures are taken colonialism is capable of inflicting much more suffering and loss, ruining many more millions of lives and spawning armed conflicts and wars, creating a threat to peace and security not only in certain quarters of the globe but all over the world.

13. The Soviet delegation regards as a good and encouraging sign the unanimous decision of the General Assembly [903rd meeting] to discuss the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in plenary meeting, that is to say, in the highest forum of the United Nations. This decision can be considered a new blow against colonialism, a new victory for the peace-loving forces in the great struggle for peace and the freedom of peoples.

14. The Soviet Union delegation expresses its firm belief that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will become a historic landmark on the road to the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and that 1960 will rightfully be called not only the "year of Africa" but also the year of the liberation from colonial slavery of all peoples wherever they lived—in Africa, Asia, Latin America, anywhere in the world.

15. The Declaration submitted by the Soviet Government is a document containing a programme for the struggle for the liberation of all colonial peoples. It defines the principal tasks and indicates the general approach to the solution of this historic problem. We are convinced that the peoples of all continents and all delegations to this session that are anxious for a speedy and radical solution of the historic task of liquidating the shameful colonial system will support this Declaration and its humanitarian, progressive principles as a noble and powerful appeal for the complete liberation of mankind from the shameful past, for the complete freedom and independence of all colonial peoples.

16. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): I think my first duty should be to congratulate Mr. Zorin on a very accurate reading of document A/4502, submitted by Mr. Khrushchev on 23 September 1960. I followed the text, which I had read two months ago, and I found his rendering clear and faultless, but I am bound to say that I did not find it any more helpful or constructive than when I first read it for myself two months ago.

17. When the delegation of the Soviet Union asked for the inscription on our agenda of the item which we are now considering, "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", I had hoped that the debate upon it could be made the occasion of a serious discussion of the ways in which we can all help to realize the aspirations of those peoples who do not yet enjoy what is described in the Charter of the United Nations as a "full measure of self-government". This is an aspect of world affairs of which we in the United Kingdom have for long been

vitaly concerned. We know the great force of nationalism in the world today. We have seen how the achievement of independence has given to the many millions of people for whose administration we were once responsible the incentive to develop their own countries with added energy and vigour. We have seen how it has given them the opportunity by taking their place here in the United Nations to serve the world community and the interests of international peace and security. The example of the new nations, great and small, of Africa and Asia has been a great stimulus to us in the common effort which we share with the people of the dependent territories which still remain. It has spurred us forward in our policy of helping them build strong and vigorous nations, undivided by tribal, ideological or racial strife and imbued with the strength which only freedom and prosperity can give.

18. I have been shocked, as I am sure many representatives have been, by the manner in which the Soviet delegation and its friends have sought to pervert for their own purposes the deeply and genuinely felt desire for independence of so many millions of people—a desire which is supported and applauded by the great majority of mankind. Both in the document which Mr. Zorin read out to us this morning, in which the Soviet delegation asked for the inscription of this item, and in the speech with which the Soviet representative opened this debate, there is no sign of recognition of the facts of the situation which they have caricatured. Their only purpose seems to be to generate hatred rather than friendship, violence rather than peace, and chaos rather than order.

19. The representative of the Soviet Union appears to wish to use this debate simply as another occasion for vilifying my country and other Administering Powers and for carrying the cold war into Africa, in the hope that perhaps it can there be hotted up to his advantage. I must warn him that if I chose to follow suit, I would have much better ammunition than he has. Since 1939, some 500 million people, formerly under British rule, have achieved freedom and independence, and their representatives sit here. In that same period, the whole or part of six countries, with a population of 22 million, have been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union; they include the world's three newest colonies; Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. In addition the Soviet Union exercises economic, political and military domination over millions of other men and women in neighbouring countries. Countless efforts have been made by national movements in countries under Russian control to gain independence. All have been suppressed. In Central Asia, we have seen examples of a colonial policy which, as Mr. Khrushchev himself told us at great length earlier in the session [869th meeting], has in material terms been an outstanding success. He did not tell us of the mass deportations of population and the ruthless suppression of nationalities which went with it. I shall not harrow the feelings of this Assembly by reciting the whole grisly catalogue; on or two examples must suffice. The so-called German Autonomous Republic was abolished by a stroke of the pen and the Volga Germans who inhabited it were removed to various localities in the East. This populous group was thus scattered and liquidated as a community. Again, the entire populations of the Crimean Tatar, Kalmyk and Chechen "Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, amounting with some smaller communities to nearly a million people...

20. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order. Perhaps the speaker at the rostrum would kindly stand aside while I deal with the point.

21. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, in the statement I just made I did not say one word about the United Kingdom; I did not speak about that country at all.

22. The United Kingdom representative, however, has just attempted to start a discussion of the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. This is a violation of the generally accepted principle that governs the work of this Assembly. I ask you, Mr. President, to protect the delegation of the Soviet Union and the delegations of other countries against attempts to intervene in the Soviet Union's internal affairs.

23. It is perfectly natural that the United Kingdom representative should have nothing to say about the "beneficent" effect the United Kingdom is having on the colonial territories under what he called its "administration". There is, of course, nothing favourable that he can say in that connexion. However, attempts at intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union are inadmissible; we must protest against them and regard the use of such methods of discussion as utterly illegal.

24. The United Kingdom representative said that he wanted to avoid the cold war, but he was the first to take this line in speaking from this rostrum. If he continues in the same vein he will receive an appropriate answer both from the Soviet Union and from the other countries that are anxious to discuss the liquidation of the colonial régimes existing in the territories dependent upon the colonial Powers, but will not permit intervention in the affairs of the peoples that exist and act in freedom within the framework of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

25. The PRESIDENT: The point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union places the Chair in somewhat of a difficulty. As all delegations here are aware, charges and accusations of the kind against which the representative of the Soviet Union has just protested have become only too common coin in our discussions here in the Assembly. They are not confined to any one delegation or to any one group of delegations. They are made indifferently by many delegations.

26. The purport of all charges and accusations of this type, and in many cases their actual substance, is the same. It is impossible for the Chair to discriminate between them. To rule some of them out of order and others not would involve the Chair in a series of arbitrary judgements which it would be impossible to justify. To rule them all out of order might rightfully be regarded as an undue restriction of the right of free expression. In these circumstances, the primary responsibility falls on delegations themselves. Charges and accusations of the kind complained of rarely add force to argument and do much to lower the tone of the Assembly's debates. I would appeal, therefore, to the good judgement and the good sense of delegations to refrain from making these charges and accusations gratuitously and, by so doing, to help to keep the tone of this debate on a level in keeping with the importance of the subject matter.

27. I would ask the representative of the United Kingdom kindly to continue.

28. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, of course I will bow to your ruling.

29. I felt that we had certain charges made against us. We had been called robbers; we had been told that we indulged in ceaseless carnage, and so on. I did not think the words that I had used in reference to the Soviet Union should have made Mr. Zorin oversensitive. But I am aware that the Soviet delegation does not like discussion here of certain aspects of their home policy, nor does the Soviet Government facilitate the publication by the free Press of the world of the facts about it. Very well; we have to accept that.

30. It is a tragic fact that there is little which we in the United Nations can do to help these people under Soviet domination, and it would be no service to the peoples of the rest of the world who are passionately concerned about their own desire for independence to play the Soviet game, to answer them back in their own kind and thus to allow the affairs of Africa and Asia to become lost underneath a barrage of charges and counter charges. All I ask is that the United Nations machinery for dealing with Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the structure of co-operation which has been built up over the years, should not be destroyed by the unconstructive and irresponsible assaults of the Soviet delegation and their friends. For this reason, I do not propose to waste further time on the draft declaration on this subject put forward by the Government of the Soviet Union.

31. On the subject of colonialism, my Government will listen with the greatest attention to the voices of Africa and Asia; but we see no reason why our serious discussions on this great subject should be degraded by the calumnies and distortions which are the stock in trade of the greatest oppressor of our day.

32. I am heartened that the African and Asian Members of the United Nations do not appear themselves to regard the Soviet contribution to our debates as a particularly serious one, and that they intend to put forward a draft declaration of their own. Let me say at once that the United Kingdom delegation is in entire sympathy with what I know to be the feelings and the main purposes of these delegations, the achievement with all possible speed of full self-government and independence by those people who do not yet enjoy these things. If we have sometimes had differences of opinion on this question, these have been differences of method and sometimes of timing; they are not differences of intention. They are differences which can be discussed between Member States, speaking as equals and speaking in good faith, speaking, in fact, as those who have the same goals in view.

33. Let us look objectively at the nature of the problem. We hear a lot in the United Nations and elsewhere of the fact that colonialism is dying or that it is disappearing. Of course it is, in those parts of the world where we and those who think like us bear responsibility. It is dying in the sense that the Phoenix died, dying at the moment of its greatest glory, when it gives birth to new nations. Indeed, in the sense that colonialism involved the permanent subjection of one people to another, it was already accepted as an out-of-date political relationship by all those who, like the United Kingdom, subscribed without reservation to

Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and have since honoured it in practice.

