



CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 87:</i> <i>Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (continued).</i>	1147

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. THORS (Iceland): For the last eight days, we have been discussing here in plenary session a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502]. This is a great cause, a big order, and much has been said by many delegations and remains to be said by others. The delegation of Iceland wishes to testify to its great interest in this matter by giving expression to a few of its deliberations.
2. From the very beginning of the United Nations, from the days of its creation in San Francisco in 1945, the question of colonialism in all its forms has been one of its chief preoccupations. Thus, one of the main bodies of the Organization was to become the Trusteeship Council, and one of the six of the original permanent Committees—the Fourth Committee—was to devote its time and thought to these problems, including those of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.
3. At the end of the Middle Ages, colonialism began to set its mark on the continents of the world and soon became a great factor in the development of human history. It has had its few beneficial aspects, but many more destructive influences on the colonialized peoples through exploitation and stagnation, and it has even led to misery for those peoples. Colonialism was created by the exploratory and expansionist spirit of the brave and adventurous European explorers who sailed to every corner of the world and discovered new continents. These new lands were made colonies of the then dominating Powers of Europe, and the colonial system reached its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
4. Today times have changed radically, and we are even, with the feeling of being fully justified by reality, here and now planning the complete liquidation of colonial rule. This evolution has been marked by hard struggles inside and outside all the colonialized lands. It has caused the shedding of blood on many continents and imposed tremendous sacrifices and sufferings on the subjugated peoples everywhere.
5. The people of Iceland have always taken the side of the subjugated peoples and held dearly to the ideal that every people should, through the right of self-determination, become master of its fate and future.

We have here in the United Nations, therefore, always and in every case—such as, for example, the questions of Cyprus and Algeria—voted for the self-determination of the small countries, no matter what big Power saw reason to oppose such moves towards freedom and independence. We, the Icelandic people, could not act otherwise, since we have had our own experience of foreign domination, and therefore we can appreciate the blessings and benefits enjoyed by each nation when it is master in its own house and in a position to utilize for its own benefit the country's natural resources on land and in the sea so as to bring progress to, and increase the prosperity of its own people.

6. Although Iceland was independent for three centuries—from the ninth to the thirteenth—we only regained our full sovereignty in 1918, and therefore have had a renewed experience of sovereign rule for over forty years, although our reborn Republic only dates back to 1944. Our history is different from that of many countries since we parted with our former political associate, Denmark, as a result of negotiations and as good friends, only to become still more closely and intimately linked with her after the complete separation.

7. It can be said that colonialism has been on the wane and gradually losing ground during the last two centuries. Perhaps the greatest blow it ever suffered was delivered here during the American Revolution, when, in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, it was stated:

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States."

About two years later, after a vigorous and victorious fight against heavy odds for the maintenance of this independence, George Washington wrote to a friend these brave and wise words:

"Nothing, short of independence, it appears to me can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war".

8. The revolution in North America and the words and deeds of men like George Washington, inspired the leaders of the Latin American countries such as Simón Bolívar, José Martí and similar outstanding men, who led the widespread anti-colonial revolution against the British and Spanish colonial rulers in the Americas. The lives and deeds of these men and of their friends and associates gave inspiration to later generations and to their leaders who, thenceforward and up to the present day, were to take up the torch to light the road of the nations to freedom and independence. The peoples of the world have always been

either dominated or led, either under the authority of rulers who take or under that of leaders who give. It became obvious in the relations between the colonial Powers and the colonized countries that charity begins at home. The interests of the homeland were paramount and in most cases the colonial rulers exploited the resources of the far-away regions of the world and enriched themselves, whereas the people of the colonies were kept under, in poverty, illiteracy, and even misery.

9. Experience gained during the two most horrifying conflicts in human history—World War I and World War II—opened people's eyes everywhere to the reciprocal relations between nations and to the fact that, since people everywhere were forced, or might be forced, to bear burdens and make sacrifices for mankind, they could therefore claim to enjoy the same human rights and to be masters of their own destiny.

10. Such has been the trend of the times, and to this point had the evolution of human thought and yearning for universal human rights reached when the United Nations Charter was drawn up in San Francisco, in 1945. These progressive ideas found expression in various provisions of the Charter.

11. In Article 1, para. 2, one of the main purposes of the United Nations is stated to be as follows:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;"

In the next paragraph of the same article, we have all expressed our support of the high ideal of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;". Similar commitments are repeated in Article 55. Let us remember that three whole chapters of the United Nations Charter are devoted to what we call colonial questions. These are Chapters XI, XII and XIII. It is also well to remember some of the principles of the Declaration contained in Article 73, which states:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories..."

In Article 76, it is further stated that one of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system is

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned..."

