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

AGENDA ITEM 19

Election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item on this afternoon's agenda is the election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to succeed Mr. August Lindt, who now leaves this post after four years of distinguished service.
2. Chapter III, paragraph 13, of the Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees provides that "the High Commissioner shall be elected by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General." [General Assembly resolution 428 (V), annex.]
3. Members of the Assembly have before them a note by the Secretary-General on this matter [A/4607]. In this note, the Secretary-General informs the Assembly that "he has nominated Mr. Félix Schnyder (Switzerland) for the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to succeed Mr. August Lindt." I am certain that I voice the feeling of the Assembly in thanking the Secretary-General for this nomination.
4. Unless a vote is requested, I would suggest that the Assembly might elect Mr. Schnyder to be High Commissioner for Refugees by acclamation.
Mr. Félix Schnyder was elected United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees by acclamation.
5. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Schnyder on the confidence which the Assembly has placed in him and to wish him every success in his valuable work on behalf of the refugees.

AGENDA ITEM 33

Assistance to refugees:

- (a) Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General on the World Refugee Year
- REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/4582)**
6. The PRESIDENT: Unless there is a proposal to discuss the Third Committee's report under rule 68 of the rules of procedure, interventions will be limited to explanations of vote.
 7. Miss HAMPTON (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Third Committee [A/4582] on item 33 of the Assembly's agenda. Under this item, the Committee considered the 1960 report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [A/4378/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1] and also the report of the Secretary-General on the World Refugee Year [A/4546].
 8. The past year has been marked by a considerable leap forward in international endeavours directed both to achieving final solutions for the refugee problems and to channelling assistance to particular groups of refugees not within the High Commissioner's mandate. Resulting from the discussions in the Committee of particular aspects of these questions, four draft resolutions are being recommended to the Assembly for adoption.
 9. Draft resolution I, dealing with the report of the High Commissioner, invites States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies to continue to devote attention to refugee problems still awaiting solution. It calls for continued efforts to improve the legal status of refugees, to increase facilities for repatriation, resettlement and integration, including, of course, financial contributions, and for consultations with the High Commissioner in respect of measures of assistance to refugees not within the competence of the United Nations.
 10. Draft resolution II recommends that the High Commissioner should continue his present action on behalf of refugees from Algeria in Morocco and Tunisia. He is also asked to use his influence to ensure the continuation of the operation carried out on their behalf jointly by his Office and the League of Red Cross Societies, and, in the event that this should prove impossible, to draw up and execute a programme for the assumption by his Office of responsibility for these refugees from 1 July 1961.
 11. Draft resolution III is occasioned by the imminent departure of the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. August Lindt, whose final year of office has coincided with the augmented international endeavours associated with the World Refugee Year, and whose successor, Mr. Félix Schnyder, this Assembly has just endorsed. In terms of this draft resolution, the

Assembly is asked to express its appreciation to Mr. Lindt for the work he has performed during his years as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to wish him success in his future undertakings. In the Committee, this text was accepted without voting and the Assembly may wish to follow a similar procedure.

12. Draft resolution IV relates to the World Refugee Year. It notes with gratification the remarkable success of the World Refugee Year in many parts of the world, expresses thanks to those who have contributed to the success of the Year, as well as to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their efforts, and concludes with the recommendation that further endeavours be made to assist refugees.

13. I have the honour, on behalf of the Third Committee, to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of these four draft resolutions. May I say that, in doing so, the General Assembly, while recording its satisfaction with the progress made in dealing with the refugee questions and with the encouraging result of action at so many levels and throughout widely scattered areas of the world, would stress the need for continued efforts on behalf of those groups, which must surely have special appeal to the world social conscience, in order to achieve solutions of this problem in a truly humanitarian fashion.

14. The PRESIDENT: If no representative wishes to explain his vote on any of the four draft resolutions recommended in the report of the Third Committee [A/4582 para. 63], I propose to put them, one by one, to the Assembly.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 66 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 77 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

15. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III, entitled "Expression of appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees", was adopted without a vote in the Third Committee. Unless some representative wishes the draft resolution to be put to the vote here, perhaps the Assembly would be prepared to signify its approval of this draft resolution by acclamation.

Draft resolution III was adopted by acclamation.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 71 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

16. The PRESIDENT: Before I come to the list of speakers inscribed today on the item before us, I give the floor to the representative of Guatemala in exercise of his right of reply.

17. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In its statement in the general debate on the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", the delegation of Guatemala mentioned in passing the wrongful occupation of the Guatemalan territory of Belize by the United Kingdom, but, in view of the general nature of the item now under discussion, we did not consider

it appropriate to go into the matter in detail. However, at the 934th meeting on 3 December 1960, the representative of Mexico saw fit to refer to the case of Belize in connexion with my statement, and stated the problem in a form open to misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

18. My delegation thanks the representative of Mexico for giving it the opportunity to go into the problem of Belize in more detail. My delegation wishes to state once again, as it has been doing for several years, that the claim recently put forward by Mexico regarding rights in the territory of Belize which it would advance if that territory's status should be changed in response to Guatemala's demands, is not, under any circumstances or for any reason, to be regarded as a move made jointly or in concert with my country, which has claimed exclusive rights to the territory for over 100 years.

19. I should like to add a few comments on this matter. The Belize problem is purely and simply a case of seizure of territory by a great Power from a weak country which lacked the means to ensure that its rights were respected. It is true that, as the representative of Mexico said, the occupation of the territory began in virtue of the permits for timber felling granted to Great Britain by Spain under the treaty of 1773, for the area from the river Hondo to the river Belize, and the treaty of 1776, which added the area between the river Hondo and the river Sibún. In both treaties, Spain expressly reserved its sovereignty over the territory while granting the British the usufruct thereof free of charge, subject to certain restrictions, particularly with regard to the right to build fortifications. These concessions lay within the Captaincy-General of Guatemala, in the Province of Petén; the river Hondo separated the Captaincy-General of Guatemala from the Captaincy of Yucatán.

20. When the Captaincy-General of Guatemala was declared independent on 15 September 1821, the Federal Republic of Central America was formed and inherited all rights of sovereignty over the territories which it covered. The United Kingdom's precarious usufruct of the Belize area expired in virtue of international law, inasmuch as new States start their independent existence free of all commitments made by the previous sovereign, such commitments being res inter alios acta.

21. The independent existence of the Federal Republic of Central America was beset by many trials; the great Power in question, wishing to gain control of the canal routes, worked for its division. The Federal Republic of Central America was unable to secure recognition by the United Kingdom save at the price of cession of the territory of Belize. It also extended, by way of the Mosquitia shore and the Bay islands, to the territories of Honduras and Nicaragua.

22. When the Federal Republic of Central America was dissolved and divided into the five independent Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, each with jurisdiction over the territory of the corresponding former State, the territory of Belize fell within the jurisdiction of Guatemala under the rule of uti possidetis.

23. The serious threat that loomed over the Central American States was to some extent dispelled by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which Great

Britain and the United States undertook not to occupy any part of Central America.

24. For reasons which I need not go into here, and under the pressure of circumstances, the Government of Guatemala was forced to conclude with Great Britain the Convention of 1859. This was a real treaty of cession and increased the area of the territory from 6,000 to more than 22,000 square kilometres. It contained a compensation clause with which the United Kingdom did not comply; Guatemala has therefore denounced the treaty, but the United Kingdom has not returned the territory wrongfully held.

25. The Government of Mexico concluded with the United Kingdom Government in 1893 a frontier treaty under which the river Hondo—the boundary between the Captaincy of Yucatán and the Captaincy-General of Guatemala in colonial times, as we have seen—was recognized as the frontier between the territory of Belize and the Province of Yucatán, in Mexico. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico recognized at the time that the 1859 Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala had been a treaty concerning the cession of territory, that the only issue with Mexico was one of boundaries and that no sacrifice of Mexican territory was involved.

26. At this point, I should like to remind the Mexican representative of what some illustrious Mexicans have said in connexion with the Guatemalan case regarding Belize. General Eduardo Hay, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, in a very cordial note to the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry in 1939, recognized Guatemala's rights to Belize "in accordance", as he put it, "with the historical, geographical and legal background to the case". General Lázaro Cárdenas, the President of Mexico, said in a statement in 1940:

"Just as Mexico feels strengthened by these proofs of solidarity, it also feels bound to reciprocate, either by making proposals for peace or neutrality or by supporting the territorial claims of sister nations which, like Guatemala in Belize, justly seek the settlement of long-standing disputes and the healing of mutilations inflicted by force and in defiance of the rules of international law."

27. The same attitude of solidarity has been shown by the Central American Republics on several occasions and more particularly in the Declaration of Principles of Central American Co-Existence (Declaration of Antigua Guatemala), which included the following:

"The First Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America declares, on behalf of the States represented: . . . Seventhly: its rejection of the survival of colonialism in America and its express statement that the territory of Belize is an integral part of Guatemalan, and therefore of Central American, territory, and that the action taken to reclaim it concerns all the States signatories of this Declaration."

