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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. U THANT (Burma): At the outset, let me offer the sincere thanks of my delegation to the delegation of the Soviet Union for having submitted a request [A/4501] for the inscription on our agenda of the item which we are now considering.

2. Since the end of the Second World War, the problem of colonialism has been engaging the attention of leaders of thought all over the world, and perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the post-war period has been the awakening of national consciousness on the part of peoples under colonialism. Immediately after the war, a profound change took place—a change which has affected the political landscape of the whole world. This change has been mainly centred in the continents of Asia and Africa.

3. It will be recalled that the long war years witnessed the sharp deterioration of relations between the rulers and the ruled. The strain and stress resulting from the bitter war were the culmination of a long and painful period of struggle for freedom by peoples under foreign domination. Peoples who hitherto were not sufficiently developed to be animated by any conscious desire for independence, were then demanding the same rights of national sovereignty which more advanced States long ago acquired.

4. It must be admitted that the European nations have benefited immensely by the discovery of vast regions possessing natural wealth where capital could be profitably developed and labour was cheap. The impact of Western civilization on the backward populations, most of whom had many centuries of their own type of civilization, has proceeded on imperialist lines. Usually the missionary and the explorer have been the pioneers, but the trader and the colonial civil servant followed in their wake. It must also be admitted that without this impact, the conditions of many of the native races would presumably have remained relatively primitive. But the incentive which has produced the impact has been the commercial enterprise of the European nations.

5. Whenever one discusses the question of colonialism one is apt to ask the question whether the im-

perialist method has morally justified itself, whether the impact of Western civilization has brought more blessings than evils on the subject peoples. Undoubtedly, the colonial record can claim to have controlled or eliminated some of the worst excesses of primitive life, such as the torture of prisoners or the tyranny of autocratic rulers. It has introduced hospitals and better sanitation. It has attempted to combat ignorance as well as disease.

6. Nevertheless, against these and other substantial reforms must be reckoned many features and tendencies which have counteracted these progressive influences. Chief among them is the fact that the primary motive of the colonial Power in developing the natural resources of a colony has been its own commercial profit. Consequently, the greater proportion of the wealth extracted from the soil has gone into the pockets of the colonial investors. The Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) has been a classic example. Though the native standard of living may have been raised, it has been in the inevitable interest of the colonizers to keep profits high and, therefore, wages low.

7. Moreover, the cultural effect of the impact of European civilization has been offset by the fact that the European community has carefully segregated itself from native society. Clubs and railway carriages have been reserved strictly for Europeans, and this organized racial discrimination has created bitter resentment in the minds particularly of the educated subject peoples. Above all, the growth of national consciousness among the native peoples has meant a craving for political independence and an increasing antagonism against the white settlers who, whatever the economic and social improvements they have introduced, are regarded as aliens who have seized power and who have no moral title to this possession.

8. One great European colonial Power saw the imperative need to change the whole picture at the end of the Second World War. Britain fixed a definite date for ending its power in India, Pakistan and Burma. At once a catalytic element was introduced into Anglo-Asian relations, to which all else had to react. The day of liberation became a goal, a challenge and an aspiration. Hostility and bitterness melted away, and now, as far as my country is concerned, a very warm friendship with Britain has taken the place of the accumulated bitterness of a hundred years. I wish I could say the same thing regarding other colonial Powers, but the current happenings in the great continent of Africa clearly indicate that similar praise cannot be bestowed on those other masters. That is why this item, introduced by the Soviet Union, is, in the view of my delegation, a most timely one.

9. As I have stated in a previous session of the General Assembly, there is a very true historical maxim: When independence is too long postponed, a mood of frustration and desperation occurs which breeds un-

desirable traits like bitterness and hatred. If a country has to win independence too late, then some extreme forces come to the surface and become dominant. This certainly does not help the cause of democracy, which most of us desire, nor the cause of friendship and amity between nations.

10. Realizing, therefore, that all dependent peoples have a passionate yearning for freedom and the end of colonialism in all its manifestations, and being convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the Prime Ministers of five Asian countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan—at the Bogor Conference, jointly sponsored the convening of the Asian-African Conference and invited twenty-five Asian-African countries to take part in it. With the exception of the Central African Federation, all these countries accepted the invitation. The Conference which took place in Bandung, Indonesia, has become history. It met from 18 to 24 April 1955, and with the unanimous agreement of the participating countries, the Conference completed its historic task, issued its final communiqué and a Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, and defined the objectives which the participating countries would jointly strive for.

11. I need not go into the significance of this Bandung Declaration nor its impact on world history. I will say only that opposition to colonialism in all its manifestations and the striving for and safeguarding of national independence were the basic themes of the Conference. Twenty-nine Asian-African countries declared with one voice that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end.

12. Since then many dependent territories have regained their birthright of independence, but many more are still in colonial bondage. For the sake both of peace and of stability, immediate steps must be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of dependent territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. It is also of the utmost importance that all armed action and repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples cease.