12. I have found it appropriate to cite all these explicit expressions in the Charter in order to remind us all that these are firm commitments which each and every Member of the United Nations has solemnly undertaken by signing the United Nations Charter. It

might therefore be asked whether a renewed adherence to these lofty principles was necessary or imperative. The Icelandic delegation is of the opinion that this exhaustive and world-wide debate should be concluded by adopting a resolution. Let us also remember that these ideals of freedom and independence were proclaimed at the African-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, although they were expressed in the following form: "That colonialism in its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end". The same sentiments have subsequently been repeated in resolutions adopted at various other conferences of African States.

13. Let us now consider for a moment what has happened in the world since the tremendous undertakings of the United Nations Charter in 1945. It must be a source of pride and satisfaction to all adherents of freedom and independence that since 1945 more than forty-five countries have acceded to independence, among them such countries as India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma with a total of more than 450 million inhabitants. Besides that more than 175 million who belonged to colonies, Trust Territories or Non-Self-Governing Territories have acquired their full freedom. These are enormous steps forward which have all been taken within the last fifteen years. During this session of the General Assembly, we have seen seventeen new nations emerge and become fully fledged and independent Members of our Organization, which is a great encouragement for all of us and augurs well for the future. Let us remember that when we refer to these figures we are not dealing with statistics but with human beings, individual souls and minds, who have received the gift of freedom and whose life therefore looms brighter than ever before.

14. However, there are still some 100 million people in various continents who continue to live under the domination of some foreign and distant Power. It is the present position of these peoples and their future fate with which we are immediately concerned at this juncture, under the item appearing with the imposing title: "Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." This item was proposed by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, during his visit to the General Assembly [869th meeting], and it is an initiative which, at this present stage, is to be welcomed. The Icelandic delegation, however, regrets that it is unable to consider that all the statements and assertions expressed in the declaration of the Soviet Union are relevant in this case or helpful to the cause of the liberation of all oppressed peoples; nor could we subscribe to many of the allegations therein contained. We are, therefore, not in a position to vote for that declaration as a whole should the Soviet Union want to put it to a vote in the Assembly.

15. We are grateful to the forty-five nations of the African-Asian group who worked jointly in preparing another declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which is now before us [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], and which already has been sponsored by forty-two countries. It is with optimism and a feeling of great satisfaction, that the Icelandic delegation will vote for every expression contained in the African-Asian declaration and for the draft resolution as a whole.

16. Allow me to express some few considerations relating to the draft resolution.

17. In paragraph 6 of the preamble it is stated that the General Assembly "recognizes that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations". We are certain that this is a true statement of the actual position. The same applies to the assertion in paragraph 9 where it says that we

"believe that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith".

18. We are glad to see that segregation and discrimination against races are repudiated and such a declaration is in complete conformity with what the Icelandic delegation has maintained and voted for through all the sessions of the General Assembly. The practices of segregation and discrimination should be repudiated, not only in the colonized countries, but everywhere in the world, in all countries whether they be old or new. Furthermore, the declaration solemnly proclaims the necessity for bringing to "a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". We think it is appropriate and wise to use the word "speedy" in this connexion, but not "immediate", as reality shows us that the complete liquidation of colonialism in various parts of the world will, in view of the individual people's actual position and standard of development, have to come gradually and progressively and as soon as possible. Therefore we find it necessary in this respect to stress the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, as expressed in paragraph 5 of the preamble.

19. It is evident that international assistance, preferably through the United Nations, will be required by the peoples still under the colonial system. This includes financial assistance, and clearly on a large scale, which, as in all such cases, has to come from the greater and richer countries of the world; we have to admit, in all humility, that a small country like Iceland can be of only little assistance in this matter. It would certainly be of the greatest benefit to mankind as a whole if every nation would voluntarily agree to sacrifice some part of its military budget and to devote even if it be no more than one per cent of the amount thus saved annually to increase welfare and promote industry in the less developed countries of the world and assist the colonized peoples in their endeavours to acquire financial and economic independence.

20. It is also evident that greatly increased technical assistance in all spheres is urgently required, whether it be for industrial purposes, communications or for training sufficient personnel from among the nationals of those countries to enable them to take over efficiently the administration of their own affairs. Paragraph 3 of the draft declaration states that:

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

We agree that no such pretexts should be applied, but it is equally clear that independence should not come all of a sudden without due preparedness, but must be gradually obtained step by step, and that such procedures are by necessity required. In this respect

we can also subscribe to paragraph 5, which states that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

21. The Icelandic delegation wishes to stress the importance of the words "immediate steps", which mean that independence cannot come like lightning from the skies but only through evolution and progressive development. These words, in our opinion, mean that such evolution should commence immediately and the first steps should be taken without delay. The road to independence may be short in some cases, somewhat longer in others. But it is of the utmost importance that the hope and assurance of independence and liberty be immediately bestowed on all the peoples of the world so that they can, in confidence and security, march forward on the road to complete freedom.