28. It would take a long time to narrate the Guatemalan people's unremitting, heroic and worthy struggle for the victory of their just cause. We have heard the voices of the most eminent jurists and public figures of our continent raised in encouragement and support of our right. It is consequently painful to us that, in recent years, the delegation of Mexico has advanced at the United Nations claims which it had never previously made, which are opportunist in character, and which present the Belize problem in a form very

different from the historical reality. I should also like to remind the Mexican representative of what his country means to us. We are proud of the historical and cultural bonds between us. For the small countries of Central America, Mexico is like an elder brother. We admire its great civic deeds, its nobility, its deep and historical sense of continental solidarity, and its relations with our peoples have always been most cordial. We are therefore entitled to expect from that great country what Benito Juárez, one of its greatest men, expressed in the monumental words: "Peace is respect in the rights of others".

29. Mr. OBEID (Sudan): May my first words in this brief intervention be words of tribute and congratulation to the delegation of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Premier Khrushchev, for having taken the very timely initiative of proposing that this item be placed on the agenda of this session and for having successfully advocated its discussion in plenary meeting.

30. The progress of the debate thus far has demonstrated with devastating force the depth of convictions guiding the freedom-loving peoples of the world in this determined struggle to eradicate a sinister phenomenon from which humanity has suffered only too long and which has generated much poison in the relations between man and man.

31. I believe that everything that ought to be said has been said by the more enlightened speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum and I am, therefore, not going to protract this debate by covering the same ground again. It is not my intention to go into the details of the history of colonialism; but I shall try to follow a brighter theme—that of the struggle against colonialism which has resulted in freedom and independence.

32. Two conceptions have, over the years, been developed by the colonial Powers as justifications for dominating others. In the first place, they tell us that, in subjugating the colonial peoples, they have a civilizing mission to perform. In the second place, they tell us that they have been entrusted with that mission because they are superior. This latter conception went to the heads of some of the colonial Powers to an extent that it has developed into a policy as sinister and as diabolical as colonialism itself and which we now call "racialism". It does not need much ingenuity to discover the flimsiness and even absurdity of such theories. Civilization is one of those great words that has so far defied definition. Theories of racial superiority have led their propagators to nothing but inevitable and all-embracing disaster, and history sometimes repeats itself. It is not naïve to state that these theories are used to cover the exploitation of peoples and to justify the enjoyment of the material fruits of their land and their labour. But human beings, by their very nature, cannot accept or tolerate foreign domination and the injustice, humiliation and degradation that necessarily accompany it. It was only natural then for those peoples to rise, to resist, and to struggle to redeem a birthright. These resistance movements against colonialism were rather isolated in the early days of colonialism. The odds were heavy, the conditions were adverse, the costs were incalculable, countless lives were lost or sacrificed, prisons overflowed with what the colonialists called "agitators" but who were, in fact, freedom lovers. But the will of God and the determination of his creatures to redeem what he

has decreed for them prevailed against injustice and inequality.

33. Rivalries between the colonial Powers helped this liberation movement. Many times, and notably during the last two wars, they tried to win the colonial peoples to their side and gave them glittering promises which were soon to be forgotten after the hour of distress was over. But the colonial peoples did not forget; they accelerated their efforts and intensified their struggle, so that the colonial Powers were, in the end, forced to concede to them what was theirs—their independence.

34. The best example of these promises unfulfilled is the famous Arab revolt. When the First World War broke out and Turkey joined the side of Germany, the Allies encouraged the Arabs—who were under Turkey then—to revolt. They promised them complete independence after victory. The Arabs revolted, fought bravely on the side of the Allies and, within two to three years, the Turks were driven out of Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. To the dismay of the Arabs, it was soon discovered that the Allies had made a secret treaty between them, called the Sykes-Picot Agreement, sharing, amongst themselves, the Arab world. Not only that, but by the Balfour Declaration, Great Britain promised the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine against the clearly expressed wish of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians. The tragic consequences of that unfortunate decision are well known, since they have been with us here in the United Nations for the last thirteen years.

35. But the Arabs did not succumb. They continued the bitter fight even after the Allies had won the war and imposed their authority over the Arab world. Again, the wishes of the people and their indomitable determination to realize them prevailed and most of the Arab countries of the Middle East have achieved their complete independence. It is regrettable that one of the Arab countries in that area is still fighting for its independence, but we hope it will not be long before Palestine will join the free nations of the world, in spite of attempts to keep it in the present forced desert camp settlement.

36. The sacrifice and endurance of the colonial peoples during their struggle were worth while: after the Second World War, many Afro-Asian countries, led by the great peoples of the Indian Sub-continent and by Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, gained their independence.

37. This episode brings us to the new and auspicious era of the collective rise against colonialism. The leaders of the independent Asian and African countries realized that the plight of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa was the same and that their collective efforts against colonialism would be more effective than their individual action. Hence, the epoch-making Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, which constitutes a veritable landmark in man's relentless and purposeful march on the road of liberty and independence. The lofty principles adopted by the Conference are ever inspiring and shall always stand as a beacon of liberty and freedom. Then followed the first Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra in 1958. All Africa listened and held its breath for its results. It adopted forceful resolutions, particularly in the sphere of freedom and the future of dependent territories in Africa. Resolution II reads:

"The Conference of Independent African States,

"Recognising that the existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of the African States and to world peace,

"Considering that the problems and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the Colonial Powers but the responsibility of all Members of the United Nations and in particular of the Independent African States,

"Condemning categorically all colonial systems still enforced in our Continent and which impose arbitrary rule and repression on the peoples of Africa,

"Convinced that a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the Colonial Territories in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

"1. Calls upon the Administering Powers to respect the Charter of the United Nations in this regard, and to take rapid steps to implement the provisions of the Charter and the political aspirations of the people namely self-determination and independence, according to the will of the people;

"2. Calls upon the Administering Powers to refrain from repression and arbitrary rule in these territories and to respect all human rights as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

"3. Calls upon the Administering Powers to bring to an end immediately every form of discrimination in these territories;

"4. Recommends that all Participating Governments should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence;

"5. Recommends that the Independent African States assembled here should offer facilities for training and educating peoples of the dependent territories;

"6. Decides that the 15th April of every year be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day."

My purpose in quoting this resolution in full is to have it recorded in the annals of the United Nations.

38. This is how and why the present liberation movement in Africa gathered force and brought the sweeping change in the continent. Just this year, sixteen African countries gained their independence and others are on the way to independence. It is the collective will and stand of all Africa for freedom and independence that brought the change and determined to eradicate colonialism and racialism from the soil of Africa. Africa—a continent that has for so long been ravished by the scourge of colonialism and its concomitants—has shaken its chains. It will not wear them again.

39. We, the African people, who have suffered so much and who have now, through our own efforts and with the assistance of the freedom-loving peoples, achieved our independence, realize the difference between our miserable past and the bright present, and still brighter future. It has been demonstrated beyond any doubt that countries progress more rapidly in all fields after independence.

40. In the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4371, part I,

para. 23), the representatives of India and Iraq stated that, although in the past the Administering Members had held that self-government should be the culmination of a long process of economic and social development, experience had shown that the Territories progressed more rapidly after they had become self-governing or independent. The representative of India also emphasized that the Committee should consider not only the progress achieved but what more should and could be done. Moreover, it was important that the progress should be assessed not only in terms of statistics and percentages, but also by the extent to which the needs or aspirations of the people had been met. He emphasized that it could no longer be accepted that the attainment of freedom by peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories should be made conditional on their prior attainment of certain standards in other fields.

41. Judging by our own experience, we totally agree with these views. It has been proved beyond doubt that colonialism is sterile and cannot contribute to progress. The African independent States followed the march of struggle to free the remaining part of the continent. The three conferences in Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa intensified the pressure against colonialism. But in spite of the march of freedom, we find today some colonial Powers which hide their heads in the sand. Portugal follows the most oppressive and degrading policy in its African colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and others. Its policy can easily be compared with the racist policy of the Union of South Africa, which is also applied in the Territory of South West Africa. We should like these two countries to watch the tempo of the time and to act in harmony with the requirements of the age in which they, and we, live. These people will not be forsaken or forgotten. They will find assistance from all Africa and the freedom-loving countries, until they achieve their independence. We call upon the administering Powers responsible for the affairs of Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Uganda, Malta, West Sahara, Somalia territory under France, and West Irian to accede to the will, wishes and aspirations of the peoples of these territories.

42. As for Algeria, the greatest tragedy of our time, so much has been said but very little has been done to put an end to a brutal war now in its seventh year. With every day that passes, this war in Algeria becomes more and more furious. Loss of human life—both French and Algerian—mounts by the hour. More than one-fourth of the population of Algeria are held in prisons and internment camps where they are subjected to the most cruel and humiliating treatment. This latter aspect of this inhuman war was shockingly revealed in a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and was the subject of a strong protest addressed to the Secretary-General by twenty Afro-Asian Members of the United Nations in February of this year.

