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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

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

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Continuing the debate on the agenda item, I give the floor to the representative of the United States of America in exercise of his right of reply.

2. Mr. PAYNE (United States of America): It is not surprising to us that in his statement the representative of Cuba saw fit to refer to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and I cannot really say that we are disappointed—because the remarks of the representative of Cuba make it possible for us to talk on a subject which is a considerable source of pride to the United States. I must say, however, that references to Puerto Rico by the representative of Cuba, while not intended to make our proceedings more orderly, may in fact result in a positive contribution to our discussions, positive because facts—and I repeat, facts—will be brought to light.

3. Since Puerto Rico was last mentioned in our general debate—that was in September—an election has been held in Puerto Rico, and the results of that election, to which Mr. Wadsworth referred in his statement this afternoon [937th meeting], speak more eloquently than I could hope to do. With these results in mind, one could wonder for what purpose this subject was raised in this debate. Surely it must strike many here as ironic that a Commonwealth where true democracy exists should be attacked by the Foreign Minister of a country whose people have not been allowed freely to express their wishes through democratic processes.

4. By its resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 the General Assembly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico expressed their will in a free and democratic way, that they effectively exercised their right to self-determination, and that Puerto Rico clearly was an autonomous political entity. Operative paragraph 9 of this resolution had this to say:

"Expresses its assurance that, in accordance with the spirit of the present resolution, the ideals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the traditions of the people of the United States of Ameri-

ca and the political advancement attained by the people of Puerto Rico, due regard will be paid to the will of both the Puerto Rican and American peoples in the conduct of their relations under their present legal statute, and also in the eventuality that either of the parties to the mutually agreed association may desire any change in the terms of this association".

5. The people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States have lived up in every way to the expectations of the United Nations, a fact which is a source of pride to all Americans.

6. If any of you assembled here have any doubts concerning the present status of Puerto Rico, I would suggest that you read the full text of the message from the Honourable Luis Muñoz Marín, Governor of the Commonwealth, which was circulated as a United Nations document. I should like to quote a part of it [A/4519]:

"The people of Puerto Rico strongly adhere to the democratic way of life, based on the respect of minority rights, the protection and furtherance of individual freedoms, and the effective exercise of the right to vote in free, unhindered elections. There can be no genuine self-determination unless these conditions are met.

"Puerto Rico has truly and effectively met them and it has freely chosen its present relationship with the United States. The people of Puerto Rico are a self-governing people freely associated to the United States of America on the basis of mutual consent and respect. The policies regarding the cultural and economic development of Puerto Rico are in the hands of the people of Puerto Rico themselves for them to determine according to their best interests.

"The United Nations General Assembly, by resolution of November 1953, has solemnly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico effectively exercised their right to self-determination in establishing the Commonwealth as an autonomous political entity on a mutually agreed association with the United States. In further regard to the principle of self-determination, the Commonwealth Legislative Assembly has approved this very year a law authorizing another vote on Puerto Rico's status whenever 10 per cent of the electors request it".

7. That is what the Governor had to say. And what of his opposition? Only today, Mr. Wadsworth received this telegram:

"As gubernatorial candidate of the Statehood Republican Party of Puerto Rico advocating statehood for this island, which polled more than 250,000 or 32.4 per cent votes cast election last November which, when added to 58 per cent votes polled by the party in power, which also advocated permanent

union between Puerto Rico and the United States, with common American citizenship representing more than 90 per cent our electorate, we consider it improper for small group of Independentist leaders whose party polled only 24,000 votes or less than 3 per cent of electorate, to go before United Nations to misrepresent the situation in Puerto Rico, which is a community of American citizens by its own free will. This is a reproachable attempt to interfere with the process of self-determination which has been freely exercised by the community of American citizens of Puerto Rico.

(Signed) Luis A. Ferre"

8. If, after hearing these communications, any representative in the Assembly still has doubts about the wishes of the Puerto Rican people, I recommend that he go there to see for himself. He will be greeted with the traditional warmth and innate courtesy of the Puerto Rican people—American citizens all—and he will find Puerto Rico one of the most delightful islands on this globe, a place particularly well suited for relaxation after this rather arduous session of the Assembly is over.

9. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): Belgium brought the colonial régime to an end of its own accord. The independence proclaimed at Leopoldville on 3 June 1960 was not the outcome of age-long struggle or the end of a régime of oppression. The transfer of power was complete and unreserved; there has never been any question of going back on it. The Belgians have no other colonies.