22. The Icelandic delegation welcomes this declaration of freedom and is grateful to the African-Asian countries for having taken the lead in this sincere and idealistic movement and for having brought the light of a happier and better future to all oppressed and discontented peoples everywhere. We trust that this declaration of freedom will be genuinely and wholeheartedly supported and implemented by all the nations of the world, and particularly by those nations that still hold dominion over peoples in any part of the world. We consider that this declaration of freedom does not only refer to those peoples that at present are governed by other nations, but means that all nations of today and tomorrow should enjoy their full freedom without undue and undesirable interference from any other nation whatever.

23. May the torch of liberty be kindled in every nation, in every part of our globe. But let us not forget that lofty ideals and high-sounding words and promises are of little avail if they are not followed by genuine acts. Let us also remember that whereas no nation has the right to govern other nations, so is it the primary duty of each nation to govern itself and firmly and adequately to pursue its independence on its own, and lead its own people to progress, education and prosperity.

24. Every nation—and particularly the small nations—should be truly conscious of the fact that its struggle for independence does not end with the formal proclamation and celebration of independence. On the contrary, it is then that the struggle for real independence begins. The nation has then to chart its own course across the immense ocean of world affairs. It must then be master of its own ship and breast the high waves of international struggle and intrigue, and only through the combined and skilful efforts of the crew can it hope to reach its desired destination. Without a united crew, the ship of state may be wrecked. Vigilance, caution and perseverance will of necessity be required.

25. In voting for the declaration of independence of all peoples, the Icelandic delegation does so without

angry or reproachful feelings toward any nation, but with a sincere expression of good wishes to all nations, large and small.

26. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): This is the first time that the United Nations is considering the entire question of colonialism. Concretely speaking, this is the first time that the United Nations is asked to proclaim solemnly "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". [A/L.323 and Add.1-5, last paragraph of preamble] If it had done this a decade earlier, it would certainly have been hailed as a bold and historic act of international statesmanship. If it had done this in 1955, following the great conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung, or even in 1958, following the first conference of independent African nations at Accra, it still would have been an enlightened and inspiring act. But we have had to wait until 1960 for a full and open airing of this pressing question.

27. Some may feel, therefore, that our discussions have come rather late in the day. Instead of spearheading the drive for freedom, the United Nations seems to be trailing behind the rapid march of events. But, though we may have reached the twilight hour, we feel it is still not too late to act. The grave of colonialism has been dug. Now the United Nations must prepare for its final burial.

28. In the life of nations, negotiations for freedom succeed the active and often violent struggle for national liberation. Sometimes, as in the case of my own country, negotiations may be interrupted by a renewal of armed conflict, precipitated by the stubborn and reactionary resistance of the colonial mind to the winds of change. However, notwithstanding some momentary setbacks, the victory of the dependent peoples remains in sight.

29. This is the stage we have now reached in the United Nations. The first major battle has been won. There is no longer any serious quarrel with the assertion that colonialism must disappear from the face of the earth. We are participating today, on an international level, in discussions for the complete eradication of colonialism and the acceptance of the new trend, the new forces of nationalism, in the world.

30. Seen in this perspective, our struggle has not been in vain. Not only are our voices being heard, not only has our struggle confirmed the inexorable demise of colonialism, but it has created the hope of today that the speedy end of colonialism will be brought about by our concerted efforts in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Let not this hope of today be still-born.

31. Under the preamble of the Charter, we, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined "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", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". We ask this Assembly now to express the conviction "that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory". [A/L.323 and Add.1-5, paragraph 11 of the preamble] We ask this Assembly solemnly to proclaim the speedy and unconditional end of colonialism. For there still is colonialism in the world. A few colonial

Powers are still locked in the arms of the past. They even have some friends who sympathize with their colonial affliction. We could perhaps pity them, if all our pity, all our sadness, all our thoughts were not directed toward the peoples whom they condemn, by their blindness, to live a senseless life of subjugation. It is the suffering of these peoples that is our heavy burden. It is their grief that fills our hearts and minds with anguish and with anxiety.

32. Our anxiety should indeed be shared by all. Surely no one who has lived through the last fifteen restless years can look with equanimity upon the persistence of the most virulent form of colonialism, which seeks to maintain a nation, a people, as its own private preserve. This antiquated way of thinking is responsible today for the war in Algeria, the turmoil in the Congo, the strife in South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique and Angola, as well as in other parts of Africa, Asia and even the Americas. It is responsible for the dangerously smouldering discontent in West Irian. Wherever it persists, it breeds such despair as is bound to explode into armed conflict. This is no inflammatory statement. It is a fact, and a clear warning. From our own tragic experience, we call upon the colonial Powers and their sympathizers to open their eyes and see the writing on the wall. We appeal to them to follow the example of others who are walking towards the light.