13. This of course does not mean that the colonial Powers must do away with the ordinary police force which has to perform the normal and legitimate function of suppressing crime. Here a sharp distinction must be drawn between ordinary crimes and political actions. One great mistake of the colonial Powers has been, and still is, their failure to distinguish nationalist leaders from criminals. It is a commonplace that almost all the leaders of new nations happen to have spent a good part of their lives in colonialist prisons.

14. With all these considerations in mind, my delegation, along with thirty-nine other Asian-African delegations, has sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-4, and I would appeal to the Assembly to give it unanimous support.

15. Before I conclude, let me deal very briefly with one aspect of post-independence phenomena prevailing in many countries which disturbs many observers of the world scene. This relates to the absence of democratic trappings in the set-up of several newly-independent countries. Almost all the nationalist movements are led by a class of people who are, in

a sense, privileged people, that is, who have had the privilege of education—for in Africa this is still a facility enjoyed by few—and who are thus in a very advantageous position in relation to their other fellow countrymen. Through a variety of circumstances, this educated class fights in the vanguard of independence movements, and the transfer of power in most cases goes to this class. It would be a mistake to assume that the political institutions and forms of democracy in most of the newly-independent countries will be of the same type as those prevailing in Britain or the United States, or that there will necessarily be two main parties competing against each other for the votes of the people. The notion that democracy requires the existence of an organized opposition to the government of the day is not valid. Democracy requires only freedom for such an opposition, not necessarily the existence of it. In many newly independent countries—and I am thinking especially of African countries—it is most unlikely that there will be a two-party system for some years to come. The nationalist movements are going to be very powerful indeed; they will control the government and organize local development in the economic and social spheres without there being any effective challenge to them from within. And any challenge from outside will only strengthen them. It will take time before any issues arise in the new countries on which it will be possible to build a real opposition organization. It is worth bearing in mind that the democratic system of government, though most desirable, is at the same time the most difficult form of government to operate.

16. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Honduras voted in favour of the inclusion of the item on colonialism in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [903rd meeting]. I now come to this rostrum to do honour to that vote, which responds to the aspirations of those individuals, groups and peoples who are still unable to exercise their sovereign rights because they are dominated by that dying politico-social phenomenon known as colonialism.

17. An objective examination of the facts compels us to state, firstly, that the nation least morally qualified to propose this item is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the same time, we must give due recognition to those nations which, whether voluntarily or under pressure, have shown a favourable attitude towards the granting of freedom to the subjugated peoples and we must pay a tribute to France and the United Kingdom, which since the Second World War have liberated and sponsored for United Nations membership more than thirty peoples representing a total of over 750 million inhabitants and covering a land area of more than 10 million square kilometres.

18. Inspired by our devotion to the Latin American cause and by our desire to remedy situations which are of the utmost urgency but which are unfortunately being postponed or disregarded, we wish to make it clear once and for all that while colonialism may be dying, this process has been going on for a considerable time; that colonialism is not an exclusively African-Asian phenomenon, for colonies still exist in our America; that anti-colonialism is a cause, an object of devotion and above all a fundamental principle of freedom for which the countries of this hemisphere began their struggle more than 150 years ago.

19. In discussing this item, my delegation will eschew the delaying tactics adopted by the exponents of treaties or legal provisions and the subtle arguments to which the high priests of international law and diplomacy are so addicted. Our aim is merely this: to set a date for the elimination of colonies throughout the world and particularly in the Western Hemisphere.

20. The item proposed by the Soviet Union is entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4501]. We should now like to analyse what has been said by various countries during the general debate on this subject. We wish to make it clear that in quoting certain of our colleagues our intention is not to enter into any dispute, much less to appear to be criticizing anyone unfairly. Our sole aim is to draw attention to the persistent failure to define an anti-colonial policy for Latin America.

21. At the beginning of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, on 22 September 1960, Marshal Tito said:

"These cold war conflicts also threaten on their part to spread to areas which had been or still are under colonial domination..." [868th meeting, para. 113.]

22. On the following day the President of Ghana said:

"The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial Powers to make just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent." [869th meeting, para. 1.]

"For years and years, Africa has been the footstool of colonialism and imperialism, exploitation and degradation... But those days are gone, and gone forever..." [Ibid., para. 3.]

23. On the same day Premier Khrushchev said:

"We must have done with colonialism, for it brings misfortunes and suffering ... to the peoples of the enslaved countries..." [869th meeting, para. 173.]

When Khrushchev says this, we think of the Latvians, Lithuanians, Slovenes, Czechs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Hungarians and so on who lost their freedom at the hands of the communizing colonialism of the Soviet Union.

24. When the turn of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic came, he said:

"Four years ago the African continent witnessed the end of one era of colonialism..." [873rd meeting, para. 120.]

