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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. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Colonial questions have taken up most of the meetings of this Assembly session and will, in all probability, take up a large part of what remains of the session. This predominance of colonial questions in the United Nations is not the result of chance nor is it entirely due to capricious or arbitrary manoeuvres. It is a reflection of the reality that confronts us today.
2. Our Organization is among other things a great sounding-board where the questions of major concern to the world strongly reverberate. It was inevitable, therefore, that it should be confronted with this question of colonialism—or, if you will, the end of colonialism—which is one of the most deeply disturbing and bitterly controversial topics of this mid-twentieth century.
3. The question takes on added relevance and virulence by reason of being closely linked with the international tension between the great Powers, that is, with what has come to be known as the cold war. There does in fact exist an intimate relationship between the process of liquidating the colonial systems and the balance of power between the strongest nations of the earth. That is what complicates the problem and makes it the pivot on which turn the issues of war and peace.
4. Now the colonial question returns once again in a new guise for our consideration, in the shape of a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. This is clearly no trivial matter. Hence, it seems impossible to deal with it without a general review, however sketchy, of the scope and significance of colonialism. I hasten to state that I shall try to limit my remarks to what is strictly essential to make our position clear.
5. There is one point which we feel compelled to make at the outset. That is the monotonous persistence with which ready-made phrases and prefabricated slogans recur whenever these colonial questions are discussed. The use of propaganda themes and catchwords is indeed one of the evils of the modern world. The slogan has the advantage that it saves us the trouble of thinking, and as many of our fellow human beings have apparently a real horror of the arduous and difficult

task of thinking it is a valuable labour-saving aid. Nevertheless the colonial issue is one of such pith and moment that it requires our most objective attention and a serious effort on our part to discern its true essence. We are in fact in the presence of historical events of tremendous importance, and it is lamentable that we who have been privileged to witness such events should, instead of examining them with the passionate interest that is aroused at the sight of history on the march, view them through the veil of sectarianism or the thick cloak of our intellectual poverty.

6. This reproach is not levelled particularly at those who have just emerged from the colonial system or who are seeking to abolish it. When people are suffering or struggling for any cause they have some excuse for not being too impartial. We cannot ignore the legitimate grievances which some colonial peoples may have against their former masters, and a bare, cold analysis of what they have experienced at first hand would be as difficult for them as an objective study of the advantages of a given prison system would be for the inmate of a prison.
7. Those of us, however, whose attitude is not influenced by our past history are in duty bound to consider events in a spirit of justice and with respect for truth. That is the chief contribution which we can make so that this transition between the colonial system and independence may be effected without undue violence and in particular that it may not engender further and more serious explosions.
8. A kind of psychological tyranny has been created which makes it impossible to abandon the currently accepted catchwords in this matter without incurring the charge of complicity in what the phraseology of the moment terms "the enslaving exploitation of the colonial Powers".
9. We wish to state categorically that we shall not allow ourselves to be influenced by this atmosphere, and that we shall define our position without any fear of how it may be interpreted or judged. My country, which has emerged from a process of emancipation that strengthened rather than severed the bonds of affection with its country of origin, is in a position to speak freely on this subject.
10. We do not, it is needless to say, have any colonies, and although we have to make determined claims to one island sector of our territory under foreign control, we have maintained cordial relations in other fields with the Power exercising that control. We have therefore no preconceived notions, and if our sympathies tend to one side or the other, there can be no doubt, in the view of the ample witness which we have given in these very precincts, that these sympathies go to the peoples newly emerging to independence.

11. The colonization process was the outcome of Europe's tremendous impulse for expansion at the end of the Middle Ages. There is no doubt that the "little peninsula backing on Asia", as it was once described, comprised within its narrow confines a collection of peoples gifted with the most extraordinary qualities of intelligence, inventiveness and enterprise that mankind has ever known. The descendants of "Japheth's bold progeny", as the Latin poet called them, soon found the territory assigned to them too small and went off to the four corners of the earth in search of new theatres for the expansion of their creative genius. That was the beginning of the great colonial adventure whose final stages we are now witnessing.

12. We shall not attempt to sketch even briefly the stages in that great historical process which was so complex and had so many different forms and diverse facets. In any event a final judgement on the colonial system would in our opinion be premature. In a general way, however, we do not believe it possible—and least of all at this moment—to pronounce a simple straightforward opinion on what, in the language of Balzac, we might call the "grandeurs and miseries" of the colonial system. Individual cases vary with the period and with the colonizing and the colonized country. To apply a single standard or to render a single concise judgement would, in our opinion, merely misrepresent the extreme complexity of the colonial phenomenon.

13. It is hardly necessary for us to recall that there have been intolerable abuses in the system because we hear it repeated here daily. While some of the evils alleged against the colonial system may be exaggerated, many, on the other hand, are true. When Europe first substituted the desire for gain for the old Christian ideals which directed its first steps towards unknown lands, the profound significance of the colonizing effort was also transformed.

14. We should be engaging in melodramatic truculence if we recalled the now classic impression of those rapacious adventurers which has been conveyed by the cinema and the novel. Such is the disgusting and unfortunately only too true aspect of the colonial system which we cannot condemn too strongly.

15. We have, on the other hand, heard certain representatives of the new countries speaking from this rostrum and telling us that they are indebted to the colonial Powers for nothing except humiliation, tyranny and spoliation. We do not deny the truth of their complaints, but we have noticed one thing: we have noticed that they voice those complaints in an English or a French which is so correct and harmonious that it excites our envy.

16. The point is that when a people has received from another country such a valuable treasure as language, it cannot assert that it owes that country nothing. It is indebted at least for a form of culture so important that it influences even the thought that is expressed in the language. That, however, is not the only positive result of the system that has hitherto been in force. There is also the victorious campaign against disease, the educational work of the missionaries and the constructive efforts of technicians. It may be true that the colonial Powers have themselves benefited from that higher material level and that theirs has often been the lion's share, but it would also be wrong to say that at the end of the period of colonial domination all colonized peoples without exception are morally or

materially worse off than before the arrival of the colonizers.

17. To draw up a balance-sheet of colonialism might take us much further than we want to go. The important thing to note is that whatever judgement may be passed on the system now or by future historians, colonialism no longer fits into the political structures of our time. It is a type of relationship which has ended forever. At a time when equality—and I say equality rather than liberty—represents to the masses the greatest good, the survival of systems in which some peoples are dominated by others is an anachronism. It does not matter now what explanation or justification those systems may have had in the past. What is important is that in our day and age we should refuse to allow them to continue.

18. I think that we are almost all agreed upon that point. In his eloquent statement yesterday [925th meeting] the representative of the United Kingdom made an impressive survey of his country's contribution to the emancipation of peoples. It is a policy which has now become general, and we must not underestimate the corresponding contribution which France, the other great colonial Power, has made to that emancipation. It is no longer a question of discussing whether or not colonialism must be brought to an end, but of determining the methods, time limits and procedures by which the process of liquidation is to be effected.

19. Before voting on the specific proposal that has given rise to this debate, we think that some of the chief problems raised by the liquidation of colonialism should be rapidly examined. It is not enough, in our opinion, simply to decree, with all the omnipotence of the Creator when He separated the light from the dark on the first day of the Creation, that "Colonialism is at an end". What is essential, and particularly for the international Organization to which we belong, is to ascertain and attempt to solve the main problems that will follow the end of colonialism.

20. The most important problem which the end of colonialism brings in its wake is the imbalance between the desire for independence of formerly subject peoples and their economic and technical possibilities for self-development. I should like in this regard to make our position quite clear. We do not believe that because a people does not possess the economic potentialities for self-government it should as a matter of principle be deprived of access to independence. Independence is a spiritual value and cannot therefore be reduced to economic terms. It would not be in keeping with the dignity of the human person to say that a people cannot accede to independence because it does not have the material resources to support itself, or because it does not have enough technicians to establish an industry or because it does not have officials qualified to constitute an organic administration.