43. This was the tragic result of the French Government's not abiding by President de Gaulle's recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. The behaviour of the Provisional Government of Algeria, since President de Gaulle's declaration of 16 September 1959, has consistently been characterized by a sense of responsibility, political maturity, statesmanship and peaceful intentions.

44. In its declaration of 28 September 1959, in response to General de Gaulle's declaration, the Provisional Government of Algeria agreed with the French position that the right of self-determination should be the basis for a solution of the Algerian problem. It also agreed with the French Government that recourse to universal suffrage as a means of determining the political future of Algeria cannot take place without the return of peace. It only asked for an opportunity to discuss with France the political and military conditions for the cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees for the application of the principle of self-determination. This was a natural demand. But, from what transpired during the year since President de Gaulle's declaration, France seems insistent that any discussions regarding the cease-fire or regarding the conditions and modalities of any meeting between France and the representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria should be unilaterally decided by France. We have ample proof of this from what took place at Melun between 25 and 29 June of this year. The conditions made by France at that meeting—these conditions and modalities of a meeting between French and Algerian delegations—were described by a former French Prime Minister, Mr. Mendes-France, as follows and I quote: "conditions so humiliating that they were equivalent to a demand for capitulation."

45. But the valiant Algerian people, who have fought so long and so courageously for an honourable cause, will not capitulate to the weight of French armour, because they have the right on their side and the right will ultimately win.

46. We are convinced that Algeria will be independent and that the representatives of Algeria will soon be sitting amongst us here. We are happy that today the United Nations decided to throw its moral weight against colonialism and for the independence of subjugated peoples. It has contributed greatly in the movement of progress and independence of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is acting in accordance with the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations:

"...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,

"...to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,".

47. To us, the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], of which my delegation has the honour to be a co-sponsor, marks the climax of the struggle and the formal denunciation of colonialism in any form or shape. We are convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideals of universal peace. We are convinced that the craving of dependent peoples for freedom and independence is natural and rational and that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible, and, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated with it. The United Nations is richer and stronger with the emergence of the new independent States, and we must

see that all peoples of the world are free and loyal Members of the United Nations.

48. The policy of my Government towards the freedom movement in Africa is well defined and set forth clearly. It leaves no room for doubt. We shall help, morally and materially, all African peoples struggling for freedom, independence and equality. In a recent communiqué, the President of the United Arab Republic and the President of the Republic of the Sudan declared their condemnation of the policies designed to subjugate and enslave the peoples, or to undermine human dignity because of colour, race or creed. They also declared that they will continue to support the cause of national liberation of the African countries which are yet to achieve independence. They condemned all nefarious attempts aimed at disorganizing this liberation struggle and supported all attempts to uproot colonialism and racialism from African soil.

49. We shall not remain silent in the face of injustice nor fail to criticize whatever is manifestly wrong. We shall always express our views honestly and fearlessly and shall always render any assistance within our power to freedom fighters all over the world until freedom and justice for all peoples throughout the world are ensured.

50. In conclusion, we hope that the draft resolution will be carried unanimously and that its implementation will immediately follow its adoption. The goodwill and the co-operation of the Administering Powers are hopefully sought in rising to this challenge. We shall expect them to try to forget the theories with which they sought to justify colonialism. On our part, we shall also try to forget and what we cannot forget we shall try to forgive.

51. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): My delegation welcomes the initiative of the delegation of the USSR in sponsoring the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". We feel that the time has come for the United Nations to pronounce itself clearly and unequivocally on the necessity and urgency of unconditionally ending colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

52. The advanced thinking and the enlightened conscience of mankind in the mid-twentieth century has far outstripped even the most radical and progressive concepts of colonialism, no matter what justification the colonial Powers themselves may have for their own policies and actions in this regard. It is true that some countries have a better colonial record than others, but this alone does not entitle those countries with a more favourable record to seek justification for the pursuit of their colonial policy in the changed circumstances of the present-day world.

53. We might have some reservations of our own with regard to the form of the Soviet declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1], but it cannot be denied that the Soviet declaration brings this idea of the ending of colonialism into a sharp focus. Every Member should realize the importance and seriousness of this matter that is presently being debated and should direct all its efforts and attention towards enabling the peoples still under colonial domination in the world to realize their aspirations for freedom and independence in the immediate future.

54. We are afraid of one thing and this is that, like any other subject, it might also be treated by certain interested parties as an item for cold war propaganda. But to us, in Asia and Africa, who have experienced colonial domination in the past and are even now seeing the true picture of colonialism with its grim consequences to the people under its yoke, this is a matter which should not be treated lightly and must not be allowed to be given the cold war treatment in this debate. To us it is something which is vital to the evolution of a new world order based on freedom, justice and equality for all men, irrespective of their colour or the region to which they belong. In our opinion, this is the kind of world order which is envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations itself.

55. We were heartened and gratified to hear Mr. David Ormsby-Gore, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, remark earlier in the course of his intervention on this subject:

"Let me say at once that the United Kingdom delegation is in entire sympathy with what I know to be the ... main purposes of these delegations"—from the context it follows that these delegations are the Asian and African delegations—"the achievement with all possible speed of full self-government and independence by those people who do not yet enjoy these things." [925th meeting, para. 32.]

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom referred—and I must say rightly—to the obligations the colonial Powers have undertaken under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. But the question is how many of the colonial Powers, even to this day, have shown respect for these obligations in their colonial policies.

56. Yet, from another point of view, the speed with which the Government of the United Kingdom itself might have advanced the cause of self-government in different colonies—Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration—might have been "remarkable in the light of the expectations of the world in 1946"—these are the words of Mr. David Ormsby-Gore [*ibid.*, para. 35]—but the relevant question is whether this speed with which self-government has been advanced in the above-mentioned Territories satisfies the growing demands of world public opinion in 1960.

57. As we have said before, if the United Nations is to keep pace with events in the world and with the growth of consciousness among the peoples of the world in this regard, the time has come for it to declare its position on this question in clear and unmistakable terms. We know that the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter, and the chapters in it dealing with international economic and social co-operation and the international trusteeship system are oriented towards the eventual eradication of colonialism. But that alone does not seem to satisfy the rising expectations of the peoples in the countries that are still under colonial domination. This is the main reason that has led us, along with so many other Asian and African delegations, to co-sponsor the draft resolution.

58. For understandable reasons, my delegation does not wish to go into the origins of colonialism at this stage, nor does it wish to analyse its causes and motives. In our opinion, colonialism, as a force in inter-

national politics, has to be examined in terms of its effects on international relations. Judged in this light, it has proved to be an unmitigated evil which has not only vitiated the relations between the colonial peoples but also has led to wars between the colonial Powers themselves.

59. The history of the scramble for Africa in the last century, and even in the early twentieth century, bears testimony to this fact. The end of the Second World War gave new impetus to the freedom movement in Asia and Africa and, as a result of the general awakening that ensued, quite a few countries in Asia and Africa attained their independence and freedom and took their rightful places in the community of nations.

60. If there has been any subject on which the nations of Asia and Africa have been able to put up a united front before the world, it has been that of colonialism. The Conference of the African-Asian nations held at Bandung in April 1955 gave an answer to the question as to how the peoples of Asia and Africa stand on this subject.

61. It is our sincere belief that colonialism is no longer tenable, that it is indeed on its last legs and that a final effort must be made, here and now, for its complete eradication. The Soviet initiative has given us an opportunity to reaffirm our faith in the lofty principles of the Charter in relation to colonialism and declare ourselves finally and unequivocally against it. In the opinion of my delegation, a solemn declaration to the effect that colonialism must and will go quite a long way to inspire hope and confidence in the minds of the peoples of the world, and particularly those of Asia and Africa, who have suffered and continue to suffer most from colonialism.

62. As I have already said, my delegation is aware that different colonial Powers have different colonial records and these Powers make different kinds of claims as to the success or failure of the colonial system. Over-enthusiastic colonial thinkers have even tended to regard colonialism as an unmixed blessing. According to them, colonialism is just an extension of the great European liberal tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a movement of civilization itself. The adoption of this attitude towards colonialism has led many colonial Powers to make extravagant claims on behalf of their colonies. For instance, it is sometimes claimed that a strong colonial Power has established unity where there was chaos before. Moreover, statistics are adduced to prove that there has been constant social and economic progress in the colonies.

63. My delegation, while admitting that the balance-sheet of colonialism is far from uniform, as applied to the records of different colonial Powers, believes that colonialism is unsatisfactory as a system of relations among nations. European liberalism has achieved many wonderful things no doubt, but colonialism is not one of its strongest points. In the face of poverty and backwardness, which are wide-spread over the colonies and former colonies in Asia and Africa, in the face of wide-spread disturbance in many such territories before and after independence, and in the face of complete balkanization of continents such as that occurring in the continent of Africa at the present moment, claims of unity, order and progress made on behalf of colonies appear to us unjustified.