34. I find it hard to improve upon the terms of Article 73 of the Charter as a description of the British concept of the modern colonial relationship, which is, by definition, a living and constantly evolving one and one which, by its very nature, must be rapidly replaced by something new. Let me quote a few passages from this article. We, the United Kingdom Government, as an original Member of the United Nations, "recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants" of the Non-Self-Governing Territories "are paramount". We "accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost...the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories". We undertake "to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement". In this connexion, I notice that Mr. Krishna Menon of India observed in committee the other day that we have never tried to turn other people into Englishmen. Moreover, we undertake "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

35. These obligations we have honoured, and the manner in which we have done so is known to all the world. I think it is fair to say that the speed with which we have developed self-government has been remarkable, in the light of the expectations of the world in 1946. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has just reviewed the progress made in these territories during the first ten years. It has observed, and rightly:

"The aspirations of peoples towards self-government or independence have too often far outstripped the pace of their economic and social advancement..." [A/4371, part two, para. 24.]

36. This is true. Economic and social progress, though steady, has nowhere been as spectacular as political progress. This does not mean that political progress must be slowed down. Far from it. No one can deny that political advance is affected by the success of economic and social policy, but independence cannot be delayed until all economic and social problems are solved. Nor, of course, are these problems solved automatically by independence, and there are other items on our agenda which call attention to the need for the United Nations to continue to expand its work in the newly independent States to help them tackle and solve the problems which remain.

37. Let us look for a moment at the facts and figures of this political progress. It is people that we are concerned with, and not just territories; so the figures I will give are figures of population. The 450 million or so people who lived in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, all achieved independence after the war. Not counting these, the total population of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories of the world was in 1946 approximately 225 million. Ten years later it had fallen to approximately 125 million, a figure which included a natural population increase in the remaining territories of about 25 million over the period. Since 1956, the pace has further speeded up, and roughly another 75 million have achieved their inde-

pendence, all of them in Africa. That is to say that, as regards people living outside the Soviet empire, 650 million have achieved complete independence in the past fifteen years. The only people living within the Soviet empire who have gained their freedom are the few millions who have escaped from it as refugees. Of those who remain in dependent territories, about 40 million live in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible. As far as we are concerned, these are the people whom this debate is about.

38. But in these, too, progress towards independence is extremely rapid. Over two million of them live in Sierra Leone, where, according to the representative of the Soviet Union speaking at the beginning of this session, "the struggle for liberation still goes on". This particular "struggle" can best be described as a figment of the Soviet imagination, over-heated perhaps by the perusal of out-of-date Marxist text-books and the incantation of worn-out Leninist slogans. In fact, the people of Sierra Leone know perfectly well that they will be independent in five months' time. The distinguished Sierra Leonean Minister, who is already concerning himself with problems of foreign affairs, was here in New York a few weeks ago studying the problems of United Nations representation for a small country. Many delegations met him. Three million more of these people live in the Federation of the West Indies, which will also, without doubt, be independent in the near future. Nine million more live in Tanganyika, the biggest territory for which the United Kingdom remains responsible and where, according to the representative of the Soviet Union, there has been "unending carnage". There has been nothing of the sort. Instead, there has been an inspiring example of harmony between all communities in the Territory, a harmony which has already brought it to the verge of independence, with a peaceful and exciting future before it. In response to a request from Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, the United Kingdom proposes to introduce, later in this very session of the General Assembly, a draft resolution designed to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika on its attainment of independence, with effect from a date to be agreed between the United Kingdom Government and the elected leaders of Tanganyika. No one can doubt that that date will not be far away; at least, it is not doubted in Tanganyika or in the United Kingdom. So, proceeding at their own pace and in their own way, the way of co-operation and statesmanship, the people of Tanganyika are blazing the trail for the rest of East Africa.

39. What, then, are the problems which remain? What is so different about the remaining territories, the ones which I have not mentioned, which prevents them from acceding to immediate independence? There are, I think, two different kinds of problem; they differ according to the circumstances of the territories concerned. The first kind concerns territories which are small and sometimes isolated. There are no fewer than twenty-nine Non-Self-Governing Territories now under United Kingdom administration which have a population of under one million each. Fourteen of these have a population of less than 100,000. The people of these small territories have to think carefully about their future. There are many factors, different in each case, which may cause their people to hesitate about separate independence. They may be isolated geographically, with an economy barely sufficient to meet

That is to say the expanding needs of their people. These people may have no wish to sacrifice the economic and social progress to which they are entitled in order to assume responsibility for maintaining the expensive apparatus of a modern independent State.