21. This does not mean that new countries lacking economic or technical resources will not be faced with problems which, in the present state of the world, automatically take on the character of major international crises. This is true because this inability to meet their own needs and the disproportion between their legitimate and sincere desire for independence and the inadequacy of their resources inevitably raise the question of foreign intervention. And with foreign intervention there also arises the question of a covert

revival of colonialism and the struggle between world blocs for supremacy in the emancipated countries.

22. This explains why there has recently been so much talk here of "neo-colonialism". The term in itself seems tendentious, but the fact that we may object to the term does not mean that the reality which it seeks to define does not exist. The attainment of independence by some countries—and I say some, not all—does create a problem when they lack the material means for assuming all the responsibilities which independence implies.

23. This problem has already arisen and has been solved in various ways. In some cases the independent countries have retained close links with the former metropolitan country, which provides them with equipment, technicians and financial assistance. It is precisely this type of co-operation which has been vilified as "neo-colonialism". We should find it impossible to agree with this attitude because the co-operation and assistance of the former dominating Power to its newly emancipated colony do not seem to us to be intrinsically evil but appear rather to be in keeping with the natural order of things. Who, after all, is more aware of the country's problems, who has greater experience of its needs, and who can provide it with better qualified technicians than the one that is thoroughly familiar with the country? This is said to be a prolongation of colonialism in another form, but do those who say this have any magic formula by which a country structurally in its infancy can alone, and without external aid, achieve the status of a mature nation?

24. There is of course a second formula: support from one or other of the great Powers which are competing for world influence. The new countries can—and legally there is nothing to prevent this—become "clients" in the Roman sense of the word, of one of these great Powers and receive assistance in exchange for full incorporation into its sphere of influence. But what, we may ask, has then been gained? What difference is there between maintaining bonds with a country with which, after all, links forged by past association still remain, and attachment to some new country, whose hegemony automatically implies entry as a passive element into the struggle for world power?

25. There is, however, a third solution, and we believe that all forces should be channelled towards it. This is collective assistance to new countries through an international organization.

26. If the former colonial Powers and the great Powers of the world want the new States to enjoy a prosperity which does not mean making feudal vassals of them nor aligning them with one of the camps in the cold war, then co-operation through international organizations must be regarded as the ideal solution. We are aware that this channelling of aid is not easy to achieve, and in the case of the Congo we have already seen the difficulties it involves. At the least, however, it is important for us to agree that this international co-operation, rather than individual assistance obtained as a result of conflicting influences, provides the solution which we should seek. In the meantime, until a climate favourable to that solution has been created, we refuse to condemn friendly co-operation at any level between the former metropolitan countries and the new countries, and even more do we

refuse to condemn this co-operation when the only alternative is the ideological and political incorporation of the new States into the factions that are struggling for world domination.

27. In making these remarks, it would be unfair not to point out, with reference to the great world Powers, that while the United States has strongly urged that international assistance to the emancipated colonies should be channelled mainly through the United Nations, the Soviet Union, by contrast, has so far done nothing to facilitate this. We have not lost hope, however, that there will be a change of attitude that will allow that great country to co-operate effectively in the effort to place the technical development of the new States under international protection at the level required by their newly acquired independence, and thus keep those countries aloof from the world struggle for power.

28. We cannot conclude these remarks on the assistance that should be provided to new countries without elucidating two basic points.

29. We believe, first of all, that although it may be legitimate for us to consider one form of assistance to be better than another, and although we believe that international assistance is the most beneficial for the recipient country and most conducive to the preservation of peace, we are nevertheless convinced that the final judge of these criteria is the recipient country itself. To place restrictions on its freedom of choice would be to impose conditions on the independence that has been granted to it and to diminish the full sovereignty which that independence implies.

30. Secondly, our support for the continuation of friendly co-operation between the former colonies and metropolitan countries refers only to co-operation that rests on effective equality and mutual respect.

31. We believe that it would be a farce, to which no serious State could lend itself, to grant nominal independence but in fact to maintain clandestine relations of dependency. We do not, however, have any reason to believe that such Machiavellian plans are being carried out, and we have complete faith in the sincerity with which the metropolitan Powers are encouraging the process of emancipation.

32. We have been told, and it has been proposed, that the colonial system should be brought to an immediate end. Our opinion of this proposal is as follows. We think that we have made clear, beyond all doubt, what our views are with regard to the liquidation of colonialism.

33. The problem, then, is not to decide for or against the colonial system, but rather to be prudent in the true Aristotelian sense of the word. Hence any proposal on this subject should, above all, take into account the information provided by actual facts.

34. Now what do the facts tell us? They tell us that the process of "decolonization", if I may be pardoned for the neologism, is going ahead at a rapid pace and will, without any need for artificial assistance, be largely accomplished in a very short space of time. In this respect, we may count upon the assurances given by the main colonial Powers. Also, the fact that this year the United Nations has admitted seventeen new countries, which were previously dependent on these Powers, provides in our opinion a firm guarantee that these assurances were not given in vain.

35. Naturally my Government does not oppose nor could it ever oppose any desire expressed in fulfilment of our common aspiration to see the colonial system come to an end as soon as possible, once and for all. We do not, on the other hand, believe that the fixing of a dead-line here and now would really accelerate the process. The situations are not all the same, and each one requires its own specific tempo. The important thing is to help to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and harmony that will facilitate the progressive and expeditious dissolution of the old colonial bonds. If they were to be broken in an atmosphere of hatred, the result would be to slow down the process and condemn the countries achieving emancipation to the alternative of chaos or a new and graver form of submission.

36. In declaring that the colonial era has ended, we cannot consider the process of emancipation to be complete so long as certain forms of domination by some States over others, which while not usually included under the term "colonialism" are nevertheless particularly odious and oppressive, persist in the world. Therefore, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without emphatically stating that if colonialism is to disappear, then there is equally good reason for the elimination of those forms of political and ideological oppression under which many millions of human beings in Europe and in Asia are living today. They also deserve our close attention and solidarity.

37. At this stage of the debate a large group of African-Asian countries has submitted a draft resolution which appears in document A/L.323 and Add.1. My delegation, after carefully examining this text, considers that in its general lines it coincides with the views I have just expressed, and we are therefore in principle ready to support it. My delegation naturally reserves the right to express further opinions on any revision or amendment that may be submitted.

38. In times such as those through which the African and Asian continents are now passing, it is natural that an atmosphere of optimism and elation should arise. These times remind us of the eve of the French Revolution when, in a fervent hour of liberation, the nobility and the clergy gave up century-old privileges. We should, nevertheless, issue a warning of the dangers that may lie ahead. The road that now awaits the new, free countries is, as the nations of Latin America know all too well, both difficult and tortuous.

39. We are convinced that fewer difficulties will be encountered on this road if the new nations will combine their national and continental aspirations with a spirit of generous universality. For this it is necessary that no bitterness should remain from the stage through which they have already passed. Their independence must really mark the beginning of an era dedicated entirely to the future.

40. Argentina greets the awakening of the new nations with optimism and hope and brings them its message of fraternal solidarity.

41. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): This is a day of salvation to millions of people living in colonial territories and other territories which are yet to be independent. For the first time, this world Organization is pronouncing itself on the fate of these millions. In fact, today, the General Assembly has taken up one of the most important problems of contemporary international politics, namely, the problem of the complete

eradication of colonialism from the world. From the earliest times to this very day, the problem of imperialism has vexed and puzzled the human conscience and men have never been able to find a satisfactory solution to it. Mankind has never been able to find any moral justification for the imposition of foreign rule by one country or race over another. The human mind can never justify imperialism, no matter how hard it tries, because it is morally indefensible and utterly unjustifiable for any group of people to claim that they have an inherent right to impose their rule, with all its attendant consequences, over others.

42. We have met on this momentous occasion to find a lasting and just solution to this problem and to abolish all the inequalities of imperialism. We are not here to engage in an idle or philosophical exercise, because we are dealing with an ever-present issue which endangers the very peace and stability of our present-day world. It is my delegation's view that the issue of the complete eradication of colonialism is inextricably bound up with the problem of establishing and maintaining peace and friendship among peoples of all races and civilizations. In the final analysis, peace and stability can come to the world only when all peoples are free and enjoy equal rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. This, then, is the noble task on which we have embarked at these historic plenary meetings of the General Assembly. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that no attempts will be made by any delegation to drag into our deliberations any extraneous factors or preoccupations.

43. The question with which we are dealing, namely, the burning desire and aspirations of millions of people who still live in the non-independent territories, is far too serious to be approached in a partisan or irresponsible spirit. Let us therefore deal in a constructive manner with the practical problems of securing freedom for such peoples as have not yet, in the words of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, attained a full measure of self-government. The colonial Powers have, I believe, accepted the solemn obligations of our Charter to promote to the utmost, as a sacred trust, the welfare of these peoples, to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of these peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions.

44. With the exception of Portugal and Spain, all the colonial Powers have co-operated with the United Nations in fully accepting the doctrine of international accountability contained in Chapters XI to XIII of the Charter, dealing with peoples living in Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. Ghana has always maintained that no part of Africa can be regarded as an extension of Europe. Continental pride alone will not suffer us to take kindly to Portuguese and Spanish claims. Now that the report of the Special Committee of Six [A/4526] has been approved by the Fourth Committee, my delegation appreciates the readiness of the Government of Spain to yield ground, and we hope that both Spain and Portugal will stop clinging to the juridical fiction that their possessions are "overseas provinces" and that they will furnish to the United Nations full information on these territories and will take immediate steps to transfer to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ifni and West Sahara all the powers which will enable them to enjoy their sovereignty and independence and to safeguard their territorial inter-

grity. Ghana calls upon Portugal and Spain to follow the example of France and the United Kingdom, which have seen the light of day, and to express their clear intention also to allow their territories in Africa and elsewhere to attain complete independence.

45. It is a source of gratification to my delegation that we have come to a juncture in history when we talk of the complete eradication of colonial rule. I must say that this is a splendid culmination of a process of development in international thinking and morality to which men of good will from all over the world have generously and valiantly contributed. Anti-colonialism is not the monopoly of one group or any race or philosophy or government. It has a long history, which, for convenience, we might date back to the first successful colonial revolutions of our time. I refer, indeed, to the revolutions of the Americans which overthrew the British and Spanish colonial rule in the Western Hemisphere and established the right of the peoples of this continent to live and develop as free men under political institutions of their own choice. The names of George Washington, Simón Bolívar and José Martí, who led the great anti-colonial revolutions against British and Spanish colonial rulers in the Americas, are known all over the world, and the deeds of these men have been sources of inspiration to the leaders of the national liberation movements throughout the world.

46. In fact, it was an Englishman, John Hobson, who in 1902 published a book entitled Imperialism in which he systematically examined the economic relations between the dependent peoples and their colonizers, mostly from the industrial nations of Europe, and thus gave a fruitful turn of meaning to this word which formed the title of his book. Other European thinkers, such as Lenin, starting from socialist assumptions, developed Hobson's analysis further to embrace more recent developments in the colonial world. Such analysis and writings no doubt influenced the thoughts and actions of a generation of leaders who later led the revolt against colonialism in Asia and Africa. It was, however, in the colonial world itself that the peoples, bent upon liberating themselves from alien rule, initiated their own anti-colonialist revolutions and drew on the rich experiences gained in ringing manifestos and resolutions which have become part of the history of our time.

47. In Africa, where many territories are still under foreign domination, words and positive action have not been lacking in making it clear to the colonizers that Africa wants to be completely free from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism. "Seek ye first the political kingdom," thundered Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, "and all other things will be added unto it." Then, to those who have maintained that Africa needs foreign domination, exploitation and Western culture because Africa is a dark continent, the following lines written by Dei-Anang of Ghana in his Africa Speaks are an answer:

"In the pages of the past,
In the faithless days of long ago,
When vision was short, and knowledge scant,
Men called me 'Dark Africa'.

Dark Africa?
I, who raised the regal pyramids,
And held the fortunes
Of conqu'ring Caesars
In my tempting grasp?

Dark Africa?

Who nursed the doubtful child
Of civilization
On the wand'ring banks
Of life-giving Nile,
And gave to the teeming nations
Of the West
A Grecian gift!

The dazzling glare of iron and steel
Sometimes obscures non-metal worth;
So when I disdained my pristine
Bows and arrows,
And cared not much for iron and steel,
They called me 'Dark' in all the world.

But dearer far than cold steel and iron
Is the tranquil art
Of thinking together
And living together.

Dark Africa?

Underneath the clotted roots
Of my kingly whistling palms,
I keep a treasure that none can measure.

Dark Africa!

My dawn is here:
Behold, I see
A rich-warm glow in the East,
And my day will soon be here."

48. There has been a tremendous reawakening in Africa. What Prime Minister Macmillan described during his recent visit to Africa as a "wind of change" is rather a raging hurricane sweeping all before it. The writings of Rousseau, Jefferson, Marx, Thomas Paine, Machiavelli and other political thinkers have had their influence. Thus, everywhere in Africa, Africans demand freedom, equality and justice: whether in Algeria, where the Algerian heroes are fighting for independence against the forces of France; whether in Central Africa, where Africans refuse to have imposed upon them political institutions which they do not like; whether in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique or East Africa, where Africans are opposed to racial segregation and refuse to allow a minority of Europeans to hold in ransom a majority of Africans, the struggle continues.

49. Mention must of course be made of that great gathering of peoples from Asia and Africa at Bandung in 1955, where our leaders collectively declared emphatically their unrelenting opposition to imperialism and colonialism in all its forms. In the final "communiqué" of that great historic conference, the peoples of Asia and Africa agreed:

"First, in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

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

50. These sentiments have subsequently found echoes in resolutions adopted at the conferences of the independent African States held at Accra, Monrovia and, more recently, at Addis Ababa. It must be recalled that the First Conference of Independent African States held at Accra from 15 to 22 April 1958 marked

a landmark in the history of the African continent. For the first time leaders of the independent African States came together to pool their ideas concerning problems confronting Africa. If in 1885 European Powers met in Berlin to decide what they should do to Africa, namely to scramble to Africa and to set up artificial frontiers, in April 1958 leaders of the independent African States met at Accra to undo that decision. Allow me to quote from the Addis Ababa Conference resolution on the eradication of colonial rule from Africa; it was a very important document:

"Recalling the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions of Accra and Monrovia proclaiming that colonialism in all its manifestations constitutes an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"Reaffirming that the subjugation of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

"Considering that Africa is the only continent where a large proportion of the inhabitants still live under colonial domination with all its privations and indignities;

"Considering further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the different nations;

"Believing that the restoration of the natural rights and human dignity to the Africans, in those parts of Africa at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of the hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our continent;

"...

"Urges the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the people concerned;

"Resolves that the Independent African States continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible peaceful means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa."