But he is wrong. The era of colonialism will not end until all America is free.

25. The representative of Senegal, whose country has just been admitted to the United Nations, said:

"Once it is recognized that decolonization is the outstanding phenomenon of this century ... we see no reason why the parties involved should not endeavour to give effect to it in the best possible way." [876th meeting, para. 171.]

26. In his first statement, his colleague from the Republic of Mali stated:

"While it is true that Guinea first breached the French colonial structure in September 1958, it was Mali that strongly and patiently attacked the very foundations of that edifice which history had condemned." [Ibid., para. 187.]

27. And I ask: will 1961 or 1962 mark the end of colonialism in America?

28. On 29 September 1960 the representative of Liberia stated:

"Colonialism in any form dies painfully and slowly.... Africa is the last bulwark of such colonialism." [878th meeting, para. 255.]

But I ask: is it true that it is dying painfully? Is Africa the last bulwark of colonialism?

29. Mr. Turbay Ayala, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, after referring to the Conference of San José, Costa Rica, and its resolute stand against any foreign intervention, said:

"Latin America need have no fear of advanced ideas or of social justice... The time has come for the great social evolution..." [880th meeting, para. 242.]

He is right, but he might have dramatized his argument and described the present age and his own thoughts more explicitly by saying that the hour for the emancipation of the colonial territories has struck.

30. Let me reconstruct the pattern underlying these facts. America is continually defending the rights of other peoples to freedom; it now feels concern for Algeria, as earlier it felt concern for Tunisia, Morocco and other Arab States in Africa. It stretches out the hand of friendship to the peoples of "black" Africa as it did formerly to the peoples of Asia. Although not all the American countries support independence and liberation movements, many give them their support, their votes or at least their approval.

31. I now maintain that the hour has come for liberating the colonies that still remain in our America and I ask: Are we going to have the support of the African-Asian Powers?

32. While in one Committee of this Assembly the representative of Mali speaks of the prisons in Angola and makes a severe attack on the recalcitrant colonialist attitude of Portugal, his colleague from Liberia states that "the tide of African nationalism and the demand of the oppressed countries to stand on their own feet and be masters of their own affairs could no longer be treated as a matter of legal niceties and constitutional subtleties".<sup>1/</sup> Thus both of them view the problem purely from the African point of view and make no mention of the American situation.

33. The Netherlands, for example, does not say very much about the independence of the Antilles, Aruba, Curaçao or Surinam (Dutch Guiana), which comprise more than 300,000 inhabitants and occupy a total area of 140,000 square kilometres. All these territories are geographically separated from the metropolitan country and are ethnically and culturally distinct from the countries which administer and exploit them.

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1034th meeting, para. 5.

34. France is still holding on to the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as French Guiana, which are inhabited by more than half a million people and cover an area of over 94,000 square kilometres.

35. The United Kingdom is still withholding from us territories which will hardly become American under its influence. This process is being brought about through the West Indies Federation, in which Trinidad, Tobago and Jamaica play a preponderant role. It is nevertheless undeniable that the Federation is moving towards self-government and freedom. We therefore have only to rescue Belize, British Guiana and the Malvinas Islands.

36. Our aim therefore is to relate the problem to our continent, to stress its urgency, to include in it the strong currents of nationalism similar to those which gave rise to our own independence, and to ensure that the tide which washes the coast of Africa may extend to the Antilles, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic, for it is the same sea, though with different names, which unites or separates us.

37. During the general debate it became clear that we had forgotten—an unpardonable oversight—the colonial territories which still remain in America and which altogether cover an area of approximately 2,700,000 square kilometres, with an aggregate population of more than 3,000,000. It seems as though there has been a tacit agreement not even to mention the American colonies. It seems as though those territories have been condemned to remain colonies for ever.

38. My delegation finds the Soviet Union draft declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1] unacceptable and will vote against it. We reserve the right to speak about the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-4] later.

39. The delegation of Honduras considers that the best way of achieving a positive solution to this problem is to set up a commission which should prepare a specific report and make practical recommendations. I therefore formally submit the following draft resolution<sup>2/</sup> for the consideration of this Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that mankind cannot remain indifferent to the fact that some peoples do not yet enjoy self-determination and self-government,

"Considering that the process of emancipation must be hastened so that the said peoples may progress, as rapidly as possible, towards the creation of the political and social leadership necessary to enable them to assume the attributes of governmental authority and to exercise rights and contract obligations as subjects of public law,

"1. Proclaims the elimination of colonialism all over the world;

"2. Decides to appoint a commission consisting of five members (one African, one Latin American, one Asian and two nationals of administering Powers) to visit those colonial possessions which do not yet enjoy independence and to submit recommendations to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session concerning the most appropriate, expedi-

tious and effective means of ensuring the complete abolition of colonialism throughout the world and enabling all peoples which are still under colonial administration to acquire the status of independent and sovereign States."

40. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): At this momentous occasion when the General Assembly discusses the granting of independence to all peoples of the world, the cry for freedom echoes from the conscience of history to urge us all, without distinction, to recognize the freedom and independence of those who live in oppression and deprivation. This voice for freedom comes from the graveyard of the martyrs who sacrificed their souls to save their native land, from the battlefield where the soldier stands in defence of the honour of his nation, from the exile where the patriot is deported from his fatherland, from the shabby tent where the refugee is expelled from his home, from the prison where the hero languishes, and this voice for freedom comes from every man and every woman who is suppressed and denied the right of decent life. Freedom and independence are the basic factors for the progress of man and for the establishment of a life of peace and satisfaction in which all peoples enjoy equality and fraternity.

41. In his vast desert, with no confinements to halt his movement and no horizon to limit his imagination, the Bedouin struck far and deep searching for the truth. He explored the sea and discovered the earth. He observed the stars and examined nature. He then found his way towards eternity. Freedom released him from detention and made him a man of energy and action.

42. It was in the early days of the history of the Arabs that their second Caliph, fourteen hundred years ago, set his everlasting rule, "how can people be enslaved when they were born free?" This spirit of liberation flared up all over the Arab world during the last several decades. National revolutions broke out on every side and in every land, and caravans of martyrs fell in the fields of honour, great in life and glorious in death.

43. The Arabs, like many other nations, paid the price of their independence in full. Their plains and hills are true witnesses of their desperate struggle for independence and freedom. In every spot there is a temple of a martyr and a statue of a hero. Independence to us is the earning of years and the outcome of toil and strife. We culled it from the lion's den, and we marched to it under the shadow of spears. To us it is, therefore, the dearest thing we possess.

44. No nation could carry out its mission in life towards itself or towards mankind unless it were free and unless it stood on equal footing with other nations and shared equal opportunities. How could a nation fulfil its own aspirations and respond to its own wishes if its powers are restrained and its vigour is retarded? Independence is essential for a productive and prosperous life.

45. In the past several years, and particularly during the present year, a number of African States have recovered their full freedom and sovereignty. They are now among us, assuming their international responsibilities in a most impressive and remarkable manner, and are in the front line of the defence of the cause of freedom and peace. Many of them are scoring high in social reforms and economic develop-

<sup>2/</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/L.324.

ments. This is a fact which should provide the United Nations with the argument that the remaining inhabitants of Africa who have not yet won their independence should immediately be permitted to follow the procession of their African sovereign brothers. In Africa, along the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula, and in other parts of Asia there are still a considerable number of colonies, Trust Territories, protectorates and so-called overseas provinces. They all look today to the United Nations and wait to hear its pronouncement.

46. Today we are discussing the adoption of a solemn declaration to end colonialism and to grant independence to all colonized peoples of the world without exception. In fact, the continuance of colonialism has no justification whatsoever, for it is an old-fashioned rule representing a reactionary mentality which was applied at a time when the colonizer was assuming the status of the master, and the colonized was kept ignorant of the facts and values of life. Now ignorance of such values has vanished. Now the dignity and pride of nations and individuals reject the idea of a master and a slave. Now people realize that, if colonialism had contributed in certain areas, after generations of captivity, to the progress and benefit of some territories and nations, it has mostly brought misery and hardships to many others.

47. Was the Palestine tragedy not the ugliest example of colonialism? Was it not in flagrant violation of the rules of justice, right and honesty that after thirty years of foreign domination the Arabs of Palestine were left to a fatal end and their native land was usurped? Colonialism in Palestine not only dispersed the rightful inhabitants and shattered the territorial integrity of the country but it also established on the ashes of the victims a foreign State which is the tool of imperialistic aggression, whenever aggression is planned, and the means by which colonialism is being reintroduced in Africa, whenever colonialism creeps back in disguise.

48. Colonialism could have folded its pages in many areas with cheers of farewell rather than with the smoke of guns. Algeria could be spared several tens of thousands of the lives of its inhabitants if France would heed the voice of reason and wisdom. Indeed, the call for ending colonialism and declaring the independence of all nations is not a call of vengeance but rather one of harmony and friendship among peace-loving nations. Amicable relations among nations could only be established by goodwill, mutual confidence and the removal of doubt and suspicion. How pleasant life will be when nations live in real brotherhood; when the strong supports the weak; the wealthy helps the needy; the developed assists the under-developed; and when all such aids are made without conditions or strings attached.

49. The heavy yoke of colonialism has caused the new nationalism to adopt an attitude by which it tries to detach itself from all relationships with the outgoing colonial Powers and by which it refuses any aid which might be construed as a return to the colonial influence. Such a tendency is indeed a natural reaction to the manner in which colonial policies were applied in the colonized territories. Thus, if we all wish to develop among nations, new and old, big and small, a spirit of co-operation and trust, we must begin by persuading the big Powers to abandon the concept of might, superiority and exploitation.