40. Alternatively, in some cases the people of these territories feel—justly or unjustly—threatened by a large and powerful neighbour. They fear that their independence might not long endure and that they might, unprotected, lose the political freedom which they now enjoy.

41. The people of these small territories deserve our consideration just as much as those who live in the great States of the world. They each have their own peculiar political problems, and we in the United Kingdom consider it as our solemn obligation, in accordance with Article 73 b of the Charter, to work out with the people concerned the form of independence which will best satisfy their aspirations.

42. The other day the Fourth Committee adopted, by a majority of 62 to 3,<sup>2/</sup> a draft resolution [A/C.4/L.648 and Add.1] approving twelve principles, which are to serve as a guide to Member States in determining whether they are under an obligation to transmit information to the Secretary-General in respect of particular territories in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter. Principles VI, VII, VIII and IX refer to the circumstances in which such territories can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government. I will read out Principle VI:

"A non-Self-Governing Territory can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government by:"

"(a) Emergence as a sovereign independent State;

"(b) Free association with an independent State; or

"(c) Integration with an independent State".

43. Principles VII, VIII and IX go on, very properly, to define with some care the circumstances in which free association or integration is acceptable as full self-government.

44. An important point in these principles is that the free and voluntary choice of such a status by the people concerned must be the result—and I use the words of the draft resolution—of "informed and democratic processes". Now, these processes take time; although perhaps, in comparison with an earlier age, not much time.

45. The United Kingdom is doing all it can to hurry on the processes of self-government as fast as possible, but it would surely be a betrayal of the whole spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter for us to say that the people of, for example, the Seychelles Islands, or the Gilbert Islands, should decide immediately what form they wish their ultimate independence to take; or, to take other examples, the people of Basutoland or Hong Kong.

46. So much for the smaller territories; let us look now at the nature of the problems in the larger territories which are still dependent. These are perhaps more important in the eyes of most Members of the United Nations. They contain more people and they are in Africa.

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1045th meeting.

47. Here I must return to the theme which I stated earlier. Every action of the United Kingdom in regard to these territories is directed towards the building of new nations, nations which will be united and free, and through which the people can realize their aspirations for peace, independence, prosperity and individual freedom. It is of fundamental importance to the future peace and prosperity of Africa that the countries of that continent should retain their integrity, and that their independence should not be followed by civil war and economic collapse.

48. In these last few years, during which we still retain a direct responsibility for these territories, we are framing our policy in such a way that the different tribes and communities who inhabit these territories can learn confidence and trust in each other. Working all the time with the people, we are trying to ensure, before the date of independence is determined, that the new States will command the loyalty and the energies of all tribes, all communities alike.

49. We think that this has already been achieved in Tanganyika. In the neighbouring territories in this region of Africa certain fears still remain. The process is a delicate one. There are groups in all these countries, sometimes African, sometimes European, sometimes Asian, who fear that independence when it comes will hurt them. The task is to dispel this fear, as similar fears have been dispelled in countries which have already achieved independence.

50. In these territories, there is no argument about the right of the people to independence; there is no argument whether the people will be independent or not. Certainly they will. The only question is when, and the answer must be, just as soon as there can be confidence that the new nations will thrive, and that their independence will be really effective and have real meaning and will not be sapped by internal strife or external pressure. The people of these countries want independence in the form which suits them, and not according to some ideological pattern imposed on them from outside. They want to avoid violence and chaos, for these things bring with them outside pressure and interference.

51. It is our obligation to see that they achieve their genuine aspirations and to help them frustrate those who wish them ill. In this I am confident that we shall have the support of the great majority of the Members of the United Nations. I only wish that we could have the support of all of them.

52. In view of some of the things which have been said during this Assembly, I should like to emphasize once again that the policy of the United Kingdom in those parts of Africa for which we are responsible is a non-racial policy, as indeed it is elsewhere in the world. To quote the words used by the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, from this rostrum at the fourteenth session, on 17 September 1959:

"In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side, the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well-being of these countries. We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy therefore is non-racial; it offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with

whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations." [798th meeting, para. 30.]