33. Scanning this Assembly, one cannot but be struck by the changing world picture. It finds its physical embodiment here. We are certainly grateful for the healthy realism shown by some colonial Powers towards the drive for freedom. But, at the same time, we are aware of the heavy sacrifices made by the dependent peoples in the attainment of their independence. If blood, sweat and tears made possible the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, if it made possible the United Nations, then it must be said that the same blood, sweat and tears of the dependent peoples have made possible the triumph of democracy over colonialism, have made possible our new United Nations, our new world. Their deep yearning for freedom has accomplished much. Think of the fact that, about thirty years ago, the Indonesian national leader, Sukarno, was imprisoned for merely prophesying the end of colonialism and the freedom of Indonesia. Today, Indonesia is free, along with other African-Asian nations, and President Sukarno could proclaim before this Assembly [880th meeting], without fear of dissent, that colonialism is dying.

34. Is it then merely a question of when all colonies are to be free, not whether they are to be free? Is it only a question of patience or impatience? No. That is only one aspect of a much broader and fundamental issue. Indeed, the central issue today is the lack of a common judgement of colonialism, of its actual character. The absence of a common understanding on this point continues to be a source of discord and even conflict. Here is where the real and present danger lurks.

35. We, the nations of new Asia and new Africa, reject colonialism in all its forms and manifestations because it is an evil. On the other hand, there are those who, even while acknowledging it as an evil, seek to justify colonialism on the basis of some ideal. But those who adopt this attitude should remember that, though the innocent victims of incarceration may for their own comfort extract some crumbs of con-

solation from their confinement, the gaoler should beware of preaching that prison is a good rather than an evil. To think that consolation can be a justification for evil is dangerous and misleading. Nevertheless, the colonial Powers and their supporters try to justify in humanitarian, economic, social and cultural terms the exploitation of man by man, discrimination because of race, colour or creed. What are the claims, and what are the facts? Let me briefly recall the past.

36. It is said that colonialism brought progress and prosperity to the colonies. Waste and open lands were converted into plantations; the wealth of the sub-soil was exploited; transportation was taken care of so that a stream of valuable primary products, including minerals and oil, became available to the world. Gradually, in the belief that they caused poor and barren countries to become fertile and productive territories, the colonizing nations found an economic justification for their domination of foreign peoples. They believed so strongly in this kind of reasoning that the voice of their conscience became silent and numb. Moreover, when at long last some education was given to the colonized nations, bolder assertions were made. These grew into the well-known theory of the "white man's burden", according to which a noble and high humanitarian, cultural and economic mission was being fulfilled. But, in fact, when the colonizers came to our shores, we were neither poor nor without civilization. It was indeed the wealth of our lands that had attracted their attention for centuries. Our economy was developed in those days. It was diversified. We in Indonesia, for example, were the producers of many products—now called the products of small-scale industries, of ships, in addition to the pepper, cloves and other spices that particularly attracted the Portuguese and Dutch. We were willing to exchange our goods for the products of the West. Ours were of a high quality and much desired by the peoples who came to us—unfortunately, so much so that they were not satisfied to obtain them through the channels of mutually beneficial trade. Our States—yes, our States, because we were nations possessing statehood in those days—became the victims of the military might of the West.

37. Then we entered a long, agonizing period of darkness, which has been lifted in some, but not all, parts of the world. Much of our productive capacity was wantonly destroyed by the colonizers in order to maintain high prices in the world market. In Indonesia, there were the well known Hongi raids by the Dutch, which destroyed the spice plantations of our people so as to ensure high prices in the world market. In more recent days, restrictions were imposed on the production of rubber on the people's plantations, not the large foreign estates. The interest of our countries was certainly not the dominating factor in organizing our productive capacity. No longer masters of our own fate and destiny, our diversified economy gradually became one-sided. The economic face of our land turned agrarian, our merchant fleet did not carry our own produce and ceased to exist as such. The plantations that came into being were cultivated by our people, as indentured labour, and produced the crops demanded by the markets of our rulers.

38. It would be interesting to speculate, at this point, on the possible economic situation of our countries if we had not been colonized, if we could have pursued the course of our own national life, if we could have

organized our own production after our contacts with the new markets of the West. For example, how would the developing technology in the West have affected us if that technology had come within our reach through peaceful contacts? As it is, such technology was withheld from us. I cannot prove—at least not mathematically—that under conditions of freedom our countries would undoubtedly have developed economically since such conditions were not given to us. But we have the previous example of Japan, and, in our days, that of China, India, the other countries of Asia including my own, those of Latin America, the Middle East and Africa—all of which are on the march to achieve economic progress without colonial rule. I am confident we will succeed.

39. It is, therefore, an unfair interpretation of the facts to state that colonialism brought wealth to our countries which would not have been created without colonial rule. Of course, at a very heavy cost, we inherited some productive capacity from our former rulers. But if one robs a house and later puts some furniture in it, one cannot claim that the owner had a poor house which he could not furnish himself. The owner was deprived of the liberty to adorn his own house. Moreover, aside from the tantalizing question of whether we could have created our own wealth, as we had in the past, what was the share accorded to our people on whose soil and with whose labour mines and plantations came into being?