50. To some small States that are needy and under-developed or that have newly acquired their independence, the question of how to maintain and safeguard independence is perhaps as difficult as how to achieve it. Keen on carrying out their responsibilities and meeting the requirements of their nationals, they feel in need of seeking foreign aid. They could receive it from old friends or from new acquaintances, but in both cases they have to make accurate calculations which would not pull them back to the old colonial orbit or drag them into the conflict of the cold war. Under such circumstances, the United Nations could undertake a useful task by extending its assistance to such countries for a transitional period which might be found necessary to enable them to stand on their own feet. It might sometimes happen that the poverty of a country leads it to fall under colonial influence. Yet it has always been a fact that colonialism leads countries under its rule, even if rich, to poverty.

51. It is not sufficient in our present world that we get rid of the colonial system in its military or administrative form. After all, international control and the development of democratic theories have offered adequate guarantees against the old imperialistic methods of military aggression and occupation. But there is a new phase of colonialism which aims at weakening other nations or subduing them through other means. It is economic colonialism by which the natural wealth of a nation becomes the target of exploitation and utilization, and the commodities and products of a country fall at the mercy of foreign economic measures. The abolition of the colonial system must, therefore, be accompanied by the eradication of the colonial mentality; otherwise it will continue to be a serious problem in the world, appearing in various forms and following different channels.

52. The delegation of Jordan, in joining many other delegations in the efforts towards adopting a draft resolution which would declare the end of the colonial system and the granting of independence to all dependent peoples in the world, feels confident that this great achievement will be a corner-stone in the establishment of international peace.

53. The independence and freedom of all will remove international friction and will curb rivalry and competition among strong Powers at the expense of small nations. Independence is a constructive development which will raise the tens of millions of human beings who are living at present in stagnation to a level of productivity and action.

54. My country, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, believing that independence is a means to the fulfilment of higher aims, endeavours through its independence to achieve the following objectives: first, to utilize its potentialities and develop its natural resources for the well-being of its inhabitants and the betterment of their life; second, to lead a progressive life in the fields of technology, education, agriculture, trade, health, architecture, communications and other spheres, so as to raise the present standard of living; third, to promote in the individual a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect to enable him to be an active, free and responsible citizen; fourth, to build up an organized and enlightened society in which reason is the guide; fifth, to develop our national and political strength by promoting Arab unity and national solidarity; and, sixth, to defend peace in our

region and to establish it on the principles of right and justice, and to this end to make every effort to remove aggression from our area, whether it is in the form of armed invasion, military occupation or foreign domination.

55. It is indeed gratifying to see this rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fifteenth session a platform for declaring independence and freedom to all peoples of the world. May we hope that this remarkable new achievement will be a further step towards international brotherhood.

56. **Mr. HASAN (Pakistan):** The debate in which we are now engaged is one of special significance for our Organization. It takes place in a session which has witnessed the admission of sixteen new African States which were colonies until only the other day.

57. Today we join with them in proclaiming the end of colonialism. To conquer and to be conquered has been the fate of all the nations in history and of almost every people of the world. The advance of mankind has reached a state where this process is considered fundamentally iniquitous because it has brought so much misery to a large part of the human race. Its memory is still bitter.

58. While I listened to impassioned words, words which were intended to open up portals of freedom for humanity still in shackles, I was sometimes left untouched because, as one who has traversed the journey through life perhaps longer than some of these passionate fighters for the rights of men who have spoken during the last few days, I thought of the history of man which teaches us that freedom has never been won with words. If I may be forgiven for being a little personal, I would recall that I have seen fall around me thousands of my countrymen, massacred in a few hours because they assembled to protest against an iniquitous law ordained by foreign rulers. I refer to the historical events which occurred in 1919 and which is known as the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, which was my own native town. I saw that myself as a very young boy, but its remembrance is indelibly scorched in my memory. But the struggle went on and after an even greater holocaust came freedom.

59. The freedom of Pakistan was the first of the series of emancipations of subjugated peoples in Asia and Africa, a series which continues until today and which we earnestly and passionately desire to continue until the last human being in bondage is free. That freedom hallowed the sacrifices and obliterated their bitterness, and now they brighten our history.

60. Our sacrifices taught us to honour and value our own freedom and the freedom of others, and our record in the United Nations over the thirteen years of our membership will show that we have, without one single exception, been on the side of the weak and the oppressed and we have stood and fought for the freedom of all nations. Our record of voting is open and we are proud of it. We have sought only one consistency in our vote: that it be for the righteous cause of freedom.

61. For us freedom came as the climax of a long and bitter struggle and our dedication to it is as deep as the suffering which preceded it. To preserve it, to preserve every inch of the beloved land which became our home, we consider our most sacred duty,

and that devotion teaches us to honour the freedom and devotion to their homes of the other peoples of the world.