64. We recognize that remarkable progress has been made since the last war towards the emancipation of the colonial peoples. People who have become free are far larger in number than people who still remain to be freed. But since a large number of people have attained freedom, the continuation of a smaller number in the dependent status has become even more unacceptable and more irritating. Judging from the intensity of bitterness that continued colonialism engenders, not only in the minds of the peoples of the dependent countries, but also in the minds of peoples who have recently freed themselves from colonialism, we are persuaded to believe that the continuation of colonialism, even in small territories, is undesirable. The volume and intensity of ill feeling alone seem to outweigh all other considerations, practical or otherwise, that might be cited in favour of maintaining the status quo in a particular territory.

65. In these circumstances, it would have been most fitting if the colonial Powers themselves had taken the initiative to persuade the United Nations to declare itself in unmistakable terms against colonialism. Colonialism, as it was understood in the nineteenth century and has been understood so far, is definitely in its death throes, and the colonial Powers have themselves realized this. We hope, therefore, that all the States Members of this Organization will find it possible to support the forty-two-Power draft resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly on behalf of the Asian and African group. In the opinion of its sponsors, the question of colonialism is far too serious a subject, and in the drafting of the text care has been taken to make it acceptable to all.

66. I should like to explain the draft resolution which we have the honour to co-sponsor with forty-one other Powers. I do not wish to refer to its preambular paragraphs in detail, because they do not contain anything which is not already contained in the United Nations Charter and which has not, as such, been accepted by the Members of this Organization. If there are any suggestions with regard to improvement of the phrasing of these paragraphs, they could be considered by the sponsors, but I need hardly add that the process in which United Nations resolutions are drafted and prepared is not always conducive to the production of the best text.

67. The first preambular paragraph speaks of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the same words in which it is expressed in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter. The second preambular paragraph is obviously based on Article 55 of Chapter IX of the Charter that deals with international economic and social co-operation; and the remaining paragraphs merely state facts or principles of international co-operation and conduct that have been accepted by all. We do not think that any delegation represented here will have any serious objections to the preambular paragraphs as such.

68. The final communiqué of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung shows that the Conference was, inter alia, agreed on the following: first, in declaring that colonialism, in all its manifestations, is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end; secondly, 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;

thirdly, in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples; and finally, in calling upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

69. The operative part of the forty-two-Power draft resolution begins with the words:

"Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

"And to this end

"Declares that:

"1. 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."

As is clear, these paragraphs are based on the text of the final communiqué of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. It is also to be noted that the second Conference of Independent African States which met at Addis Ababa from 14 to 26 June 1960 voiced the same sentiments and aspirations in its resolutions on the eradication of colonial rule in Africa.

70. The second principle in the operative part of the draft resolution relates to the right of self-determination and is based on article 1 of the draft Covenant on Human Rights dealing with the right of self-determination which has been accepted by most of the Members of this Assembly.

71. The third principle is self-explanatory and merely implies that political, economic, social or educational unpreparedness must not be used as a pretext for delaying independence.

72. The fourth principle implies that the people in the countries under colonial domination must not be subjected to armed action or repressive measures that will prevent them from exercising their right to independence freely and without pressure of any kind from Administering Authorities. It further says that the integrity of the national territory shall be respected. The stipulations contained in this principle are based on the practical experience of the countries in their struggle for freedom against the colonial Powers. Hence, it is full of meaning and significance to the peoples still under the colonial yoke.

73. The fifth principle is, in our opinion, the most important one and forms the key paragraph in the whole draft resolution, the implementation of which alone can make it effective. It has been argued that this paragraph appears a little irresponsible because it does not take into account the peculiar circumstances of each territory under colonial or Trust administration, and its adoption may make it unnecessarily difficult for the Administering Power to discharge its responsibilities. However, it is proposed by the sponsors merely in the hope and belief that the adoption of this paragraph will give an added incentive to the colonial Powers to draw up and declare suitable time limits for the granting of independence to the countries under colonial rule as soon as feasible, taking into account both the rising expectations and demands of the peoples and the peculiar circumstances prevailing in each dependent territory, Trust Territory or colony.

74. The sixth principle cautions, in the light of the living experience of the colonial territories, against any attempt on the part of the colonial Powers at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of the colonial country by stating that such attempts would be incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations.

75. Paragraph 7 merely reiterates and reaffirms that all States shall observe the provisions of the declaration along with those of the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity. The principles that have been put forward as the basis for the observance of the above-mentioned provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are manifestly the principles which have been enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations itself and generally accepted by every Member of this Organization.

76. We commend this draft resolution to the unanimous acceptance of the Members of this Assembly.

77. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): The serious interest demonstrated in the consideration of the item before the General Assembly is in itself evidence of the great importance which the people of the world and the United Nations attach to the necessity of an immediate end to the system of domination of peoples and nations. I do not see any need to restate my country's traditional firm policy of full support of the absolute elimination of the system of domination in all its forms and manifestations. Our stand on this matter is not only clear but has been outstanding.

78. In my intervention of 12 October 1960 before the General Assembly [902nd meeting], I emphasized that a declaration on the abolition of colonialism should have been the first order of business at the time of the establishment of the United Nations, and I regretted that it had been delayed. I have asked permission to speak on this issue at this stage to explain why we have actively participated in the drafting of one of the declarations which we have ultimately co-sponsored and to state our own understanding of this declaration.

79. We have listened to all the statements with great care. We have naturally felt associated with all strong arguments in favour of the urgent abolition of the system of domination and colonialism put forward by those who have preceded us. However, on our part, we are proud to say that we do not have anything to complain about regarding the colonial Powers, if the colonial Powers which attempted to attack us have nothing to complain about regarding us. They attacked us and we defended our rights, and that is that. It is a matter which belongs to a history which we do not wish to be repeated. Therefore, I do not intend to repeat the tragic history or the sad consequences of the policies of domination, as we think we are here not to deal with the faults of the past but to prevent their continuation and to abolish the possibility of their revival—a history which should in no way be allowed to repeat itself.

80. Moreover, I do not intend to go into the matter of the definition of colonialism or domination of peoples and nations, particularly since I speak before an Assembly the majority of whose Members are eyewitnesses to different forms of suffering emanating

from the different forms of domination. Without the intention, therefore, of repeating what has already been said, I shall confine myself to a few general observations, as our specific ideas are incorporated in the draft resolution under consideration of which we are a co-sponsor.

81. First, the system that we should like to see immediately abolished is the domination of any people by an alien people in all its forms and manifestations. Second, independence from domination should apply not only to those peoples and territories which are usually called colonies but to all dependent peoples. Third, the abolition of domination by giving independence should be complete; it can be completed only if it is meant to stop forever any attempt at the revival of any alien influence on peoples and nations after they have achieved their independence. Fourth, independence should not mean only political independence, but should mean economic and cultural independence, free from any direct or indirect influence or exercise of pressure of any kind on peoples and nations in any form and under any pretence. Fifth, the implementation of the provisions of the declaration should be universal and should apply to all peoples and territories, not only for the achievement but also for the preservation of their full and absolute independence, solely dependent on the free will and determination of the peoples themselves, and free from any influence whatsoever.

82. The draft resolution covers all these principles in the real sense and spirit of its provisions. No other interpretation should be considered a part of our understanding of this declaration, particularly anything which would in any way cast a shadow of doubt on these principles and their undeniable acceptance by the peoples of the world.

83. There are two paragraphs in this draft resolution which were incorporated as a result of the particular interest which my delegation attaches to their provisions: operative paragraph 2 of the declaration, which reads:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

and the eighth paragraph of the preamble, which affirms that:

"peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,".

84. I mention this only to emphasize the importance of these provisions among other provisions of the declaration for the abolition of dependence and colonialism, to all of which we have agreed with full conviction.

85. It is our strong hope that the United Nations will not fail to adopt the most effective measures at the conclusion of its consideration of the issue before it. My delegation will support any other constructive measures which would strengthen the stand of the United Nations in favour of the natural and undeniable right of peoples and nations and which would bring about the end of all forms of domination of man by man.

86. Before concluding, I wish to express our appreciation of one of the great constructive changes which separates our time from that of the past. With the world following two main ideological systems, it is a source of gratification to us that, within each system, the Powers most capable of domination are not colonial Powers. I refer, evidently, to the Soviet Union and the United States. The great responsibilities of these big Powers in the implementation of the declaration cannot and should not be ignored.

87. The fact that the initiative for a declaration on the abolition of domination and colonialism to be acted upon by the United Nations was taken by the delegation of the Soviet Union is greatly appreciated by us. I wish to pay a warm tribute to the Government and people of the Soviet Union for their effort in this field. It is our hope that all other Powers, including the colonial Powers, will follow the same policy for the achievement and preservation of the right of all nations and peoples to freedom and the right of man to dignity.

88. When the declaration on the abolition of domination and colonialism is put to the vote, it will be an historic moment in which the real stand and the real, sincere intentions of all countries, large and small, will be put to the test. This will not be a vote that, if cast negatively, will leave room for any positive explanation of vote understandable to mankind.