10. At the present time Belgium still exercises trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi. It does so in virtue of a Trusteeship Agreement which succeeded a League of Nations mandate. Belgium, through its Government, stated on 9 September 1960 the wish that the trusteeship regime should end in the first six months of 1962. This was confirmed by the representative of Belgium in the Fourth Committee on 25 November 1960.^{1/}

11. With a little more discernment, a little more concern for truth, we shall have a clearer insight into the problems that confront us. I need only recall the wise words uttered by President Fulbert Youlou on 18 November:

"We know what colonialism, like any other human activity, has sometimes imposed on us in the way of humiliations and injustices, but we do not wish to deny the extent to which it has also enriched us, both materially and spiritually." [917th plenary meeting, para. 8.]

12. On the other hand, I am bound to note that the Soviet statement [A/4502] contains errors of the first magnitude. I have already disposed of the slanderous allegation that the population of the Congo was decimated in fifty years. I have shown that, on the contrary, the rate of increase of the Congolese people has quadrupled during the past twenty years. This same document even contains the audacious statement that when the independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed "only a few of its inhabitants could read and write". Is it not realized, then, that in 1960 there was a complete educational system, comprising teacher training, technical, secondary and pri-

mary schools, attended by nearly 2 million children, or one-sixth of the total population of the Congo? This figure represented 57 per cent of the school-age population. Fifty-seven per cent! This figure must be compared with that for African countries which have been independent for a long time, and where school attendance varies between 5 and 25 per cent of the school-age population. Mr. Khrushchev does not mention the existence of two Congolese universities, which were established, respectively, in 1954 at Leopoldville, and at Elisabethville in 1956, and where racial discrimination is unknown.

13. Perhaps he does not know that the only nuclear reactor in Africa is in operation at the University of Lovanium, twenty kilometres from Leopoldville.

14. In the same document Mr. Khrushchev says of Africa that "... its main agricultural implements, just as they were thousands of years ago, are the mattock, the wooden plough and the sharpened stake; its primitive system of agriculture is causing soil exhaustion and erosion". Unfortunately he pulled out the wrong index card; the description he gives us applies to the situation fifty-two years ago, when the Belgian State set to work on African soil. Since then the Belgians have laid an economic and social infrastructure which has entailed the investment of \$3,000 million over the past ten years. This represents a per capita investment rate of \$148 a year, whereas in other independent African and Asian countries the rate of such investment does not exceed \$30 a year.

15. Again, need I remind the Assembly of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which refers to the ten-year development plan^{2/} that has been carried out at a cost of 48,000 million francs—or about \$1,000 million—entirely by the Belgians in the Congo? If we consider the countries of Africa that are in process of industrialization, we read in the same report that "... the Belgian Congo, with 152,758 employed in 1956, representing 4.86 per cent of the total economically active population, was well in the lead among African territories ..."^{3/}.

16. Belgium has just brought about the accession of the Republic of the Congo to independence. Contrary to what has been said, that accession was prepared. Elections took place and were followed by the setting up of local institutions in 1957 and 1959. A parliamentary working group travelled all over the Congo in 1958. Two round-table conferences, one dealing with political questions and the other with economic and financial problems, were held at Brussels in January and May 1960 respectively. There Congolese leaders met with representatives of Belgium to work out terms for the accession to independence. The joint task was completed in 1960 by the holding of general elections. Such were the stages in setting up the institutions of the Republic of the Congo.

17. At the same time the Belgians made available to the new State, along with extensive aid, the services of its own qualified personnel: 10,000 teachers, magistrates and civil servants were placed under the exclusive authority of the Congolese Government.

18. It has been stated from this rostrum that Belgium showed liberalism in agreeing to proclaim the inde-

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, fifteenth session, Fourth Committee, 1065th meeting.

^{2/} Ibid., Supplement No. 15 (A/4371), second part, para. 55.

^{3/} Ibid., para. 78.

pendence of the Congo; but it was added that Belgium had sabotaged that independence. Such an accusation is as absurd as it is unjust and groundless. Belgian policy is based essentially on the principle of respect for the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of the Congo, and on non-interference in its domestic affairs. The Belgians consider that those affairs should be handled exclusively by the Congolese.

19. If we re-read our history we find that a great many countries represented here have been in the course of their history, by turns, colonized and colonizing. Belgium itself had known many a foreign domination before, in this century, it was invaded twice in twenty-five years, from 1914 to 1918 and from 1940 to 1945. The misdeeds of colonialism are, alas! to be seen everywhere—throughout the past, and in all parts of the world. We cannot but condemn them wherever they appear, not excepting the USSR. The representative of the Soviet Union may have maintained at the Assembly's 925th meeting that internal affairs were involved. But colonial questions are, in principle, internal in character because they relate to Territories under the sovereignty of a State. That does not prevent the Soviet Union from mounting a solid attack on the countries which have, or have had, colonies. In meeting the representative of the Soviet Union on his own ground, I am merely exercising my right of reply. There cannot be two sets of standards...