62. Our discussion of colonialism at this session, for which credit must be acknowledged to the Soviet initiative, is significant in that it formally registers the recognition that colonialism, political or economic, benign or oppressive, is an untenable system which history sadly recounts but cannot justify. Colonial empires sprang up through the use of armed might, and as newer and vaster areas of the world were overcome, colonialism procured a rationale for its existence. A concern for the welfare of subject peoples became its justification. Dissolution of the system was resisted on the ground that these subject peoples were not ready for self-government and that therefore they needed the tutelage of superior peoples for their welfare. The time has now come when the truth can be declared definitively, that no nation has a right to govern another, whatever its way of life. The right of subject peoples to shape their own destiny without the protection or intervention of another people is fully acknowledged. There is now no other valid basis on which relations between different peoples can be built. The experience of the last decade and a half has clearly shown that States have made greater and more rapid progress in all fields after their independence than when they lacked the right to govern themselves. Their increased prosperity has also been reflected in the prosperity of their erstwhile rulers.

63. The accession of colonial territories to independence has been hastened by the United Nations. The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples was incorporated in the Charter with the final liberation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in view. By virtue of the provisions of Chapters XI, XII and XIII, the United Nations assumed the ultimate responsibility of bringing about the attainment of self-government by all colonial peoples. As year after year the United Nations dealt with the question of colonies, trust and mandated territories the demand for independence of their peoples was given forceful expression by the Asian and African countries in our proceedings. But although freedom has come to over two-score countries in the last fifteen years, colonialism has not yet completely liquidated itself. Here and there one still finds its remnants, in one case a remnant that is responsible for much strife and tragedy. We, the Members of the United Nations, must give unreserved support to its utter and unconditional termination. It is simply a question of fulfilling the task we all have undertaken in the United Nations Charter itself.

64. The basis of the United Nations is universality. From this principle it derives its greatest strength. There is an urgent need, therefore, for speed in bringing about the conditions in which all peace-loving States can participate equally in its deliberations. The entry of seventeen States this year has infused into the Organization a new vitality, but we cannot rest until the practice of colonialism is abandoned in those remaining areas where it still survives.

65. We deplore the fact that we should still need to declare that all peoples inhabiting this planet have the inalienable right to freedom and equality. But we also believe that a firm and solemn proclamation

by all of us in the United Nations will quicken the emergence into independence of those territories which are still held in subjection. It will be a moral command which will issue from this Assembly and we trust that it will have the unqualified support of all Members. We fully realize the fact that it must be clothed in such words and form as not to lend itself to doubtful interpretation.

66. The end of colonialism must undoubtedly be sought, but it is not necessary to impart in the debate a wasteful note of recrimination. It is of greater importance to be concerned with the future of the newly independent countries, which must be shaped in accordance with their desires. If there is to be a peaceful and happy accession to freedom by others, germs of unrelated controversy and disputes about past happenings must not be allowed to infect our debates.

67. We have read with great interest the extremely well written draft declaration. One might disagree with many words, phrases and thoughts, but one must admire its literary composition. I am sure humanity itself will be grateful to Mr. Khrushchev and his delegation for their solicitude for the emancipation of mankind.

68. We have been reminded of all the exploitations that we have suffered, all the pains which we have borne, and the heritage of woe which descended from generation to generation. Somehow, it is like reminding a man who has recovered in health after a long illness of the dangers and anxieties that his illness entailed. A friend generally helps him to forget it and think only in gratitude to his God for the restored health and the promise of long life ahead.

69. The declaration seeks to keep alive the remembrance of the evil days of servitude. It has almost been sought to form a union of emancipated slaves. It is for the consideration of this General Assembly and the United Nations whether it is in the interest of the newly freed countries themselves to be made increasingly conscious of racial and colour divisions of the world and for chasms to be created between them and the more advanced countries, on whose help they have to depend so much for their economic and social advancement. In our view we are equal, the big and the small, the white and the coloured. Our worth depends on our pride, our dignity and the faith that we shall not be subjugated again. A shortage of wealth in a country does not make that country less proud or less worthy of devotion. The path of constructive action lies in the establishment, in a sense, of the largest community of interests amongst all peoples. This is essential for a smooth transition in the newly independent countries from dependence to independence, unaffected by the stresses and strains which, unhappily, have marred many transfers of power in recent years.

70. The delegation of Pakistan is privileged to co-sponsor, with thirty-nine other countries—Asian-African States, the draft resolution which has been issued as document A/L.323 and Add.1-4. On the strength of the eloquent statements which we have heard from the representatives of our fellow sponsoring Members, and on the basis of the submissions which I have just made, my delegation ventures to hope that the terms of our draft resolution will find general acceptance in this Assembly. Though we believe that these terms have the force of axiomatic truth, it may not perhaps be entirely superfluous to

draw the attention of those Members who are not included among the sponsors of the draft resolution, to three of its provisions.