51. It must be said that the establishment of the United Nations coincided with a period of profound political transformation and revolution in Asia and Africa. At San Francisco fifteen years ago there was an awareness that something had to be done about the vast areas in Asia and Africa which were then under colonial domination. What prompted the United Nations at that time to draw a line between the former colonies of vanquished Germany on the one hand, and colonies under the rule of the victorious Allies on the other, remains a puzzle to my delegation. The principles of the sacred trust and international accountability should have been applied in full measure and equal intensity to all non-independent territories; but instead there were enshrined in the Charter a declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories and another one on Trusteeship, with the result that Trust Territories have, on the whole, moved faster towards independ-

ence than so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories. Another sorry result is that today the fate of South West Africa hangs fire. Nevertheless, after the Second World War it became quite clear that it would be impossible to restore the supremacy of Western Europe militarily or economically over large parts of Asia and Africa.

52. Those European countries which misjudged the temper of those times, and thought they could return and set up shop as if nothing had happened, learned to their bitter cost that the times have indeed changed. Great and once submerged nations were thus reborn. The emancipation of Asia from white domination and supremacy was triumphantly proclaimed. Almost all of these reborn nations joined the United Nations, thus enriching our Organization with their ancient wisdom and cultures. This movement, which began in Asia, has now become a general revolt against colonialism everywhere—a revolt against political stranglehold, economic exploitation and racial inequality. As I have already said, there is a great reawakening in Africa, where today the largest concentrations of dependent and non-self-governing peoples are to be found. In summing up the effects of these revolutions in Asia and Africa, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, over which I had the privilege to preside, noted in April 1960 the following:

"The number of Territories fell from seventy-four to fifty-five and the aggregate of population from approximately 215 million to approximately 113 million, a figure which includes a natural population increase in the remaining Territories of some 22 million over the period. In particular, the total number of Asian and Pacific peoples identified as belonging to Non-Self-Governing Territories was reduced from more than 113 million to less than 14 million. By the end of the period, the continent of Africa contained the last great groups of peoples, totalling some 96 million, whose political status had yet to be finally determined." [A/4371, part two, para. 10.]

53. Nigeria and the former French territories in Africa have since become independent, but the number of those still living under colonial rule in Africa runs into the millions. It is the fate of these millions that we are called upon here to decide. The vast and most beneficent change that has come over contemporary international society today is that the former colonial peoples are no longer passive objects of policy but driving forces—driving forces for peace, sanity and racial equality in a world torn by bitter ideological conflicts. They have taken the initiative in building a world from which the scourge of war will forever be banished. Today they spearhead the movement to translate the lofty aims of our Charter into concrete actions for the betterment of all mankind.

54. The thinking of all progressive people, therefore, seems to be directed towards the eradication of colonial rule and imperialism because it is now evident that the continuation of this iniquitous system of domination and exploitation poses a serious threat to international peace and stability. The urgent problems that are to be solved on the African continent today are largely colonial problems. There is an urgent task of granting freedom to the peoples of Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, the 11.5 million Africans of South Africa, Malta, Algeria and Mozam-

bique, to name only a few territories which are yet to be represented in this world Organization.

55. Then, there is the tragic question of them all, and I refer to the problem of Algeria. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism is now in its seventh year. About this great tragedy, I wish to quote briefly from an editorial captioned "Another Seven Years War" which appeared in The New York Times of Wednesday, 2 November 1960:

"The war in Algeria, which began with rebel raids on November 1, 1954, enters its seventh year amid rising international tensions, mounting discord in France itself and growing involvement of the Communist bloc seeking to make this unhappy land a pawn in the cold war.

"This conflict, which in French eyes is a civil war in which no outsiders must interfere, has already cost 150,000—mostly rebel—lives, with an additional 14,000—mostly Moslem—civilians killed by terrorists. It keeps the bulk of the French Army pinned down in Algeria to the detriment of the West's main front in central Europe. It saps France of \$1 billion a year. It raises the twin specters of Communist 'volunteers' in Algeria and another military coup in France.

"The special tragedy of this continued conflict is that both sides agree on the only possible solution for it. This solution is Algerian self-determination, offered by President de Gaulle, accepted by the rebels. But there is no agreement on giving practical effect to this proposal...."

56. I quote The New York Times because it is a paper that cannot be accused of being unsympathetic to the French point of view on this question. But even The New York Times sees clearly the tragedy and the futility of continuing a war which, to the mind of my delegation, will no doubt end only in the victory of the Algerian peoples and the establishment of an independent Algeria. Our world Organization must declare unequivocally that armed intervention against colonial peoples who demand their independence and sovereignty should be banned completely.

57. The solution of the colonial problem has thus become the most urgent problem of our time, and it is upon its solution that the peace, stability and orderly progress of our world depend. The profound aspirations of peoples who are still living under colonial rule in the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be fully realized if wars and racial conflicts are to be avoided. Reasons of inadequate economic, social or educational development must no longer be invoked as a pretext to delay the transfer of freedom and independence to these peoples. Their first and foremost demand is for freedom—freedom which will enable them to undertake the arduous tasks of international reconstruction and development.

58. What we are witnessing in the non-independent territories is what a great American has called the revolution of "rising expectations". The first objective of this resolution is to secure self-government and independence for peoples who still live under alien rule. Without freedom and independence, these peoples cannot hope to solve realistically and speedily their economic and social problems. It has been our experience in Ghana that national freedom and inde-

pendence have released our creative energies and have given a fillip to a tremendous enthusiasm and willingness for building a better material and spiritual life. It has been our noble task, as an economically less developed country, to strive with all our resourcefulness to conquer poverty and malnutrition and to build up adequate social, medical and educational services, thus making Ghana a fit country for heroes to live in. We have no doubt that other re-emergent countries are moving in the same direction.

59. One must never lose sight of the underlying economic and social factors of the great anti-colonial revolutions of our time. Colonialism created a world which was and is, to a large extent, still divided into advanced industrial and under-developed colonial peoples. This division of function, broadly corresponding with a division of political status, was for a long time the basis of the world economy; political inequality matched inequality of economic status, as well as racial inequality. This division of the world between advanced and so-called backward peoples led to the intensive industrialization of metropolitan areas, to the exclusion of the so-called dependent territories. Have these colonial territories not enormous resources which can help transform them to economically advanced countries? It was Sir Winston Churchill who, in his book My African Journey, observed:

"So much power running to waste, such a coign of vantage unoccupied, such lever to control the natural forces of Africa ungrasped, cannot but vex and stimulate the imagination."

60. But then, it has never been the policy of colonial Powers to develop the territories under them to an economically high level, because to them colonies must remain sources of raw materials and minerals. Thus it is that I do not know of any colonial territory in Africa which on the attainment of independence can be described as an economically advanced country. It is this sad legacy of colonialism that the anti-colonial revolution aims to destroy and to work for the type of a world economic system which will enable all peoples to enjoy a widely diffused and a high material and cultural standard of living. The pressing task of our time—and this will become more pressing after we have abolished colonialism—is the establishment of sound economic relations between the countries of Asia and Africa and the great industrial countries of Europe and America. Capital investment, technical assistance, planned national economies, planned international trade to protect the economies of these areas from excessive price fluctuations—these elements are necessary if the anti-colonial revolution is to be guided by the United Nations to a peaceful and successful consummation.

61. These great tasks of development can only be undertaken successfully in a world of freedom, independence and national dignity, and under governments freely chosen by these peoples without regard to race, creed or colour. Alien rule, no matter how benevolent or paternalistic, inhibits the free development of peoples, saps their creative energies and deprives them of their national self-respect and dignity. Foreign domination can never be a substitute for independence. Our task, therefore, is to liberate these peoples, to call upon the colonial Powers to take immediate steps to transfer to these peoples their God-given right to independence and sovereignty.