89. It is our strong hope, therefore, that no nation in this Organization will fail itself in this great historic test.

90. **Mr. AIKEN (Ireland):** When my delegation read the statement introducing the proposed "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4502 and Corr.1], we feared we were about to witness only another intense propaganda battle. We feared that the greater part of the discussion would be directed not to the consideration of how best to win independence for the peoples not now enjoying independence, but that their rightful aspirations and vital interests would be set at nought in an attempt to use them as cannon fodder in the cold war.

91. We welcome, therefore, the constructive efforts of those who prepared the draft resolution [A/L.323] and of all those who contributed to this debate with the sole object of securing a fruitful outcome; instead of sowing hatred and confusion, they have tried to promote friendship, co-operation and freedom. We welcome, too, the many emphatic statements that the peoples have the inalienable right to enjoy a full measure of independence for their national territories. Many peoples stand deprived of that right today. Some of these peoples have never achieved independent statehood. Some others—and their fate is not less tragic—had their independence and lost it.

92. Representing a nation that fought for centuries to uphold the principles of freedom for men and nations—the principles that are now inscribed in our Charter—the Irish delegation, like most other delegations, has one interest and one interest only in this debate: that is, to secure the passage of a resolution by this Assembly that will best serve the long-term interests of all nations and give fresh impetus to the speedy and orderly implementation of our Charter principles. In this way, we can help to lay firm foundations for a true peace and for a great co-operative effort to reduce poverty, illiteracy and disease throughout the world.

93. Most of us here, I believe, are concerned to ensure that our resolution shall be as universal in its application as is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is essential that it should not be selective or directed to certain cases or to certain parts of the world; it is essential, we submit, that the rights it proclaims for peoples not now enjoying full national independence should be applicable to all peoples in all parts of the world, east or west, north or south; that the right to exercise full national independence should be recognized as justly belonging to all peoples, whether the oppressors and the oppressed were of the same race, creed or colour or of different races, creeds and colours; whether the oppressed peoples came under the domination of an outside Power many centuries ago like my own country, or in the last century like many countries in Africa, or in recent years like Tibet. We are concerned also to ensure that if, in the future, a small country anywhere in the world should come under the domination of an outside Power, our resolution should affirm the right of that country to regain its freedom.

94. The draft resolution sponsored by Afghanistan and forty-one other countries, clearly maintains this essential principle of universality when it reminds us that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms our "faith in fundamental human rights" and in the "equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

95. The draft resolution emphasizes the need for "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

96. The draft resolution recognizes further "the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples" and the fact that "the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations".

97. It asserts our conviction that "the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international ... co-operation... and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace".

98. It affirms the right of peoples freely to dispose of their national wealth in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit and international law.

99. It asserts the principle that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory".

100. It "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

101. The draft resolution firmly maintains the principle of universality when it declares 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".

102. The same principle of universality is explicitly asserted in the declaration, namely: "All peoples have the right to self-determination".

103. This principle also underlies the following declarations:

"Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence."

"All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected."

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

"All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity."

104. It will be noted, I am sure, that all the quotations I have given from various paragraphs of the draft resolution are couched in clear and unambiguous language and are of universal application. In these paragraphs definite and clear-cut principles are asserted without limitation of time or geography, or limitation as to race, creed or colour; the rights apply universally to all peoples, and the duties apply universally to all peoples.

105. In the quotations I have given, the draft resolution speaks of the "fundamental" human rights, of the "equal rights of nations", of the rights to self-determination of "all peoples", of the freedom of "all" dependent peoples, of the end of colonialism in "all its manifestations", of the right of peoples to dispose of their national wealth, of the end of "all practices" of segregation, of the inalienable right of "all peoples" to complete freedom, independence and territorial unity, of an end to colonialism in "all its forms" and manifestations, of the principle that independence shall "never" be delayed by a pretext of unpreparedness, of the duty of "all States" to observe the Charter of the United Nations and respect the sovereign rights of "all peoples" and their territorial integrity, of the truth that human rights and fundamental freedoms belong to "all peoples", without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

106. All the assertions of rights to which I have just referred seem to me to be general and universal in their application. The opening part of operative paragraph 5 seems, however, to be more restricted in its scope. It refers to territories which have not yet attained independence, without referring specifically to the case of peoples who once enjoyed independence, but lost it.

107. For the sake of clarity and uniformity with other parts of the draft resolution, my delegation therefore would prefer that the opening part of operative paragraph 5 should read:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in all cases where the sovereign rights proclaimed in the present Declaration are denied to any people, to transfer all powers to the people concerned without any conditions or reservations..."

108. However, we know the difficulty, in the few days now at our disposal for this debate, of changing the wording of a draft already agreed upon by the Governments of forty-two Member States after many weeks of discussion between their representatives. We are accordingly prepared, if the sponsors are not in a position to amend the wording as I have suggested, to accept the draft resolution as a whole as meaning that all peoples in all parts of the world now subject, or who may become subject in the future, in whole or in part, to an outside Power are entitled to full national independence for all their territory, and that immediate steps shall be taken to apply to them, in a speedy and orderly manner, the fundamental rights proclaimed for all peoples in this declaration.

109. In addressing this Assembly containing so many representatives of newly emerged nations and of the Powers which once held dominion over them, I wish to say how profoundly we are impressed by the widening of freedom which has occurred in our time through the efforts of former subject peoples and, often, through the wise and realistic statesmanship of the colonial Powers. The United Nations is entitled to be proud of the help it has given in the peaceful and orderly achievement of independence by many States in the last fifteen years. The result has been spectacular.

110. What Irishman would have believed forty years ago that he would live to hear a British statesman proclaim, in relation to all the remaining territories under United Kingdom administration, the words uttered here a few days ago by the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ormsby-Gore: "In these territories", he said, "there is no argument about the right of the people to independence; there is no argument whether the people will be independent or not. Certainly they will" [925th meeting, para. 50]. Which of us would have believed forty years ago that he would have lived to see a hundred nations participating on the basis of equality in a world Organization with a fundamental law such as the Charter of the United Nations? I gladly pay tribute to the part played in that achievement not only by the gallant men and noble women of the subject countries who fought for freedom through the centuries, but also by forward-looking statesmen and liberal-minded citizens of the colonial Powers.

111. The draft resolution we are discussing emphasizes the fact that, though much has been accomplished in the widening of freedom, much remains to be done.

112. In Ireland, we have not yet recovered the historic unity of our national territory. We therefore note with particular satisfaction the principle declared in operative paragraph 6 of this draft resolution:

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

113. We have every hope that, with the growth of goodwill and better understanding, the unity of our country will be recovered with reasonable speed and in a peaceful and orderly manner, in keeping with the interests of the Irish nation as a whole, and of the United Kingdom as well.

114. In many parts of the world, there are still many millions not now enjoying the rights proclaimed in this draft resolution. We trust the good work of extending

freedom will continue until all the peoples of the world are free and until, through peaceful and generous co-operation, the resources and skills at the disposal of mankind are fully developed to bring peace, prosperity and the chance of happiness to all corners of the globe.

115. Mr. KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): The delegation of the Federation of Malaya considers it a special and signal honour and pride to be associated with more than forty other delegations of Asian and African countries in co-sponsoring the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/L.323 and Add.1-5].

116. While in terms of sponsorship this declaration appears essentially an Asian-African initiative, this in no way implies that the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms is exclusively the concern of the Asian-African world. The distaste and abhorrence for the institution and practice of the subjugation of man by man and the domination of nations by nations is universally shared by men of conscience everywhere, inasmuch as the yearning for freedom and the determination to defend it are commonly felt by all humanity.

117. I would venture to say that the noble aims enunciated in this declaration, echoing and reiterating as they do the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter, will be welcomed as a source of stirring inspiration by all peoples, not only in Asia and Africa where the vestiges of colonialism still persist in one form or another, but also in other parts of the world where millions of people are forcibly denied the full enjoyment of complete freedom and national independence. Freedom and liberty are universal, and any declaration for the cause of freedom and liberty must, as a matter of course, be taken as universal in its application and scope.

118. That the Asian and African countries show a particular concern and anxiety for the speedy liquidation of colonialism is easily explained by the events of history. For the past many centuries, the pattern of history has been shaped by the subjugation and domination of weaker peoples by stronger nations. Invariably in this process, the victims had been, by and large, the Asian and African peoples. For centuries, Asia and Africa laboured and stagnated under a foreign yoke of one form or another. Although the force of nationalism and the yearning for freedom stirred in the hearts and souls of men, it was only in this century that this force gathered momentum and unleashed its full impact. Thus, the last few decades—particularly since the end of the Second World War—witnessed the emergence into full independence and sovereignty of a great many countries, first in Asia, then in Africa, representing over 500 million people of the world's population. The year 1960 alone saw the emergence of eighteen independent States, almost all of them from the great continent of Africa.

119. The admission of so many new States to membership of the United Nations during this session of the General Assembly was indeed a stirring reminder of the irreversible course of history in the direction of freedom and emancipation of peoples long subjected to alien domination. This process is still continuing, gathering momentum and ever powerful force with the passage of time. It is the tragedy of the moment that there are still instances where the ruling authorities fail to take full cognizance of this historical force,

but chose instead to repress the aspirations of their subject peoples.