71. These three provisions are found in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the declaration. While the other paragraphs state the principles, these three give expression to certain basic imperatives of the world situation today.

72. Paragraph 4 calls for the immediate cessation of all armed action or repressive measures against dependent peoples; paragraph 5 calls for the early transfer of all powers to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

73. Lest our fellow Members be inclined to think that, in putting forth these imperatives without clarification, we are becoming oblivious to certain related demands of international security and a stable world order, we would point out the provisions of paragraph 6. This paragraph embodies an important safeguard against any attempt to disrupt the national unity and territorial integrity of a country.

74. In introducing this significant point of balance into the scheme of the whole draft resolution, we have, I believe, made it clear that we do not countenance, and do not intend to countenance, a misuse and perversion of the terms of our draft resolution for any ulterior ends of enlarging the territory of one country at the expense of another. In recommending this draft resolution to those Members who are not joined with us in sponsoring it, we are therefore in a position to extend to them a whole-hearted and unequivocal assurance that our proposed declaration shall not lend itself to be used for the disruptive ends of aggrandizement, of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and of generating new and unsuspected conflicts.

75. Our concern is with the ending of crises and conflicts. Our object is not to encourage new threats to world peace.

76. Finally, I submit that as we sit here, attempting to bring about the termination of colonialism, it should be our prayer that we will all remain on guard against all forms of this malaise. One form of it, painfully familiar to us all, will soon be extinct. Other forms of it may erupt in other ways. The most sinister would be one which uses no force, but grows insidiously, which seeks to enslave the hearts and minds of men, seduces them from their traditions and their faith with a philosophy which promises, but never attains full life.

77. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): At this time of uncertainty and anxiety through which mankind is passing, one encouraging feature is the irreversible movement towards independence and freedom for all peoples. A compensation for the pains and sacrifices of the recent world wars has been the awakening of a patriotic consciousness in peoples under colonial rule, and the heed given to this consciousness, in many cases, by the great Powers exercising dominion or influence over vast expanses of Africa and Asia.

78. It is not our task now to pass judgement on the phenomenon of the formation of empires, nor on its effects in connexion with what the sociologists call "culture diffusion". Our point of view is determined by the supreme principle of the dignity of the human

person, whether considered individually or collectively, and, consequently, of the right of all men to the outward expressions of freedom, including particularly the freedom to combine or associate in collective entities or nations, which, to achieve their ends, need the legal organism of the sovereign State.

79. We have been rightly reminded of the admirable course followed by the United Kingdom in recognizing the freedom of so many countries and, once their independence was established, in forming links of friendship and co-operation with them, thus working for the strengthening of peace.

80. Ten years ago we welcomed with joy the great Republic of Indonesia after its agreements with the Netherlands. It is appropriate to recall the policy recently followed by France whereby we today enjoy the company of the countries of the French Community. Cyprus, the remarkable meeting-place of so many cultures, attained its independence under an agreement which owes much to the United Nations, and thus that independence is a symbol of the efficacy of international co-operation. Belgium decided to grant independence to the Congo, and that country, now a Member of our Organization, is seeking the assistance which will enable it to strengthen its institutions.

81. The old bond of the imperium must be succeeded today by a broad and free co-operation, based on friendship, as President Wilson wished it, in terms of equality and in terms of honour.

82. The movement of liberation which we are witnessing today is no more than a continuation of the revolution which took place in our continent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The freeing of the peoples of America sowed the seeds, lit the way and provided a model for similar movements in territories of Africa, Asia and Oceania, the seats of ancient civilizations which preceded and influenced Western culture. The ideal expressed with unsurpassable eloquence by our liberators was that our revolution should spread throughout the world in order to bring about, in association with all free peoples, "a federation governed by a code of laws of universal value and based on the principle of absolute equality, without distinctions as to colour or race". I quote these words from that remarkable document—an intimate document of Bolívar's dated 20 February 1826—which was discovered by the Liberator's great biographer, Vicente Lecuna.

83. As far as we Ibero-Americans are concerned, the principles of self-determination which I have recalled were in conformity with the Hispanic juridical tradition in its highest expression. The European countries, and principally Spain and Portugal, adhered to the philosophy which bases the State not on power, as unfortunately was the case in the nineteenth century, but rather on justice. The Spanish "behetrías" and "cabildos" and the Hispano-American or Ibero-American "cabildos" which were their counterpart, were considered the depositories of a sovereignty which, in the event of not being exercised by the monarch, was completely invested in them. The discovery of America determined the concepts of Francisco de Vitoria, who, confronted by the tremendous reality of the empire of Charles V, unreservedly proclaimed the obligation to respect not only individual freedom and property but also the governments of indigenous peoples. Francisco Suárez, the doctor

admirabilis to whom all Europe listened with respect, based the notion of sovereignty on the consent of the governed, and his teaching was in conformity with the ideas of modern political science, greatly surpassing the endeavours of other writers of his time. Thus it was that in the American revolution the vital force of our own self-assertion as nations was united with the spiritual values which we inherited from Spain and Portugal and which gave the revolution a high moral significance and an irrefutable legal foundation.