40. I will not tire this Assembly with an abundance of figures. Allow me to cite just the following: In 1936, about 97 1/2 per cent of the total population of my country were Indonesians. Their share in the national income was estimated at about 20 per cent. Asian aliens amounted to approximately 2 per cent of the total population. Their share in the total national income was also 20 per cent. The non-Asian aliens were only one half per cent of our total population. Their share in our national income was the remaining 60 per cent. One half per cent of the total population, 60 per cent of the total national income. These are Dutch figures, illustrating the prosperity—or, rather, deprivation—of my people under colonial rule. This was the paradox of Indonesia: a rich country—a "garland of emerald round the equator" as one Dutchman described it—with a desperately poor people. As another Dutchman described it, Indonesia was a nation of coolies and a coolie among the nations.

41. In the light of these facts and figures, does not the philosophy of the "white man's burden", with his self-imposed mission to civilize and develop, sound rather hollow? I have only mentioned the economic stagnation, without touching upon the social and cultural stagnation, the destruction of human dignity, that accompany colonial rule. In fact, if colonialism is so benign and benevolent, why did the Americans in the North and South revolt? Why, in our time, have Asia, Africa, the Middle East revolted? Because colonialism is evil, because it is based on greed, because it means the domination of man by man. No fairy-tale of a mission, of a task, of a responsibility can quench the burning desire in man to be free, to be his own master, to take his destiny into his own hands. Yet, not only do the colonial Powers and their supporters cling desperately to their "white man's burden" but, what is worse, they attempt now to rationalize their justification of colonialism into a justification for maintaining colonial rule in their former dependent

territories, directly or indirectly. On the justification of the past, they seek to build a new edifice of colonial rule. Believing—alas, perhaps in good faith—that they know best, they hope to maintain their economic, strategic, social and cultural dominance, even while recognizing political independence. I speak here soberly from our own recent experience.

42. When the Dutch departed from Indonesia, we were saddled with an enormous debt, including the debts incurred by the Dutch in their first and second military aggressions against us. We were confronted not only with this unjust financial burden but with an empty treasury as well. We were left with only a handful of trained administrators and technicians. More than 95 per cent of our exports, imports, banking, shipping and industries remained in Dutch hands. The Dutch retained their economic control, while we were to remain as the hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country. We had political freedom without economic freedom, and that is no real freedom at all. We were determined, therefore, to uproot this inequity. We did uproot it. Notwithstanding the most dire warnings of imminent economic collapse, we took over the instruments of production and the financial institutions, and we survived. Today, instead of the Dutch or other aliens, Indonesians are playing the most important role in our economic life. Unquestionably we face economic difficulties. Undoubtedly we make mistakes. But they are our difficulties and our mistakes. We are now masters in our own house, and that is what counts.

43. There were also Dutch attempts to retain political and military control over Indonesia. We overcame the Dutch-inspired design to fragmentize our unitary State into numerous weak States, which they could then dominate, divide and rule. We put down the military disturbances caused by the Dutch adventurer Westering. We nullified the separatist movements, originated or encouraged by Dutch colonial groups, such as that of the so-called Republic of the Moluccas. We nullified their recent encouragements to separatism in Java, Sumatra, Celebes and other islands of Indonesia. We eliminated all these political, economic and military acts of subversion that were instigated and encouraged by those Dutch interests which still sought to preserve themselves in our territory and to capitalize on a troubled and turbulent situation.

44. However, one act of subversion, one question remains—the question of West Irian. It is not my intention to dwell in detail on this dispute which arose, solely and directly, from the Netherlands' refusal to live up to their explicit agreement, their solemn pledge, that the complete, unconditional and irrevocable transfer of sovereignty to the independent Republic of Indonesia was to cover the whole territory of the former Netherlands East Indies. But, in the context of examining the Western pretexts for continuing colonialism, I would like to expose their distortion of the right of self-determination. In West Irian, the Dutch are perverting this right of self-determination into a justification for an amputation of Indonesian sovereign territory. Again, the "white man's burden" is being used as a cloak for the retention of colonial rule and the unilateral annexation of a part of a sovereign nation.