120. My delegation is gratified, on the other hand, to note the assurances given by some colonial Powers of their undertaking to prepare their colonial peoples and territories for the exercise of full sovereignty without undue delay. It is only in conditions where the Powers concerned take full cognizance of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence and, accordingly, take the necessary steps to facilitate the early fulfilment of these aspirations, that the danger of hate and violence can be averted and independence achieved in a friendly and harmonious atmosphere. Any obstinacy on the part of the ruling authorities to recognize and give way to the irrepressible urge of the subject peoples for emancipation will inevitably erupt into violence which, ultimately, could have far-reaching consequences detrimental to relations among nations and to international peace and harmony.

121. On the other hand, a sensible and realistic handling of this problem on the part of the ruling authorities, as has been proven in many cases, cannot but lead to a cordial and harmonious transfer of power which, instead of abruptly breaking the ties between the master and the ruled in an atmosphere of hate and vengeance, would upon a new vista of happy relations and co-operation between them as equal partners in the world community of sovereign nations.

122. The Federation of Malaya happily is one of several countries that acceded to full sovereignty in a friendly and constitutional process. Today, as an independent nation, we enjoy the warmest and most cordial relations with the United Kingdom. Yet, our struggle for national liberation did not follow an easy path. There were many difficulties in the way and many obstacles to overcome. But, throughout this process, both our leaders and peoples, as well as the Administering Authority, displayed such measure of wisdom and understanding that our independence was achieved earlier than planned and without leaving any traces of hate or resentment. The harmonious transfer of power which marked the end of a colonial régime marked also an auspicious beginning for our task of national development and consolidation and for new relations with the United Kingdom as equal partners in the Commonwealth of Nations.

123. My delegation, therefore, understands the joy and gratification of those many new nations which have regained their independence in a similarly harmonious atmosphere. We realize, however, that not all are as fortunate. Many of our sister nations have achieved liberty only at the high sacrifice of human lives and material resources to the extent that their task of national development has been rendered extremely difficult by the added task of national rehabilitation and reconstruction. My delegation views, therefore, with the profoundest concern, the instances in some parts of the world today where unnecessary and senseless war is being waged against subject peoples who are struggling for their just and legitimate right to self-determination.

124. As a nation which had just attained its independence from colonial rule, however beneficent that régime may be, the Federation of Malaya has dedicated and continues to dedicate itself to the just cause of peoples and nations everywhere for the right to self-

determination and freedom from alien bondage in all its forms, manifestations and guises. This dedication to the cause of freedom has become one of the cardinal principles that form the cornerstone of my Government's foreign policy.

125. It is in this spirit that my delegation has felt proud and honoured to join other delegations of Asian and African countries, most of whom—like our country—had had a colonial past, in proposing the adoption of the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It would be wishful thinking to suggest that this declaration is intended to create the process of history. Rather, the aim is to assist and accelerate the course of history that is already set in motion by the irrepressible urge of subjected peoples for their emancipation from bondage to freedom and liberty.

126. This declaration, when adopted, as I have no doubt it will be, and I hope unanimously by all Members of this Assembly, will become another momentous, living and inspiring document of the United Nations, such as the Charter itself. Its aims are noble and lofty and are bound to touch the hearts and souls of all freedom-loving peoples. Its scope, as my delegation sees it, is universal; that is to say it speaks out for freedom of all peoples still living in colonial bondage, all peoples who in one way or another are forcibly denied the full enjoyment of complete and unrestricted sovereignty and independence. Thus the declaration proclaims in operative paragraph 2:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

127. In calling for the total elimination of alien rule, the declaration is also mindful of the danger to which new nations in their tender years are liable to be exposed. Thus, to guarantee the safety of the newly won independence, the declaration stresses in paragraph 7:

"All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity."

128. My delegation is fully aware, from the experience of our own country, of the dangers of new forms of alien domination which come in subtle guises, such as economic domination and, most dangerous of all, ideological domination. The latter, if unchecked, could lead to the total compromise of the political and economic independence to alien subjugation. Even before the attainment of our independence—and through the years of our existence as a sovereign nation—our people have steadfastly fought to keep the nation free from being subjugated by this form of alien ideological domination. We are determined to continue to be alert against this new and more sinister form of human bondage.

129. The Asian and African sponsored declaration, as my delegation sees it, is realistic in its approach to the problem of colonialism. It seeks not to condemn the colonial Powers, for condemnation, however justified in some cases, does not serve the interest of

the colonial peoples. But, rightly so, it focuses attention on the evils and dangers inherent in the institution and practice of colonialism. It brings to light the anachronism of colonialism in the present-day world in which the ideals of equality and liberty have become an ever powerful driving force in the course of history. It points out that the continuation of colonial domination is not only opposed to the Charter of the United Nations, but constitutes an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

130. Thus, it calls for the ending of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and for immediate steps to be taken in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other territories which have not yet attained independence to transfer all powers to the peoples concerned. By making this call, the declaration does not envisage, in the view of my delegation, that all powers shall be transferred forthwith. What is called for is that immediate steps be taken for the necessary preparation for the final transfer of power. All too often colonial Powers have delayed independence on the fabricated grounds of unpreparedness, while nothing is done towards this preparation, if indeed the territory concerned is as yet unprepared. Thus, alleged inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness has all too often been used as a pretext for delaying independence. This is a deplorable attitude on the part of the colonial Powers and contrary to the obligations under the Charter, which provides as a responsibility and duty of the Administering Authority that preparations be made for subject peoples to assume responsibility in the shortest possible time for independence.

131. My delegation deems it essential that all Administering Authorities of Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other colonial territories carry out faithfully their obligations under the Charter so that the neglect of their responsibilities will not be the lamentable cause of indefinite delays for the fulfilment of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence. The consequences of neglect should furthermore be studied closely and in true conscience, for such consequences of neglect have been demonstrated so glaringly in the crisis of the Congo.

132. I should like to venture to conclude my intervention with a reminder that the problem with which this Assembly is seized is a serious and grave problem which affects the lives, destiny and aspirations of millions of our fellow mankind who are still labouring under some form of alien subjugation or other. These people have no voice here, nor can their voice be heard outside of their own homes. They look to us here to champion their cause, with the keenest hope and anticipation that this momentous and historic debate will pave the way for the eventual removal of the injustices and humiliation they have suffered for so long. My delegation sincerely hopes, in the interests of these still subjected peoples and in the interest of future international harmony and co-operation, that this debate, in trying to pave the way for the liquidation of colonialism, does not leave in its wake traces of resentment and bitterness which might inject a sour note to future international peace and co-operation. The ending of colonialism should be an auspicious and happy landmark in the history of mankind, and to this end we should all dedicate ourselves.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

133. Mr. TSIANG (China): The United Nations has, in the past fifteen years, frequently debated particular colonial questions arising from different parts of the world. The General Assembly, the Security Council and, of course, the Trusteeship Council have all had colonial questions on their agenda. Hitherto, all such questions considered by the United Nations have been concrete questions, relating to a particular country or region. This is the first time that the United Nations is considering colonialism in general.

134. My delegation has delayed our participation in this discussion because we are not sure about the practical fruitfulness of such a debate. If the purpose of the present debate is to achieve a general agreement on the principles relating to colonialism, such a debate does not seem particularly necessary, since we have had such general agreement already for fifteen years. The principles relating to colonialism are all enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the fulfilment of which we are all legally and morally committed. If, on the other hand, the present debate is intended to promote the application of the principles to the colonial questions that still remain, then, I submit the debate should be particularized and not generalized. No two colonial problems are alike; each colonial area or country has its special background and its special present-day conditions. What is suitable for one area is not necessarily suitable for the others. It is only through systematic study of each question by itself that we can make progress. I hope that the present debate will be useful in hastening the end of colonialism everywhere. I am, however, certain that it is not, and cannot be, a substitute for the systematic study of particular concrete colonial questions.

135. Among the countries of Asia and Africa, my country is one of the earliest to embrace modern nationalism and to fight for emancipation from European colonialism or imperialism. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Republic—indeed, the father of modern Chinese nationalism—began, towards the end of the nineteenth century, to lead the Chinese people in their two-fold task of freeing China from European exploitation and of building up in China a modern State, ready and capable of exercising the full rights of national sovereignty and of providing for the welfare of the Chinese people. In the course of this struggle, Sun Yat-sen found that there were many peoples in Asia and Africa living under conditions as bad as those prevailing in China and, in some cases, even worse. In his last will and testament, Sun Yat-sen emphasized that the new China—Nationalist China—should always sympathize with and support the oppressed peoples of the world and give them, in their struggle for independence and freedom, such support as the Chinese people are capable of.

136. My delegation and my Government have always been faithful to the teachings of Sun Yat-sen. When I first came here to represent my country, one of the critical problems that the United Nations faced at that time was the struggle for national independence by the people of Indonesia. In the long debates in the Security Council on that question, my delegation was second to none in its warm support of Indonesian freedom. From that time to the present, my delegation has been consistent in this respect.