53. To sum up, we believe that the peoples of dependent territories should advance to self-government and independence as fast as is humanly possible. We believe that new nations should be strong and prosperous and at peace with themselves and their neighbours. We hold these beliefs because, to us, they are manifestly right, and because we know that the peoples of these countries ardently desire these things. But we also hold these beliefs because they are in our own interests, and indeed in the interests of every one of us represented in this Assembly. If the new nations are strong and peaceful, they have a great contribution to make to world peace, which is indivisible. If they are prosperous and dynamic in their progress, they have a great contribution to make to the raising of standards of living, to the development of world resources and to the progress and well-being of mankind as a whole. These are the deeply and sincerely held beliefs of the British people. For many years they have guided our actions toward the peoples of countries overseas. On them will continue to be founded our common efforts, until we have achieved the goals of our policy and they, the peoples of these countries, have realized their national aspirations.

54. Mr. CARDOSO (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): It is painful for the delegation of the Congo to have to speak after a clash between two powerful delegations. It was not enough that we had to enter the United Nations through an emergency door; we also had to receive our baptism of fire.

55. However, Mr. President, we wish to thank you and all those who have made it possible for us to speak here.

56. On 22 November 1960 the General Assembly decided [924th meeting] that the representatives of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) would not only be recognized here but would also have the right to speak. Having been unanimously admitted to membership in the United Nations on 20 September 1960 [864th meeting], the Republic of the Congo could no longer be denied the right to make its voice heard.

57. While all Members of the Organization have used and even abused the right to speak about the Congo, some of them going so far as to speak in its name, it must be acknowledged that this right belongs, in the first place, to the Congolese themselves. No one is better qualified to speak of the Congo than the Congolese, who are the first to suffer from the Government crisis which has lasted all too long.

58. The decision of 22 November gave international confirmation to the undisputed authority of our country's highest institution, the office of the Head of State. The Congolese people is resolved to defend all the institutions which it has freely chosen. Our Head of State, President Kasa-Vubu, who has been recalled to Leopoldville by duties which permit no delay, has asked me to convey to the General Assembly his regret that he could not himself express his satisfaction at the decision of 22 November, and he has asked me to read the following message to the Assembly:

"The Republic of the Congo fully appreciates the assistance which the United Nations has decided to

afford it in this exceptionally difficult period of its history. It realizes how great are the sacrifices in men and money which several Member States are making in order to help bring about the successful solution of critical problems.

"In expressing the hope that this assistance will continue, I undertake, as Head of the Congolese State, to do everything in my power to make the best use of it for the sake of peace and progress in the Congo. More than any other country, the Congo needs national unity and agreement. At the proper time, all persons of good will who can contribute to this task will be called upon to do so."

59. That is the message from the President of our Republic. You must understand that the Congolese people, in its determination to free itself from imperialism in any form, is in the pay of no one. It is both futile and insulting to preach that any revolution which does not embrace a particular ideology must inevitably be condemned by history.

60. The dialectic whose intellectual legitimacy has never been acknowledged by some, does not seem to tolerate any surprise. The Congo, alas, is a country of surprises. Imperialists of all persuasions have opposed each other there and have all failed lamentably. The Congolese people has defeated colonialism once and for all. The colonialists of the West and East alike, too long accustomed to thinking of Africa as the perfect country for colonization, now seem bent on "decolonizing" it. In obedience to the wave of new ideas, they intend to "decolonize" at any cost, as if to ease their consciences. But Africa remains vigilant and refuses to be taken in by the pedlars of good intentions.

61. It was these same pedlars of good intentions who yesterday devastated our countries with the hateful slave-trade and with colonialism. They are the ones who today promise us the moon and the stars. They act as though they were dealing not only with economic and social under-development, but also with congenital intellectual under-development.

62. Africa, however, is on the alert to protect its freedom and cultural personality. All peaceful means will be used to promote the unity of Africa, and the magic of mere words and slogans will not prevail against it. Tomorrow Africa, one and indivisible, will release from colonialism the peoples still under arbitrary rule, for it cannot be the only continent of "decolonization". Tomorrow Africa will give the world a more human aspect, so that the true hope of mankind, to live in peace, may not be disappointed.

63. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of China in exercise of the right of reply.

64. Mr. LIU (China): In the wild and far-ranging distortions in his statement, the representative of the Soviet Union made a reference to Taiwan against which, he said, "the United States has committed aggression". I did not wish at that moment to interrupt the orderly proceedings of the General Assembly by table-thumping or otherwise raising a point of order, but I ask for the floor now in my exercise of the right of reply to say that the United States military personnel on Taiwan are there by the invitation of my Government in connexion with my Government's programme of defence

against communist aggression in that area. I need not add that no Soviet distortion can alter the fact that the Government of the Republic of China now based on Taiwan is an independent and sovereign Government,

and it is utter falsehood to allege that the United States has committed aggression against China.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

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