45. The Dutch claim that they must train and prepare the people of West Irian to exercise their right of self-determination. The Dutch, who even after 350

years of colonial rule—yes, even after adhering to the Charter of the United Nations—sought by armed conflict and subversion to destroy this right of self-determination for the Indonesian people, now so suddenly, so piously, so exclusively invoke this noble right. It is ridiculous and certainly suspicious. Do they really wish to prepare the Indonesians in West Irian for self-determination, and I stress the word "self"? No, what they mean today, as in the recent past, is not self-determination but Dutch-made, Dutch-dictated determination. Why else do they ban the use of the Indonesian language in West Irian? Why else do they forbid the West Irians to listen to the radio broadcasts of the Republic of Indonesia? Why do they smash all organizations that favour the reuniting of West Irian and Indonesia? Why do they imprison any West Irian who shows the slightest sympathy for the Republic of Indonesia? Why try thus to brain-wash the West Irians, whose leaders and political organizations, together with the leaders and political organizations of the rest of Indonesia, have fought for the freedom of the whole of our country? Do not forget that the people of West Irian have long ago exercised their right of self-determination. They have done so in the same manner, with the same fervour and at the same time as all the other people of Indonesia. Moreover, is the massacre of our people in West Irian—in the Baliem Valley of West Irian—part and parcel of the Dutch programme of self-determination? This happened recently under the time-worn pretext of pacification.

46. All these are concrete questions to which we have never received any answers from the Dutch, because they cannot answer. Indeed, instead of answers that cannot be forthcoming, we want solutions of these colonial problems and disputes.

47. Make no mistake about it: we are standing at a new crossroads. Colonialism is dying, and in its place the nationalism of Asia and Africa, of former dependent peoples throughout the world, is surging to the centre of the stage. Will this bring peace or a new confrontation? Will there be an understanding of the positive forces at play in the reawakened and reborn nations of the world, or will a new colonialism, seeking to justify the past, arise from the ashes of the old to cross swords with the resurgent nationalism of Asia, Africa and Latin America? That is the choice, the challenge, of today.

48. Reject colonialism in all its manifestations, and there will be an end to the recurrent conflicts. Reject the colonial attitude, and you will be able to see our nationalism as a positive force for peace. Understand that our nationalism is not a chauvinistic and aggressive nationalism. Born in the crucible of foreign domination, it seeks new horizons not in the conquest or plunder of foreign lands, but in the development of our own material resources, in the rediscovery of our own creative resources, in the achievement of greater opportunities for all our people. Basically our nationalism is an assertion of our right and responsibility to live our own lives, to fashion our own political, economic, social and cultural institutions, in accordance with our needs and conditions.

49. We are still in the exciting process of rediscovering and perfecting our own national personality. Do not label us, then, as advocates of the right or the left, as sibling capitalists or sibling communists. You will misunderstand us unless you approach us as pioneers in search of our own way of life. Of course, it

the process of that search we shall make mistakes. We do not boast of perfection. But is the right to make mistakes, to correct one's own mistakes, not an essential attribute of freedom? Look backwards to the grave mistakes committed in this century alone by the old, established nations, and then ask yourselves if a paternalistic attitude is not rather arrogant. God forbid that we should be guilty of such mistakes. In the search for our own, unique personality, we shall imbibe deeply from the fountain of world knowledge and ideas. But we also intend to make our contribution. We believe that we have something to contribute in new ideas to the world fund of knowledge.

50. Finally, we need and we want certain assistance in the rebuilding of our nationhood because we are engaged in a great war against poverty and disease. We are waging war on the sources of war themselves. We are racing against time to fulfil the rising demands—not expectations, but demands—of our people. In asking for assistance in this battle, which is the battle of all mankind, we insist, however, that such assistance should be rendered as between equals, in a spirit of mutual benefit and mutual respect. We are, in fact, not alone on the receiving end. We know that we also have something to give in the search for international peace and stability. That our assistance is needed has been abundantly proven, for instance, in the operations of the United Nations. We have not shirked our obligations in that respect.

51. Indeed, there must exist a co-operative relationship in the community of nations. Mutual help rather than the survival of the fittest—that is the underlying philosophy of the Indonesian way of life. That is also in conformity with the spirit and avowed purpose of the United Nations: to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. That is the very basis, the "raison d'être", of the forty-two-Power draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] on the independence of colonial countries and peoples, of which my country is a co-sponsor. Several of our co-sponsors have already presented and effectively explained this draft declaration to the Assembly. I shall limit myself, therefore, to underlining what we consider to be some of its salient features.

52. The pillars of the draft resolution are the three main principles underlying the declarations of Bandung, Accra and Addis Ababa. These are: the United Nations reaffirmation of faith in the equal rights of nations, large and small; the United Nations purpose to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and the human right, as adopted and enshrined in the draft Covenants on Human Rights, that all peoples have the right to self-determination.

53. The heart of the forty-two-Power draft declaration is, of course, the solemn proclamation that a speedy and unconditional end shall be put to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Let us be clear, therefore, about what we mean by colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. There should be no confusion on this issue. We are not here describing situations in the world that reflect the present day ideological conflict, in either its political or its military forms. Nor have we drafted a declaration for use by either side to promote its particular ideological aims. This draft declaration is not concerned with

so-called satellites or with military bases, but exclusively with those still dependent peoples and territories whose fate was in the minds of the drafters of the United Nations Charter. To avoid the possibility of any misunderstanding on this point, we have, in paragraph 5 of our draft declaration, clearly delineated these dependent peoples and territories as "Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence". As a material expression of the solemn pledge to end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, we declare that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of these specified territories. If the adoption of a solemn pledge on other issues is desired, we urge that that be done in the same exclusive manner.