62. It is the conviction of my delegation that greater opportunities will be opened up for more fruitful international co-operation for economic and social development when all the countries that are still non-independent become free and their representatives join us here in the United Nations. We regard the independence of these peoples as a crucial and necessary step in building a world where all peoples, regardless of ideology, race, colour or creed, can co-operate in the establishment of those economic and social conditions which alone can guarantee peace and stability in our world.

63. I submit that our task is only beginning. We must first set these peoples free, so that they can join us here at the United Nations. Our next task will be to devise an appropriate machinery of international co-operation for the development of adequate economic, social and cultural standards for all peoples. I suggest, therefore, that, as a logical follow-up to the declaration which the General Assembly is about to adopt here, we also give serious thought to the speedy establishment of an international machinery which will provide adequate financial and technical aid to these peoples during the initial stages of their national reconstruction and development.

64. I hope that this General Assembly, before it adjourns, will take the first necessary steps to set up a United Nations capital development fund to aid all developing countries. If the rich countries of the world make available one per cent each of their national revenues to such a fund, this would help avoid East-West competition to win allies.

65. In conclusion, may I say that the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1, which is before this Assembly, has been prepared by forty-five Asian and African delegations whose countries have invariably passed through the colonial mill.

66. The declaration itself is self-explanatory. However, my delegation wishes to emphasize categorically, first, that Ghana is uncompromisingly opposed to colonialism in all its forms, and Ghana has no apology to render to anyone for this stand.

67. Secondly, we prefer complete independence with danger to servitude in tranquillity, and, therefore, we are firmly of the opinion that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never be used as a pretext to delay the transfer of sovereignty and independence.

68. Thirdly, Ghana believes that the attainment of independence should not be based on any conditions. In this regard, Ghana is opposed to colonial Powers who cajole nationalist leaders to sign military treaties permitting the establishment of military bases and to give economic concessions before independence, and we warn political leaders of this new colonialism which can be more devastating and soul-killing than the traditional colonialism which we all know.

69. Fourthly, Ghana calls upon all colonial Powers to eschew the use of armed action and other repressive acts directed against freedom fighters.

70. Fifthly, it is the firm view of Ghana that immediate measures should be initiated by the colonial Powers to hand over all powers, including the exercise of sovereignty, to all territories that are not yet

independent, in accordance with their legitimate wishes for freedom and independence. If this is done now, Ghana believes that by 1962 all Africa, including Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique, will be free.

71. Lastly, Ghana reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and is strongly of the belief that the United Nations should serve as a bulwark against all attacks on the territorial integrity, unity and independence of nations.

72. I would like to express the hope of my delegation that this draft declaration submitted by African-Asian States will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly. This is not a document that should give rise to any partisan rancour. We are here dealing with the hopes and aspirations of millions of people who still live in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories of the world and who look to the United Nations to help them in their long and arduous march towards freedom and independence. Indeed, we would be failing in our duty if we were to forget these peoples and allow this debate to degenerate into one more fruitless exercise in the so-called cold war. History and, indeed, the silent millions in the under-developed areas who are carefully listening to our proceedings, will not forgive us if we allow our endeavours here to be bedevilled by irrelevant ideological wranglings. We should come out boldly and support the right of these peoples to freedom and independence. All of us—those of us from erstwhile colonial areas and those who presently colonize and administer alien peoples—should vote for an end to colonialism now and for the restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all peoples without regard to race, colour or creed.

73. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the question of colonialism is brought to the foreground on the platform of this Organization, which has opened its doors wide to it. In past years it is undeniable that colonial issues, whether in the General Assembly or in its Committees, have been examined under one item or the other, but never before has colonialism in its entirety been projected into the full light, into full-fledged discussion, with the lofty hope of collective action worthy of the authority of the United Nations and its dignity.

74. I preface my statement with this firm and sincere hope, for the problem of colonialism ranks uppermost in the history of human relations. It stands as high as a giant in the field of international relations. It involves political captivity, economic domination, social enslavement and cultural subjugation that affect not only the colonial peoples but human society as a whole. To measure its devastating evils, it is sufficient to know that colonialism involves at the present time the future of 100 million people. This fact, treated in passing, may sound of ordinary significance. It may not arouse deep reflection or provoke our imagination. Yet, when we pause for a steady focus, the picture shows up in all its shades and colours, and indeed in all its dimensions. The picture, then, presents the realities of the lives of millions and millions of people; their food—I dare say their starvation; their clothing—I dare say their nakedness; their shelter—I dare say their exposure; their education—I dare say their ignorance; their health—I dare say their debility; their social and economic progress—I dare say their social and economic misery.

75. All this should invite our attention to the importance of the problem. Colonialism is no casual problem which we can examine with our minds at leisure, and with our hearts at ease. It is a problem we should discuss with an alert mind, a lively heart and a restless soul. Of all international problems except disarmament, colonialism is second to none. In fact, colonialism, war and disarmament are the three unscrupulous musketeers that are driving the vehicle of humanity into the abyss—and what an abyss—of annihilation. I have placed colonialism first in order, because war for colonialism is the institution, and armaments are its tools. Armaments are not the great toys and hobbies of humanity; they are the grim reaper of mankind, and colonialism is the harvest. Neither is war an end in itself. All through our history, people did not war for war; they warred to achieve usurpation and exploitation. In plain terms, they warred to usurp the wealth of a territory and exploit the possessions of its people. They warred to realize high returns at a cheap cost, cheap labour and cheap raw materials. They warred to conquer a new ground of exploitation, to expand or to defend what had already been conquered. Even the First World War of 1914, which was thought to be one of ideas and ideals, was principally motivated by colonialism. In the words of Dr. Moon, an American authority on international affairs:

"The catastrophe of 1914 was not brought about by the personal vagaries of William Hohenzollern... The very alignment of European powers was dictated by imperialism, not by race or democracy or kinship of culture ... Imperialism is the root and 'raison d'être' of world politics"

76. I do not need to heap the evidence in support of this valid assertion. It is enough to recall that colonialism was behind many treaties, many alliances, many "ententes" and many conferences. Indeed, colonialism was behind the paradox of converting friends into enemies, of making enemies out of friends. In a word, colonialism has been the greatest single factor in history to make bad history. And what history is as bad as that when our generation was destined to witness two-thirds of the world's population groaning under the yoke of colonialism?

77. It is common knowledge that on the eve of the Second World War ten imperialist nations possessed colonies and protectorates seven times the size of Europe. It was estimated that, out of the two billion people inhabiting this planet, one-and-a-half billion were living under the régime of colonialism in company with disease, ignorance and poverty—the most notorious enemies of mankind. The estimate has revealed that every man, woman and child in Great Britain had ten colonial subjects, black, brown and yellow; and that for every acre in France there were twenty in the French colonies. At that time colonies were very much bigger than the so-called mother country. The colonies of Italy were six times the size of Italy; of Portugal, twenty-three times that of Portugal; and of Belgium, eighty-one times the size of Belgium. Hence, contrary to the rules of creation, the child was manifoldly bigger than its parents; indeed all the parents put together.

78. This picture has materially changed. The dimensions of colonialism have decreased and the forces of liberty have increased. Liberty has triumphed and many victories have been scored. The struggle of

peoples for freedom, their yearnings for independence, their stirrings for economic betterment, their agitations for social advance, and in a word, their strivings for human fulfilment, have reversed the wrongful trend of history. Empires have fallen, shattered into splinters, and colonialism was withdrawing in retreat after retreat because liberty was scoring triumph after triumph.