137. It is generally assumed that the problem of colonialism is a problem between certain European peoples on the one side and certain Asian-African

peoples on the other side. It is also generally assumed that the problem of colonialism concerns the relations between the industrialized nations and the under-developed nations of the world. My delegation believes that these two assumptions are in general correct, but we also believe, however, that these assumptions over-simplify the problem of colonialism. There are exceptions to and variations of these assumptions that call for some consideration in order to get at the full truth. I wish, therefore, to speak briefly on the variations and exceptions to the general rule.

138. It is not true that the problem of colonialism only arises when more highly developed nations try to dominate less developed nations. History records many instances where less developed people have tried to exercise domination over a more developed people. I shall cite an example which has the merit of not arousing any contemporary controversy. The example is that of the Mongol empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Mongols, led by Genghis Khan, were predominantly nomads. Their economy was very primitive, mainly limited to sheep-raising. Their political organization was in the main along tribal lines. Yet, these people conquered China and held it under subjection for almost a century. They conquered and held in subjection also large parts of western Asia and eastern Europe which were, for the most part, as was China, far more advanced than Mongolia was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

139. The Mongols, under Genghis Khan, were not seeking markets for their export trade, for in fact they had almost nothing to export. They were not seeking foreign fields for investment, for in fact they had no capital to invest in their own country, to say nothing about foreign countries. They were not seeking raw materials, for in fact they would not have known what to do with coal, iron, rubber, oil, coconut or tin. They were seeking power and tribute. Nevertheless, such a relatively under-developed people, motivated by a crude desire for power and loot, built an empire as big as any that the history of mankind has ever seen.

140. The example of the Mongol Empire demonstrates conclusively that colonialism or imperialism is not the exclusive property of any particular economic, political or social system. Indeed, if we study history carefully, we find that peoples in all parts of the world, in all stages of development, from the Stone Age through nomadism, agriculture, commerce to modern mechanical industry and capitalism, have all made attempts at colonization and empire-building. The problem of colonialism is as old and as complex as human history itself.

141. It is also not true that only European peoples have practised colonialism and imperialism, or that they practise colonialism and imperialism only against non-European peoples. My example of the Mongol Empire is a case of an Asian people practising colonialism and imperialism against other Asian peoples and against Europe as well. In the mediaeval period, there was the Moorish Empire, stretching to Portugal and Spain and even at one time threatening to colonize France. In the early modern period, there was the Ottoman Empire covering parts of Asia, Africa and south-eastern Europe. Europe itself has practised colonialism and imperialism against European, as well as against non-European, peoples. I need only cite here the case of the Napoleonic Empire. I might also cite the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

142. In connexion with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I might be permitted to remind the Assembly of the Peace Conference in Paris in the middle of the nineteenth century, at the end of the Crimean war. One of the nationalist movements of that time was that of Italy. Led by Cavour and other Italian statesmen and prophets, the Italian people strove for emancipation from Austro-Hungarian domination of Lombardy-Venetia as well as for Italian unity. At the Paris Conference, France sympathized with Italian nationalism and wished to give Cavour a chance to plead for Italian freedom and unity and to speak about Lombardy-Venetia. The Austro-Hungarian delegation to the Paris Conference protested on the ground that the question of Lombardy-Venetia was one of Austrian domestic jurisdiction, that the Austrian title to Lombardy-Venetia had been sanctified by treaty and tradition, and that, therefore, it was an uncalled for interference if the Conference in Paris should touch on problems relating to northern Italy.

143. As is well known, the Austro-Hungarian objections were overruled by Count Walewski, the President of the Conference, and Count Cavour had his chance to speak on behalf of Italian freedom and unity. I recall this episode partly because, although it occurred one hundred years ago, it still holds certain lessons valid for us today and partly because that episode is a good demonstration of the fact that the European nations have exercised colonialism and imperialism over other European peoples.

144. Colonialism changes with time. It is as varied as human society itself. We would be unrealistic and ineffective if we limited our attention to any one type of colonialism and overlooked the dangers and threats of other types of colonialism.

145. In the modern period of history, that is, in the last four or five centuries, the main trend of colonialism is that of European expansion to the other continents of the world. It is in the main a struggle of the economically and politically better organized States of Europe against the politically and economically less developed peoples of Asia, Africa and America. In the course of these centuries, the whole world has been, to some degree at least, Europeanized. If there is one feature in modern history that can be said to dominate the whole period, we can say that it is the Europeanization of the world. The process has been a mixture of the evil with the good. I shall not stop to analyse and differentiate or to assign blame and responsibility. Some of the evil done by Europe to Asia and Africa was unintended; some was intended. Likewise with the good; some of the good done was incidental and unintended; on the other hand, there has been some good which was intentional and planned. The whole process of the Europeanization or colonization of the world is indeed very human—a great mixture of the good with the evil.

146. When Europe started on its grand movement for expansion beyond Europe, it divided into two currents. Nations of Western Europe expanded overseas to America, Asia and Africa. Russia, that is Tsarist Russia, on the other hand, expanded overland. The Russians crossed the Ural Mountains to conquer and colonize Siberia and Central Asia. Furthermore, Russia took Crimea, the Caucasus and certain parts of Eastern Europe. It has been an accident of geography that most of the countries of Asia and Africa were reached only by the overseas expansion of Western

Europe and were untouched by the overland expansion of Tsarist Russia. As a result of this geographical circumstance, most of the peoples of Asia and Africa, but not all, have had the colonialism of Western Europe burned into their consciousness and have almost no room in their minds for the overland colonialism of Russia. For this reason, the present prevailing opinion in many Asian-African countries in regard to European colonialism is one-sided, distorted and, to a certain degree, non-objective.

147. The two currents of European expansion, that is, the overseas expansion of Western Europe and the overland expansion of Russia, met with relatively weak opposition on the part of the peoples of Asia, Africa and America. In both currents, the participants were a great mixture of adventurers, lawless persons, patriots, religious zealots and fortune hunters. In the case of Russia, the first expansionist leader was Yermak, who led a band of 840 men across the Ural Mountains in the year 1579. In about sixty years, a succession of Russian adventurers managed to reach the Pacific Coast, in the region of Okhotsk. In those sixty years, the entire extent of Siberia became a part of the Tsarist Empire, with a total area of 4 million square miles, more than twice the size of European Russia.

148. In this long march to the Pacific across Siberia, the first organized opposition the Russians met came from the Kuchum Khanate, on the upper part of the Ob River. The Khanate was one of the remnant parts of the great Mongol Empire. In 1583, Yermak captured Siber, whence the name of Siberia, the capital of the Khanate. When the Russians reached the Far East, they met the opposition of China. Here, in the region watered by the upper tributaries of the Amur River, China and Russia fought a series of skirmishes. Militarily it was a draw. The military stalemate resulted in the Treaty of Nerchinsk, signed on 27 August 1689. According to that Treaty, the valley of the Amur River and its tributaries was acknowledged to be part of China.

149. In the nineteenth century, the Russians renewed their aggression along the Amur River. By a combination of military action and diplomacy, Tsarist Russia took from China the northern bank of the Amur River and the eastern bank of the Ussuri River. These two areas today constitute the Amur Province and the Maritime Province of the Russian Far East. The city of Vladivostok was, up to 1860, a Chinese settlement called "Hai-shen-wei"; the Russians changed it to "Vladivostok", which means "Dominant of the East". These regions of the Amur and Ussuri, which Tsarist Russia took from China in 1860, and which Soviet Russia retains, have a total area of 400,000 square miles.

150. I shall not relate here the history of Russian expansion in Central Asia. The so-called Republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan of today had been independent countries before they were annexed by Tsarist Russia. I shall also not relate the story of Russian expansion in Europe itself. Others in this hall know that story even better than I do.

151. In his long speech before the General Assembly on 23 September 1960 which, among other things, opened the present debate on colonialism, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the

Soviet Union, had some very important as well as interesting things to say about colonialism in Tsarist Russia:

"The Tsarist Government pursued in the borderlands of Russia an essentially colonialist policy which differed little from what can be observed today in colonial countries, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks and other non-Russian nationalities were scornfully called 'aliens'. They were not considered human beings and were ruthlessly exploited. National differences, hatred and dissension were fomented between these nationalities, and the Tsarist Empire was held together only by bayonets and oppression." [869th meeting, para. 207.]

152. With Mr. Khrushchev as our authority, we can conclude that Russia, at least up to the Revolution of 1917, had a colonial empire, differing but little from the other colonial empires of the world. What he called "borderlands... held together only by bayonets and oppression" included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia and parts of Manchuria. They covered 15 million square kilometres of land, or about 70 per cent of the total area of the Russian Empire. That is the heritage left by Tsarist Russia to Soviet Russia. The all-important question is: What has the Soviet Union done with this Tsarist heritage?