54. There is another issue on which I should like to offer a brief clarification, so as to avoid any future misunderstanding. Our declaration on the independence of colonial countries and peoples is an assertion of the fact that the relationship between colonial Powers and their dependent peoples is a matter of United Nations concern and action. Consequently, the provision in paragraph 7 on non-interference in the internal affairs of another State can be understood only as non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and, in particular, non-interference by colonial Powers in the internal affairs of their former dependent territories. Our entire declaration is, in fact, designed to obtain concerted action, through the United Nations, for the independence of dependent peoples and territories, without any conditions or reservations, without any undermining of their right freely to develop their own political, economic, social and cultural institutions.

55. Moreover, it is a matter of great importance to us that this declaration is designed to prevent any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country. It emphatically declares in paragraphs 4, 6 and 7 that the integrity of the national territories of peoples which have attained independence shall be respected. This is a rejection of colonial activities which create disputes such as that of West Irian between Indonesia and the Netherlands. It is a categorical rejection, therefore, of the Dutch colonial policy which, as I have already pointed out, misuses the sacred right of self-determination in order to continue colonialism in an integral part of our national territory, West Irian.

56. In co-sponsoring the 42-Power draft declaration, we are expressing our firm belief that it represents a major and decisive contribution towards making our Organization a viable instrument for peace, ready to meet and capable of meeting the pressing needs of the time.

57. Mr. AKAKPO (Togo) (translated from French): At this fifteenth session the United Nations is about to turn, on behalf of ninety-nine States, to a new page in the history of mankind. It is to examine today the very important question of the abolition of colonialism, under the heading of: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". I am confident that this new page of history will open on a new world in which all peoples, whoever they may be and wherever their whereabouts on this planet, are to be free and equal. Colonialism is no longer tolerated in our time, because it has always been—and now, in mid-twentieth century, is even more markedly—a

shameful, hideous and repellent phenomenon. It is not an exploit of which the colonialists should be proud. All the speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum have branded colonialism, and stressed all the harm it has done to the world at large and to the colonial peoples in particular.

58. How did the whole thing start? Before the colonial period began in Africa, the African peoples lived a happy life. Their woods were full of fruit, their fields of crops, and their forests of game. All this belonged to them. The sunlight filled them with health and vigour, so that they constantly sang, danced and laughed with carefree hearts. At night the African sky rang with their laughter, the sound of their tom-toms, and their songs. Every village had its chief and its court, and they meted out justice according to their laws. They had their own civilization which, like any other civilization, followed its normal course and obeyed the inexorable law of evolution.

59. The colonialists who filtered in among these people in Africa were aware of the venality of their own designs, and their work of colonization almost always began with a lie. They almost always said that they had come to bring the people health, friendship and the protection of their great white chiefs far, far away across the sea, and asked permission to stay and trade. The African, by nature hospitable and generous, often agreed without demur and welcomed his guests, with no suspicion that they had in their luggage only fetters with which to shackle him in the name of colonialism.

60. The colonialism thus established in Africa for nearly 500 years has changed the face of the continent, the course of events and the character of men, by arresting the development of Africa's own civilization. The colonial system has prevailed in Africa for nearly 500 years; it consists of the out and out exploitation of man by man, robbing the colonized of all freedom, dignity, rights and individuality. In the territories under foreign rule, despite steadily increasing labour, poverty spreads ever more widely among the colonized peoples. Who knows what the civilization of the peoples harnessed for centuries to the colonial yoke might have produced if it had been allowed to evolve unchecked? But I do not wish to dwell on the nature of colonialism. As I said a few moments ago, other speakers have described it in all its aspects.

61. As soon as the Second World War ended, there was a universal revulsion against colonialism, chiefly in the territories under its sway. All men of good conscience are in revolt against the domination of peoples, and know that peace and security in the world in which we live depend upon the elimination of all injustice and the restoration of the freedom and rights of nations, large or small.

62. The States which met at San Francisco, desiring to build a new world on a firm foundation of freedom and equal rights for all peoples, were disturbed at the exploitation visited upon the colonized peoples and regarded it as a shameful crime. They called for the elimination of that injustice. The United Nations Charter, produced at the San Francisco Conference as soon as the Second World War had ended, was the first instrument to impose on the colonial Powers an obligation to liberate the colonized countries. Article 73, regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, provides as follows:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end...

"b. to develop self-government ...".

As to the Trust Territories, Article 76 requires those Powers:

"...b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence...".