79. The outcome, the glorious outcome, is now with us. Many nations here in the Assembly Hall have achieved their independence; indeed, I would say they have captured their independence. They entered the United Nations—indeed they have forced open its doors—and now they are here in the United Nations occupying their worthy seats, outnumbering their old masters. Many of their representatives, even those who come here to the rostrum of this Assembly, come from jails, from concentration camps and from detention cells as sovereign equals with their jailers.

80. The other day, when the question of the Congo was discussed in the General Assembly, I saw with my own eyes in this passage in the middle of this house, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, kneeling down on his knees and speaking before the delegations of Ghana and Nigeria, begging of them not to press for their proposal. Fortunately or unfortunately, the cameramen of the United Nations missed this historic occasion, that historic pose.

81. This is how the trend of events has been reversed from retrogression into progression, from monstrous history into glorious history and from the abyss of degradation into the heights of human dignity.

82. But the battle for freedom is not yet at an end. We still have an unfinished task to do. We must do it, here and now, at this session and in this Assembly. At this historic moment, when we are debating colonialism, we must recall that many a people in many a country are still chained in colonialism. Call them what you will—colonies, trust territories, non-self-governing countries, dominated areas—the simple truth cries out with anger and vehemence that 100 million people are still under the heels of foreign rule. And mind you, these 100 million souls are listening to our deliberations with mounting hope and promise. They are waiting for your voices to champion their freedom; for your resolutions to sponsor their liberty; and for your votes in support of their independence. That is their right and this is our duty. The dominated peoples are entitled to overthrow this domination, even by the force of arms, and the United Nations is duty-bound to declare its end. In fairness, I should say, this obligation of the United Nations has long been overdue, and it is high time to discharge our obligations, with no delay and without hesitation.

83. Surely our obligation in this regard has been overdue for a long time in the past. In the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in a host of United Nations resolutions, we have pledged ourselves to respect the principle of self-determination for all peoples, large and small. But colonialism is still reigning in many parts of the world.

84. Even in our books, in the United Nations books, the world is classified into dependent and independent peoples, thus consecrating the ugliest discrimination in the treatment of the human race. Dependence,

as a status, must be finished and liquidated forever. By doing so the United Nations will truly become a United Nations. We have no valid title, at least to our name as a United Nations, when 100 million people are not with us in this Organization as fully independent and fully sovereign peoples. They must be with us, not as they have been, so far, as subjects of discussion, or as topics of debates; they should be with us as fully sovereign States and fully independent Members.

85. If colonialism is the impediment, then colonialism should be destroyed, and destroyed forever, and we have the task of destroying it. All peoples should become free. Men are born free, and no man should be allowed to enslave man. This is not only right and just, but it is the dictate of human brotherhood under the fatherhood of God.

86. This is no sermon preached to a religious congregation; neither is our Organization a worshipping house. This is simply a reiteration of our obligations, and a reaffirmation of our objectives. In fact, it is a summation of our Charter to which we have all solemnly subscribed. And if disarmament, as aptly described by Premier Khrushchev, is the problem of problems, then colonialism, I submit, is the evil of all evils, and we have to destroy colonialism, root and branch. This is the unfinished task which we must finish.

87. But this voice does not come only from the newly independent nations. This has been the voice of humanity ever since man started to dominate man. Even when colonialism was at its peak there were heroic voices condemning colonialism. At a time when the frontiers of the British Empire were racing with the setting and rising of the sun, there were many leading Englishmen condemning British imperialism. Jeremy Bentham, father of British radicalism, in a letter published in 1830 under the title "Emancipate Your Colonies", stressed that colonies involve a great military and naval expense, the danger of foreign war, and political corruption in the mother country. This was said just as though he were speaking to this Organization in 1960.

88. Along the same lines, James Mill, in his article in the 1818 supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, exposed colonialism and its evils. But the most devastating attack has come from Richard Cobden, the apostle of free trade. He called the British Government of that era "a standing conspiracy to rule and bamboozle the people". Probably "bamboozle" is a word foreign to our century, but these are the words of the British gentleman.

89. No matter how polite and courteous one can be, the fact cannot be avoided that colonialism, from beginning to end, is nothing but the exploitation of weak peoples and the usurpation of their wealth. I do not myself wish to use the words "robbery" or "bamboozle", for robbery is inherent in colonialism itself.

90. Of course, colonialism was not left without defence. But this is the case of the culprit who establishes himself as his own judge and pronounces his own innocence. The attempt was always abortive and it simply proved the guilt, and what a most heinous guilt it was.

91. Colonialism, it was claimed, has a civilizing mission, a "mission sacrée", towards the black race. In accordance with this baseless premise, the white man has a right to exercise, a duty to discharge and

a burden to shoulder. The white man's burden is the whole philosophy of colonialism. But this philosophy was exposed by its own philosophers. It was Rudyard Kipling, the poet of imperialism, who sang:

"Take up the white man's burden,
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child."

92. The truth, I submit, is that colonialism is the devil itself. Colonialism is not the white man's burden. It has proved to be the white man's spoil and prize. If it had been a burden at all, it is because the white man was overburdened with the wealth of the black, with the treasure of the brown and with the riches of the yellow. This is the burden of the white man with which he was overburdened.

93. Yet the white man can legitimately be asked, and I put the question now: who has entrusted you with this burden to shoulder? And who has vested you with that right to exercise? And who has charged you with this obligation to discharge? Of the millions and millions of white men, let one single white man volunteer the answer—but a sensible answer.

94. You cannot deny that an answer to these questions has been attempted by many architects of colonialism. In this field the French have proved to be the cleverest advocates for a losing case. In 1886, Alfred Rambaud, a professor at the Sorbonne, wrote a whole volume in justification of colonialism, with a boastful title: *La France coloniale*. This title is enough to blemish the case of colonialism. In 1870, Beaulieu, a French economist, wrote to say that: "Every day that passes convinces me more and more of the importance of colonization in general, and its importance above all to France." So, above all, it is France which is at stake. More recently, in 1924, Victor Beauregard, in his book *L'empire colonial de la France*, declared: "The study of history reveals a conclusion which has the certainty of an axiom: France more than any other nation has a genius for colonization." This is a genius fallacy, and if this is an axiom then it is an axiom of fallacy. For shortly after this reference to the genius of France, the writer went on to say: "The future of France is in her colonies." So it was France, not the colonies, which was at stake.

95. But the true axiom is that colonialism is not a "mission sacrée", it is a "mission 'désacrée' ". What is behind colonialism is subordinated markets, subverted consumers and usurped raw materials. Behind colonialism there is a dominating capital, land dispossession and forced labour—all in the interest of colonizers, under the umbrella of civilization.

96. Right from the very beginning, colonialism was launched as a campaign to capture business, to capture trade and industry—all carried out with a determined purpose of exploitation. Just remember the names of those great enterprises: the East India Companies, the West India Companies, the Levant Companies and the African Companies. And remember too that these companies had armies and mercenary troops which later built those vast empires. There is a lengthy record of confessions by empire builders themselves that the white man's burden is a pale argument. Colonialism is meant primarily to serve the interests of the so-called mother country. And what affection is it to starve the child and nourish the mother? The granting of independence to colonial territories is an economic liberation, for colonialism was intended

initially as an economic domination. The record of colonialism is most eloquent, and here again the record of France rises above every record.

97. In 1884, the French Premier, Jules Ferry, declared in these terms: "The superior races"—and here France is speaking in terms of race superiority—"have a right as regards inferior races ... if France refrained from imperialism she would descend from the first rank to the third or the fourth". Hence colonialism for France is not to help the ascent of its colonies, but to avoid the descent of France to the fourth rank.