153. At the time of the Revolution in 1917, all former colonial areas of Russia rose in revolt and declared their independence. Some succeeded, some failed. Finland, under Marshal Mannerheim, won its war of independence which ended with the signing of the treaty of 14 October 1920; the same happened in Poland, which, under Marshal Pilsudski, had its independence confirmed by a treaty signed on 18 March 1921; and also in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which signed treaties on 22 February, 11 August and 12 July 1920, respectively. But it was not the same for the other colonial areas. The independence of the Ukraine was suppressed in August 1920, that of Georgia in February 1921, and that of Central Asia through a long campaign that lasted from 1922 to 1924. In recent years, the Soviet Union has retaken Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and has, in addition, brought other European countries under its domination. Today, the Soviet Empire is bigger than that of the Tsars. We know from the example of Hungary how the Soviet Union would deal with any of its subject peoples if they should fight for freedom.

154. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union painted a bright picture of the development of the Central Asian Republics in the Soviet Union on the one side, and a dark picture of the colonies of Western European nations on the other. Certain delegations in this Assembly hall can examine his account of conditions in the Western colonies with greater authority than I. I wish, for the moment, to call the attention of the Assembly to conditions in Central Asia. Mr. Khrushchev admitted the following:

"Conditions in remote areas of the Tsarist empire hardly differed from those of colonies because their populations were cruelly exploited by the autocracy, by capitalism." [*Ibid.*, para. 192.]

He went on to say that the picture has greatly changed since the October 1917 Revolution:

"Today Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan—all the sister republics of Central Asia—have been transformed from backward colonies of Tsarist Russia into advanced, industrially developed socialist republics." [*Ibid.*, para. 193.]

155. It is true indeed that there has been considerable industrial development in Soviet Central Asia, but there has likewise been considerable industrial development in many of the Western colonies. The fact remains that in the huge Soviet Empire industrialization has been very uneven. Take the example of the textile industry. According to Mr. Baransky, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, in his book on the economic geography of the Soviet Union, 80 per cent of the textile industry of the USSR is concentrated in the three purely Russian regions of Moscow, Yaroslavl and Ivanovo, and only 20 per cent in the cotton-producing areas which are in Central Asia.

156. The natural resources of the Soviet Union are unevenly distributed. The non-Russian Republics of Turkestan, Caucasia and the Ukraine and some historically non-Russian areas of Siberia are the richest in the Soviet Empire. Almost 100 per cent of the oil resources are concentrated in the Moslem republics. Basic iron and coal deposits, manganese, non-ferrous metals, sugarbeet, cotton, grain and cattle breeding are also mostly concentrated in non-Russian areas, while the ethnic Russian areas are generally poor in natural resources. In spite of this fact, industrial development has been much more concentrated in Russia proper and is much less significant in the non-Russian territories. According to official Soviet statistical sources, Russia proper produces 75 per cent of all Soviet engineering and metal-working products, 92 per cent of all automobiles, 87 per cent of all finished cotton goods and 82 per cent of wool products.

157. In addition to the favoured position of Russia proper in the huge Soviet Empire, the Russians have migrated in large numbers into many of these so-called sister republics. According to the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, the population of Kazakhstan, which is the largest of the non-Russian republics, was, in 1933, 57 per cent native Kazakh and 19.7 per cent Russian, with a certain percentage of other minor groups. According to the Soviet census of 1959, the population of Kazakhstan has become only 30 per cent Kazakh, 42.7 per cent Russian, 9.2 per cent Ukrainian, with the remainder consisting of minor ethnic groups.

158. Mr. Khrushchev had also much to say on the subject of the cultural development of the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. He said:

"It is known, for example that before the revolution the peoples of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics were almost entirely illiterate. There were almost no people with secondary and higher education. The Soviet Power has made education and culture widely accessible to all peoples." [*Ibid.*, para. 199.]

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the cultural conditions in Central Asia in the earlier periods—at least, I do not. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that Mr. Khrushchev's characterization of these peoples as being almost entirely illiterate is a gross caricature. According to the Russian geographer, Khanykov, who explored the Bukhara region in about 1840, and

who was, by the way, strongly anti-Moslem, schools in the Bukhara Emirate were spread all over the country, both in towns and in villages. In towns, almost every street had its primary school and, according to an approximate evaluation, about one-quarter of the population of the Emirate was literate. During the first half of the nineteenth century, such a high percentage of literacy was high even for Western countries.

159. Leaving aside the cultural conditions of Central Asia in the pre-Russian period, we know for certain that the cultural development in the Soviet Union is also uneven. Take, for example, Uzbekistan. The population of Uzbekistan is 14.5 times less than that of Russia proper, but the number of students is 18 times less, the number of books and journals published per year is 44 times less and the number of issues of newspapers published per year is 40 times less.

160. Let us take Kazakhstan. The population of Kazakhstan is 12 times less than that of Russia proper, but the number of students is 24.5 times less, books and journals published per year 66 times less and newspapers issued 35 times less.

161. Or let us take the Ukraine. According to official Soviet statistics, the population of the Ukrainian Republic is 2.8 times less than that of the Russian Republic, but the number of students in higher schools is 3.6 times less, the number of books and journals published per year is 10 times less and the number of issues of newspapers published per year is 7 times less. There was a time when the culture of the Ukraine was ahead of that of Russia. One cannot possibly argue that the present state of Ukrainian culture is due to its old backwardness.

162. Mr. Khrushchev painted for us a glorious picture of the national freedom in the Soviet Union, when he said:

"Under the Constitution, each of our fifteen Union Republics has the right to remain in the Union or to leave it, if it so desires. The existence of nineteen autonomous republics, nine autonomous regions and ten national territories makes it possible to preserve the national characteristics and cultural originality and individuality of each people and nationality." [*Ibid.*, para. 209.]

163. It is true that article 17 of the Soviet Constitution does declare that every Soviet Republic has the right to secede from the Soviet Union. But Mr. Khrushchev forgot to mention to us two other articles of the same Constitution, namely, articles 21 and 133. Article 21 stipulates: "Uniform Union citizenship is established for citizens of the USSR." Article 133 reads: "To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason to the Motherland—violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes". In fact, any attempt to obtain any advantage from article 17 of the Constitution automatically becomes a serious crime, according to articles 21 and 133.

164. It should be remembered that, while the political structure of the Soviet Union is nominally a federation, actual political power is centralized in the Russian Communist Party. The Communist Parties of the constituent republics are treated as local committees of the Russian Communist Party.

165. The question may be asked: Why do the Soviets, while refusing their own captive peoples the right to secede and establish themselves as independent States, propagate the slogan of liberation of colonial peoples in Asia and Africa? Lenin answered this question in the following words:

"We, as Communists, must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movements in colonial countries when those movements have a real revolutionary character and when the representatives of those movements will not hinder us in educating and organizing the peasants and the exploited masses in the revolutionary spirit."

I have taken this quotation from Lenin's Works, 4th Edition, Volume XXXI, page 217.

166. Later, Stalin also gave an answer to this question:

"The slogan of self-determination of nations at the present moment, when the flame of emancipation is spreading in the colonies, is a revolutionary password for us. While the Soviet States are uniting into a federation of their own will, the nations forming the Russian Socialist Federation will not voluntarily use the right of secession. However, if we deal with colonies still under the claws of Britain, France, America, Japan, if we deal with such countries as Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, India, which are colonies or half-colonies of the Entente, then the right of nations to separate becomes a revolutionary slogan and to give it up means to help the imperialists."

I take this quotation from the Works of Stalin, Volume V, page 43.

167. In plain language, Stalin's idea was this: the Soviet Union supports the liberating movements in Western colonies because such support will help the Soviet Union to spread its power and its interests the world over. Within the borders of the Soviet Union, the Soviets are naturally against any liberating move-

ments and against any form of federation of free nations. That is the crux of the matter. Let us not misunderstand the Soviet initiative in this session of the General Assembly.

168. Lenin declared long ago:

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism even if the latter is just, irreproachable and civilized. Marxism is moving forward ahead of every nationalism as an international idea of the amalgamation of all nations into a higher whole. National culture is in general the culture of estate-owners, clergy and bourgeoisie."

This quotation is found in Lenin's Works, Volume XX, page 8.

169. We are against colonialism of any type, shape or origin. A colony is a colony, whether it is the product of overseas expansion or the product of overland expansion. We have nothing good to say about colonialism. We wish it to be terminated as early as possible and, for this reason, my delegation will support the forty-two Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. Wherever people in Asia, Africa, Europe or America struggle against colonialism, China will lend them its support.

170. The world faces a gigantic contradiction in its developments. On the one hand, we have the development of the colonies of Western European countries into independent nations, many of which are represented here today. On the other hand, we have the Soviet Empire ever expanding. I think I am not wrong or immoderate when I say that the nations of Western Europe are trying to live up to, even though somewhat slowly, too slowly, the principles of the Charter and the basic aspirations of mankind. The Soviet Empire is today pushing and forging ahead against the ideals of the United Nations Charter and the basic yearnings for freedom of people everywhere. This is the problem of colonialism which the United Nations faces today.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.