These are the obligations we assumed when we agreed to become Members of the United Nations.

63. One of the basic purposes of the Bandung Conference of 1955, at which the Asian and African States representing the aspirations of the colonized countries were assembled, was the condemnation of colonialism. The famous "communiqué" which was issued at this Conference, and which has become historic, stressed that the members were agreed:

"(a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"(b) 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;".

Those present at Bandung expressed the aspirations of millions upon millions of people, mainly those who are still under domination and who want to put an end to the degrading colonial system as rapidly as possible. As the anti-colonialist movement has gained ever-widening support, yet more conferences have recently been held, at Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa, on the colonialism which continues to defile our century and which must at all costs be abolished.

64. The awakening of the Africans and Asians and their aspiration to freedom can no longer be checked without causing serious disturbances which may jeopardize world peace and security. All men of good will voice the need to make short work of colonialism and to restore freedom and dignity to the Africans, to the Asians, and to all those whom the system of exploitation has kept from the enjoyment of their natural rights. The colonized peoples have done with the shackles of slavery. They have done with forced labour for masters. They have done with seeing their continents plundered. They have done with subjection to racial discrimination. They have done with arbitrary imprisonment, concentration camps and pointless suffering. They have done with famine and ignorance. They want their independence, their freedom, their rights, their dignity as human beings. The might of their aspirations is such that all repressive measures must go down before it.

65. The grant of their independence is a matter of urgency, for the greatest good of mankind. Our con-

cern here is not merely to condemn colonialism and adopt the principle of the grant of independence. It is of the greatest importance that we should also draw up, here and now, a time-table of dates on which the colonized territories are to be granted independence. Otherwise the countries still in bondage will have to face another long struggle against colonial power. To take an example: Togo, my country, was as you know a Trust Territory for whose independence no date had been fixed, and the Togolese people had to struggle for that independence for twelve years; whereas in Italian Somaliland, which was also a Trust Territory but for whose liberation a date had been fixed, the people calmly awaited their independence. The need for a time-table did not escape the Addis Ababa Conference. Allow me, Mr. President, to quote in this connexion a paragraph from the operative part of the resolution adopted at that Conference:

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

66. The movement of liberation from the colonial yoke which began, as I said, immediately after the Second World War has some sensational victories to its credit. The liberation, first of all, of India, Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, Indonesia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Guinea, Burma, etc., and then this year, in 1960, of Cameroun, Togo, Congo (Leopoldville), Somalia, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Chad, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and Madagascar, has restored their freedom to millions upon millions of human beings.

67. But, despite those mortal blows, colonialism is not yet completely defeated. It is staggering, but is still showing fight in some places. Thus in North Africa blood has been flowing for more than six years; in central Africa the people are subjected to inhuman reprisals; and in South Africa to racial discrimination. Elsewhere colonialism is trying to disguise itself, to change its name. Forced to release its prey, it resorts to subterfuge. Thus—as the Togolese delegation pointed out in the Fourth Committee^{1/}—certain Powers maintain that the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their rule, although ethnically, culturally,

^{1/} Official records of the General Assembly, fifteenth session, Fourth Committee, 1,015th meeting.

economically and politically different from the metropolitan country, are nevertheless an integral part of it, solely in virtue of the enactment by the metropolitan Parliament of a law to that effect, merely replacing the word "colony" by the word "province" and taking no account of the people's will and deep aspirations. Other Powers have invented a whole series of names for their empires in order to placate the subject peoples and to conceal the truth about the administration of their colonies.

68. For the sake of peace—of lasting peace—this must be done away with once and for all. Real independence must be granted to all peoples. There are still many peoples demanding their freedom. Most of them are in Africa and Asia. On the continent of Africa alone, colonialism must be stamped out in the territories of Algeria, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South West Africa, Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Spanish Guinea, to mention only a few.

69. On behalf of all the peoples that are suffering all over the world, we are going to vote unanimously, here in this Assembly Hall, to abolish the colonial system. The delegation of Spain has already told the Fourth Committee^{2/} that Spain is anti-colonialist, and that it has always condemned, and still condemns as an anachronism, colonialism and the exploitation of peoples. I hope that, when we vote on the draft resolution co-sponsored by my country, we shall find Spain in the ranks of the anti-colonialist countries in favour of demolishing colonialism.

70. At this historic moment, we, the representatives of ninety-nine nations are faced with a most poignant humanitarian problem, on which we are about to take a decision which will be vital to the progress of peoples throughout the world, now and in the future, and to peace and security on this earth. The votes we cast will go down to posterity, which will thank us for ridding the world of a scourge. For ourselves, we shall have peace of mind and the satisfaction of having helped to see justice triumph, to revive human dignity, to restore equal rights among all peoples, and to maintain peace and the greatness of our respective countries.

The meeting rose at 10.40 p.m.

^{2/} Ibid., 1,046th meeting.