98. Again in 1890, the French Premier disclosed that "colonial policy is the daughter of industrial policy". If these words by the Prime Minister of France have any meaning, they only mean that a colony to France is nothing but a market, to sell at the highest price goods made of raw materials bought at the cheapest, with labour at the lowest. Nothing betrays the motives of French colonialism more than this statement by the Prime Minister of France himself.

99. In the same vein, in 1881, Mr. Gambetta justified the conquest of Tunisia, which is now an independent and fully sovereign State represented in the United Nations, in the Chamber of Deputies as follows: "Tunisia is necessary for our material prosperity." Thus it is the prosperity of France not the prosperity of Tunisia which was at stake.

100. Later, in 1895, Mr. Chautemps, Minister of Colonies, described himself—and it is interesting and amusing for the Minister of Colonies so to describe himself—as "in reality a Second Minister of Commerce". This is colonialism and we speak of a "mission sacrée", and the Minister of Colonies says that he is a "Second Minister of Commerce". I say in all humility that he should have described himself as the "First Minister of Commerce".

101. In 1882, Beaulieu, the French economist, exposed French colonialism to the last point of exposure. In plain terms he stated that "colonization is for France a question of life and death". So the matter is not the life and death of the colonial peoples. The heart of the matter is the life of France and the death of France. The colonial people are to live as they could, and they are to die as they should. They are left to their fate, to the mercy of destiny.

102. Thus colonialism is not exposed by its enemies but rather it is defeated by its very authors, by its philosophers, by its engineers, by its dreamers and schemers. The architects of colonialism, the builders of empires, whether dreamers or otherwise, have all gone. But they have left behind them a volume of confessions demonstrating the brutalities of colonialism and demolishing forever the fallacy of humanitarianism as a motive for colonialism. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century, when colonialism was at its peak, that it was stripped naked as a heinous institution primarily intended for usurpation and exploitation on an international scale. I say on an international scale because the words of the notorious imperialist of Great Britain, Cecil Rhodes, are still ringing in our ears. Speaking of the world of the nineteenth century Cecil Rhodes said:

"The world is nearly all parcelled out, and what there is left of it is being divided up, conquered and colonized ... If there be a God"—this is his challenge,

the challenge of the British imperialists—"I think what He would like for me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible ..."

Finding the world too small to meet the greed of British colonialism, Cecil Rhodes went on to say: "I would annex the planets if I could, I often think of that. It makes me sad to see them so clear and yet so far."

103. These words, I submit, about dividing, conquering and parcelling the world, as well as painting the map of Africa British red as much as possible, are a vivid expression of colonialism in its classical concept. But the greed, the fiery greed to annex the planets simply discloses that British imperialism of the nineteenth century, not satisfied with colonialism on earth, was hoping for colonialism in outer space. Today, the United Kingdom stands for the peaceful uses of outer space. It does not harbour any plans for colonialism in outer space, probably because it is so far behind in the race for planets.

104. The granting of independence to colonial peoples has another human aspect. In addition to bringing about economic liberation, independence leads to spiritual emancipation. It is a restoration of human dignity and a rehabilitation of human personality. Colonialism is based on race superiority. The supremacy of the whites is the fountainhead from which flows the entire philosophy of colonialism. Colonialism has two gospels—one to preach, on the ground of the white man's burden, and the other to practise, in an unquenchable thirst for prize and hunger for spoils. But the gospel to preach, which is supposed to inculcate an idea or propagate a principle, is drenched with the most shocking ideology—race supremacy.

105. Speaking of British colonialism, Cecil Rhodes declared: "I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race." This is a blend of a paradox and a complex. It is a paradox that a superior race should condescend to rob the inferior race; and the complex is too flagrant to explain, a superiority complex.

106. But the stubborn reality is that it is human greed and not human grade which is the driving force of colonialism. It is not the gospel of "live and let live". "Live, and let no one else live" is the real gospel of colonialism.

107. This state of affairs is no past history. For all intents and purposes, this is present history. In classifying the world of today the phrase has been coined, here in the United Nations, "the haves and the have-nots". This terminology has found respectable room even in our records. It is a fact that of the 2 billion human beings on earth, one and a half billion are poor, incredibly poor. That explains why the "haves" are the minority and the "have-nots" are the majority. The minority are richer and have better living conditions; the majority are poor, living in misery. Surprisingly, however, the "have-nots" are richer in area, in mineral wealth and in material resources. Why, then, are they poor, incredibly poor? The answer is colonialism. The colonialism of the nineteenth century explains the poverty of the twentieth century. Colonialism is the "raison d'être" for classifying the nations of the world into the "haves" and the "have-nots".

108. In our United Nations books—in estimates and statistics—we are often faced with staggering figures

about the national economy of the various States Members of the United Nations. The fact is frequently referred to, with pride, that certain States have a high standard of living while others have a low one. For instance, the United Kingdom, France and Belgium are shown to have a high standard of living, while countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are shown to have a low standard of living. This is no credit to the rich, and no shame for the poor. It is not any particular genius which made the Western countries richer; neither is it because of a natural disability that the other countries are poorer. Colonialism is the explanation of the whole phenomenon of disparity. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, because of ages of colonialism, have been robbed of their gold, their diamonds, their cotton, their silk, their ivory, their spices, their drugs, their rubber, their oil, their animal wealth, and many times even robbed of their fabulous museums, including the dead kings and queens.

109. That is the whole story of the "haves and the have-nots" traced down to the very root of colonialism. The state of poverty and backwardness now prevalent in many areas of the world is the direct legacy of colonialism. The dominated peoples—those that have become independent and those on the waiting list—have a colossal and outstanding debt to claim. What is extended to them now in the form of economic assistance, grants-in-aid, technical assistance, or anything you please, is only a fraction of the grand total of that debt. It is not a moral debt, but one admitted and confessed with all the attributes of legal indebtedness. Just let me give you one illustration. Speaking on British colonial policy, Joseph Chamberlain said: "The Empire is commerce." Joseph Chamberlain summed up in two words what two volumes cannot say: "The Empire is commerce."

110. This empire of commerce was further portrayed by a well-known British imperialist. In a speech before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1884, Henry Stanley said the following:

"There are 40 million people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton-spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are flowing with the red metal that will be made into iron-work for them and trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms."

Such plain words call for no comment; they are self-explanatory. They go to show how colonialism has raised the standard of living in Manchester and Birmingham and how the whole of Africa was left in poverty and misery.

111. The present disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots" could be eliminated and, to be more precise, its elimination could be speeded up by the granting of independence to all dependent countries. Since freedom and peace are indivisible, so economic prosperity also should be indivisible. The economic freedom of dependent countries requires now a chivalrous venture, at least as an expression of repentance on behalf of the colonial Powers, for their enslavement was the result of adventures devoid of chivalry. At times this colonialism of commerce was so outspoken that it required no evidence to prove it. A genius imperialist like Disraeli announced in his famous Crystal Palace speech that imperialism was one main objective in his policy. In practice, Disraeli showed himself to be a big contributor to colonialism

as we find it in its present picture. Disraeli had many connexions with the Rothschilds and many other financiers. When the offer was made for the sale of shares in the Suez Canal enterprise, Disraeli, without waiting for a Parliamentary appropriation, immediately accepted the offer—an adventure which, as we know, added another chapter to the history of imperialism in the Middle East. But, to meet the offer, Disraeli had to borrow £4 million sterling from the Rothschilds; and we are told by Professor Moon, a well-known American authority on international relations, that the Rothschilds made £100,000 on this transaction.

112. This is only one instance to show how the wealth of the people was robbed, how fabulous profit was made and, finally, how colonialism has led to this economic disparity from which most of the nations of the world are suffering up to the present moment.