84. The draft resolution submitted by the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-4], which we are discussing at this time, represents the culmination of this historic evolution, the first signs of which appeared in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but which was emphatically affirmed for the first time in the San Francisco Charter. What we call the spirit of San Francisco had two elements: peace through justice, and the proclamation of the freedom of all men and all peoples. The authority exercised by some nations over territories which were not materially or culturally a part of those nations was not regarded as a privilege, but as a responsibility and a sacred duty to pursue the specific and unwavering objective of preparing those territories for independence. The sponsors of this draft resolution did well to include in its preamble quotations from the Charter by which we are governed, and they did even better by making a reference to the close link between individual freedom and effective national sovereignty. They have also clearly pointed out that the submission or subjugation of some peoples by others—whatever the form and whatever the pretext—involves a danger to peace among mankind today.

85. It might be said that the draft resolution generally follows the spirit and the letter of the Charter and responds to a desire for greater speed in the achievement of its aims than we contemplated fifteen years ago in the hopeful days of San Francisco. This desire for a higher rate of progress is explained by the fact that the rhythm of human progress as a whole has accelerated since that time while, in tragic contrast, there has also been a rapid growth in the causes of conflict, dissatisfaction and discord, with the accompanying danger of a war of universal destruction.

86. The proclamation of the freedom of all peoples cannot and must not in any way be individualistic, incoherent or isolated, but must be characterized by deep solidarity, cohesion and co-operation. Freedom can only be maintained by love and understanding and can never be based on narrow, rigid concepts or on chauvinistic exclusiveness. It must likewise not be an expression of the natural regionalism which has its roots in geography, history or a culture of long standing but which opposes or ignores the universal feeling of our time. The free peoples must, not only as the result of natural forces but also as a guarantee of their existence, move within an ever widening circle of solidarity. While freedom implies the voluntary choice of ways of life and culture, the association which in many cases is still encouraged by the old form of life in common should not leave a bitter residue of uselessly retrospective rancour and resentment. Spinoza said that only he who is inspired by love can fight for freedom. The struggle that has led to national sovereignty was not born of hatred, but of the ideals of creation and co-operation. Nations which have achieved liberty require, like individuals, an atmosphere of

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respect, friendship and disinterested help. We trust that the advent of freedom in Africa and Asia will assume the same noble and generous forms as in our own America. In the words of Bolívar, we achieved liberty against the will of the whole world, but yet we have forgotten the obstacles and the struggles, and our countries have offered shelter to all the peoples of the earth. We have diligently sought the friendship and co-operation of those who were our former but noble enemies, our unconvinced allies, or indifferent spectators. This attitude led to the linking of America to the rest of the world. We can thus proudly stress the universal character of our revolution, and we are sure that the same feelings animate the peoples of the African and Asian countries.

87. There is a further reason why this should be so. At the time when we achieved independence, there was no political institution which could claim to represent the whole of mankind. Slowly and painfully we raised—first in Panama, then in the Lima Conferences and finally in the Pan American Conferences—the edifices of our organization, the oldest and most complete of the regional bodies. The nations of Africa and Asia have attained independent life under the protective and watchful eyes of the United Nations. Jealously guarding the principles of the Charter, the United Nations has ensured that the provisions relating to self-government were fulfilled, and when these nations acceded to independence, the United Nations hastened to welcome them joyfully into its midst. Setting aside political debates, forgetting for a moment the problems of armaments, silencing tragic fears, this Organization offered economic and technical assistance to the full extent of its resources in order to prepare and maintain the independence of those nations. The ideal

of peace carried with it another ideal: the possibility of investing, for the improvement of standards of living, the funds which could be saved by reducing armaments.

88. I am convinced that the nations which have recently attained independence will see in the United Nations an institution destined to ensure their liberty and guarantee their progress.

89. The great hope for the peace of the world—and I say this with the deepest conviction of my soul—is that the present Members of the United Nations, and those which tomorrow may become Members, should be inspired by a single ideal and should remain faithful, absolutely faithful, to the principles of the Charter without any affiliation, alliance or alignment which is incompatible with the principles of law and co-operation enshrined in our Charter, and that with stern and unswerving dignity they should defend themselves against all extraneous influence and against all political intrigue which, by reducing and suppressing their personality, might turn them into pawns of the cold war. We trust that they will unanimously defend and strictly apply the principles of the Charter with enthusiasm and with a miraculous spiritual force. The future of the United Nations—and I say this to all friendly nations, including those that will be with us tomorrow—is dependent upon the close union of all of you, great and small, and on your efforts to create an atmosphere which will make co-operation imperative and inevitable for all, both great and small, both strong and weak, in upholding our ideals of justice and peace.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*