113. I might at this stage mention that it was this Rothschild who on 2 November 1917 received a letter from the British Foreign Secretary promising the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was Mr. Rothschild, this gentleman who made £100,000 on one single transaction, who received that promise for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

114. I bring this matter to the attention of the Assembly because, in examining colonialism, we should not forget that the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine originated, right from the very beginning as an imperialist policy—just as other imperialist policies have been carried out in Africa, Asia or Latin America. In establishing a Jewish Home in Palestine, the British policy, shared and supported by the United States, has proved to be the ugliest form of imperialism. Colonialism has receded from many parts of the world leaving the land for its people, and the people in their land. But as enforced in Palestine, colonialism has led to the infiltration of one million Jews and the expulsion of one million Arabs, now living as refugees in their camps, as victims of imperialism and colonialism, in its ugliest form. However, the day is soon coming when the refugees will go back to their homeland, their country emancipated from Zionist occupation; and, with full sovereignty, will join the United Nations as the free and independent State of Palestine, embracing all the legitimate citizens of the country: Moslems, Christians and Jews alike.

115. In the remaining areas, consolation is not absent. Having reached its climax in the nineteenth century, colonialism in the twentieth century is now witnessing its own decline. In the past fifteen years, some 1,500 million human beings have destroyed their chains and have gone free. It was the biggest battle that restored liberty to more than half the world's population. Figures are sometimes more telling than volumes. Think of these figures and what they mean. They mean that, when established, the United Nations represented only one-half of the world, and that the second half was still under the yoke of colonialism. Now we have reached the stage where only 100 million peoples remain in this international captivity. The ratio of emancipation in the past fifteen years has been 100 million per year. It is, therefore, imperative that the United Nations should declare, here and now, in this Assembly, the liberty of the 100 million of our friends, of our brethren who are still in bondage. They are our brethren in spite of their race, in spite of their colour,

in spite of their creed and faith, because we stand for no discrimination on any ground; and this is a test case for those who stand for no discrimination, to support the draft resolution sponsored by the African-Asians [A/L.323 and Add.1]. These brethren of ours are scattered far and wide on this planet, but they are united in their struggle for freedom, and their languishing for liberty.

116. The people of Palestine, Kenya, Oman, Aden, extremities of the Arabian peninsula, Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, West Irian, Malta, and other parts of the world should be set free in their homelands. Algeria in particular is a burning issue because war in Algeria enters now its seventh year. The people of Algeria are entitled to what we are entitled. They should be free as we are, have independence as we have, and enjoy dignity as we do. All human beings are born free, and as our great Caliph said, "By what right do you enslave the people when their mothers have begot them free?"

117. The colonial peoples have an inherent right to freedom, and it is our duty to recognize it and declare it. I stress recognition for I submit that the phrase, "the granting of independence", which was used in the memorandum of the Soviet Union [A/4501], for me is not a happy expression. The freedom of 100 million people is their privilege, not our grace. It is their inherent right not our grant.

118. Be that as it may, the argument has often been adduced that these people are now under tutelage and that their economic and social advancement requires that such tutelage should continue for some time. Well, this is an antiquated argument not worthy of the spirit of the day. This is a pale argument which is really worthy of a pale smile.

119. These people have been under tutelage for decades and some of them for ages. How long should we wait for this weary ordeal—for this painful trial—for this bitter experiment—an experiment on human beings, not an experiment on animals or senseless material? If the past tutelage has not been able, thus far, to raise these people from dependence to independence, then the tutelage is a failure, and the United Nations should put an end to this failure. There is also the recent plea drawn of the Congo situation. Some voices—and I would say, remnants of imperialism—are labouring to show that the Congo situation is a forceful illustration to warn against the untimely granting of independence. This is the latest fashion of logic, designed by the habitual designers of political fashion—and I would say, ugly political fashion. But this logic lacks every quality of real logic. To impeach such an argument, it is sufficient to know that it has been put on the market by the enemies of liberty, by the enemies of freedom.

120. The situation in the Congo, however, is an argument in the direction of freedom, not in the denial of freedom. The crisis of the Congo is not the outcome of speedy independence or untimely granting of independence. It is the outcome of speedy aggression against a newly emerging independence. Had the Congo been left on its own, the whole crisis would have been averted, the United Nations forces would not have been assembled, the Congo would not have become an item on the agenda of the United Nations, and the imperialists would not have been furnished with a poor illustration in favour of colonialism.

121. All these arguments, or to be more precise, these shallow arguments, fall to the ground. The colonial peoples should be set free. Let them go their way. They will take good care of themselves. They will look after their economic development, their social betterment, and their cultural advancement. They will be in safe hands because they will be in their own hands. There is nothing more useful, nothing more fruitful and nothing more honourable than to be on your own. And nothing is more gratifying for a people than to construct their national life in their own hands. Behind this reconstruction would be their own hands, their minds, their souls and their hearts. The result would no doubt be, not this decaying evolution of tutelage, but the revolutionary evolution of independence.

122. Take Ghana as an illustration. The potentials of water power have been lying dormant in Ghana for years during the colonial régime. With independence, the Volta River project, which shall make of Ghana an industrial plant, is now in execution. So is the case of Guinea with its dramatic projects. They have been lying dormant in the archives, here and there, under foreign domination.

123. Take the United Arab Republic—the project of the Aswan Dam was slumbering in the archives for decades. With real independence, under President Nasser, the project is now between the jaws of the most efficient equipment for development.

124. Take China, for so long dismembered, dominated and humiliated; it has become with independence a production giant, rightly termed the impatient giant. Impatient with time, China is endeavouring to catch up—and I am not bringing in the political implications of China.

125. And lastly, take India and Pakistan which had been, before independence, in complete stagnation. After independence, these two countries have become a beehive of plans and projects.

126. I will not proceed with more illustrations, for the one and a half billion peoples who have been liberated in the past fifteen years, are the greatest illustration of the greatest human experience.

127. One last point should not escape our attention. With colonialism brought to an end, the Trusteeship Council should be brought to an end also. In fact, the United Nations Trusteeship is an institution in the image of the Mandates System of the League of Nations. It is sad that the Trusteeship Council should remain up to this moment a principal organ of the United Nations, an organ which expresses the domination of the people, and still we should admit that one of the principal organs of the United Nations is handling colonialism and people of dependent status.

128. Equally sad is the term "self-government", which was assigned by the Charter as the goal to which the Trust Territories should be led. The final goal should have been expressly declared as independence, instead of the feeble, poor and miserable expression of self-government. When the question of trusteeship was discussed in San Francisco in 1945, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov recommended that the purpose of the trusteeship should be independence. At that time, only the Philippine delegation stood for independence against self-government, and this is an occasion for me to admire the Philippines. Unfortunately, the opposition was led by the United States representative, Mr. Stettinius, who insisted that it be

phrased as self-government. We hope that at this session our colleague from the United States will be ready to co-sponsor the idea of the elimination of the Trusteeship Council and this poor and miserable expression of self-government. Let us stand for direct independence and be direct and honest in our expressions. There is no shame in independence that we should hide behind this expression that has no meaning.

129. But this is now past history. Whether it is independence or self-government, let us now make a new history more worthy of our age. Let us declare the independence of all peoples, wherever they be and to what race or colour they may belong. Let us liqui-

date colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, from wherever it may come. Let us wind up imperialism in all its manifestations, and let us set free all peoples in all lands.

130. Each of the ninety-eight nations represented in this Organization, and I make no mistake about the number, has an independence day. Let us make this day an independence day for the whole world, so that with joy and pride we can commemorate a glorious achievement, liberty for all, sovereignty for all, independence for all and, what is more, a United Nations for all.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.