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would ask the representative of Belgium kindly to leave the rostrum in order that the representative of the Soviet Union may raise a point of order.

21. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, we are here discussing the colonial question. This question is on the General Assembly's agenda and, accordingly, the references that the Belgian representative is making here to the Soviet Union and other countries and that have no bearing on this question, are not related in any way to the item we are discussing in this Assembly. I should be glad, therefore, if the President would call the representative of Belgium to order, since it is precisely the colonial question that we are considering.

22. The Belgian representative spoke here of the very great work that has been done in the Congo. We are ourselves witnessing just what is going on in the Congo today; it is just the situation which has now arisen in the Congolese Republic that the General Assembly is discussing, precisely through Belgium's fault. There is no direct connexion between the matter we are now discussing—colonialism—and the question touched upon here by the Belgian representative. I would accordingly ask the President to call the Belgian representative to order and to point out to him the need to adhere strictly to the questions we are now discussing.

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Chair wishes to be objective and, at the same time, to give all representatives ample opportunity to express the views of their Government. Nevertheless I should like to remind all representatives, as Mr. Boland has done on other occasions, that the General Assembly has decided to postpone its consideration of the question of the Congo. That being so, I would request all representatives, when speaking, to confine their remarks to the agenda item under discussion.

24. The representative of Belgium may again have the floor.

25. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): In the course of these discussions, many attacks have been made on my country. We have never interrupted; we have exercised our right of reply when necessary, and we thought we could count on the President for protection.

26. I resume my statement where I left off. I regret that Mr. Roshchin found it necessary to interrupt me, for I was about to quote from a report of 12 January 1957 by Mr. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and I do not imagine that the representative of the Soviet Union will impugn this authority. The quotation reads as follows:

"The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party took cognizance of certain facts that are in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of Leninist policy regarding nationalities in the Soviet State. These violations took the form of the unwarranted eviction of whole peoples and the imposition of restrictions on them in their new place of residence. Thus at the end of 1943 and at the beginning of 1944 the Balkars, Chechens, Kalmuks and Karachais were sent from the northern Caucasus to areas in Kazakhstan and Central Asia ...".

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would request the representative of Belgium to be good enough to leave the rostrum to allow the representative of the Soviet Union to raise a point of order.

28. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I would like to point out to the President that in this instance he is not maintaining sufficient objectivity in the conduct of this plenary meeting.

29. The item under discussion is the colonial question. This is determined quite clearly by the agenda and the range of questions that we are considering. In order to distract the Assembly's attention from consideration of this item, the Belgian representative is trying to divert the Assembly into discussing matters that have no bearing on this item. If he were to attract closer attention by the General Assembly to colonial matters and, in particular, to the situation into which the Belgian administration has brought the Congo, that would, of course, be in the order of business and would perhaps be a contribution to our discussion of this item. Indeed, the situation in the colonies and, in particular perhaps, in the Belgian colonies is receiving great public attention throughout the world, in all countries. The colonial question has aroused great and profound interest in all continents of the globe. The discussion we have had here has shown that all delegations wish to speak on this urgent and important question of the day.

30. In order to diminish the tremendous effect that the discussion of this question is having in all circles throughout the world and on public opinion in all countries, the Belgian representative is now attempting to divert attention by referring to events which took place in various countries and which were due to certain historical circumstances, to the war, the extremely grievous war endured by all the peoples of the world, and particularly the peoples of the Soviet Union. In this way he seeks to divert attention from the matters which the General Assembly is now dis-

cussing and on which the attention of the whole world is focused, to matters which have no connexion whatsoever with our agenda.

31. I should be glad, if, in view of this circumstance, the President would call the Belgian representative to order, so that he should not take up any more of our time, since the matter is one of such extreme importance. There are many other questions we could discuss here in connexion with this circumstance. If there were need, we could now begin a detailed and thorough examination of the Belgian administration's activities in the Congo. But the situation in the Congo and the patently unlawful acts of the Belgian administration, the Belgian Government and the Belgian ruling circles in that country constitute a separate agenda item which we shall discuss at the meeting of the Security Council tomorrow morning and in the plenary General Assembly two days hence. I wish once again to draw the President's attention to the necessity of calling the Belgian representative to order.

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Ceylon who has asked for it in order to raise a point of order.

33. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): I am intervening to support the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. As a sponsor of the draft resolution.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would ask the representative of Ceylon to bear in mind the fact that the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union must be ruled upon by the President. Points of order are not open to debate. I would therefore ask him to allow the Chair to deal with the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. If the representative of Ceylon then desires to raise a new point of order I shall be glad to grant him the floor. I cannot, however, allow him to continue to speak now, since I have to rule on the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

35. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): I bow to your ruling, but I want to save you from making two rulings. It is on the same point. Maybe I can clarify it this way: as a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] on the ending of colonialism, I submit, Mr. President, that the representative of the Belgian Government has made submissions which are improper and irrelevant.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I wish to refer to the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

37. I repeat that I wish to allow representatives who have the floor to state the position of their Government. In that connexion I invite representatives to exercise discretion, because I cannot stop a representative who is stating a position. The Chair wishes to point out that the representative of Belgium was quoting something and that the representative of the Soviet Union will have an opportunity in due course to exercise his right of reply. I repeat, however that the President cannot stop the representative of Belgium from speaking, since his rights are those guaranteed to every Member of this Assembly. I call upon the representative of Belgium to continue his statement.

38. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): I have finished my quotation from the report of Mr. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I have nothing to add to it and no comment to make on it; but I am amazed at Mr. Roshchin's touchiness, which is of a completely different order from our own patience.

39. Mr. Roshchin has said that colonialism has aroused the deepest interest on all continents. To go on from there, I shall observe with reference to the joint draft resolution, that the Belgian delegation cannot but declare itself in favour of the basic principle underlying that proposal. It is a principle which Belgium, for the reasons I have just stated, has recently applied to the full in the case of the Congo and whose implementation it is actively pursuing in the case of Ruanda-Urundi. However, my delegation is bound to note that the resolution contains several inaccuracies, including some of a legal nature.

40. Like the other delegations that have spoken here, we censure the misdeeds of colonialism and other forms of subjection. We believe that the essential cooperation among peoples must develop in an atmosphere of mutual respect and esteem; and whatever our detractors may say, the General Assembly can be sure that it was this honest conviction which led us to summon our Congolese brothers to independence.

41. Mr. LHEYET-GABOKA (Congo [Brazzaville]) (translated from French): In addressing this Assembly, I cannot claim to produce any remedy, any support, or any palliative for the uneasiness left by the many statements which have been made here regarding the colonial system. Quite the contrary. The many speakers who have succeeded one another at this rostrum have already examined all the symptoms and diagnosed all the ills; one after another, they have put their finger on the open sore of colonialism in all its forms and in all its ambitions. Those speakers have laid bare the truth—a truth hot as heat itself, tasteless, bitter, and indigestible for those who joy in the conquest and submission of the weak; in colonies and their inexhaustible wealth; and in peoples deceived, perpetual children doomed to bondage.

42. My predecessors at this rostrum, then, have put their finger on the running sore of colonialism. Since we must burn colonialism to ashes; since we must corner it and face it with its own image; since we must lance the abscess in this Assembly; since we have the opportunity to speak freely and frankly, you gentlemen will not hold it against me if I, in my turn, clear a little ground on the path to freedom. That freedom is not a favour begged by long-subjected peoples from their alleged masters but an indefeasible, legitimate right; for all men are born free and equal, whatever their skin pigmentation, the level of their civilization, the size of their nation and the geographical position of their country.

43. No race here below, whether white, yellow or black, can claim a right of seniority over other races in order to impose its will on them. There are only good-natured people, who too often preen themselves on the enlightened nature of their civilization and pass on that account for the world's most intelligent; but intelligence does not follow the barometer. Birth in a cold country is not a title to everything there is, and birth in a hot country is not an atavism which debars one from everything, even from freedom.

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44. Will you not agree with me that a bird shut up in a cage escapes, if it can, to fly in the air again? Will you not agree with me that a dog long pent in its kennel barks madly for release? If animals, with only instinct to guide them, can grasp and understand the need to be free and to live their own lives, how could man, the thinker, fail to share that imperative need?

45. Every child, in his youth, inexperience and lack of initiative, lives under the wing of his parents. When he grows up, he leaves his parents' home, goes out into the world and makes a home for himself far from those who reared him, because he feels free in his person and personality. Then should the colonized, ever submissive, have his freedom rationed by his colonizer? In the country of the blind, where the one-eyed man is king, does nothing begin and nothing end? Is colonialism to survive indefinitely in Africa, Asia and Oceania, to mention only three parts of the globe? Must slavery, imperialism, dogmatism and all their viruses continue to thrive in Africa, in Asia, and in Oceania? Must colonialism be upheld in order to avoid cold war, to disarm the nations and to pacify the whole world? I do not think so. Everything here below has a beginning and an end, and only the naive expect to outlive their allotted span. Only the blind cannot see where the sun rises and where it sets.

46. Not long ago we were being poisoned with the sugared venom of colonization—colonization with its "Alice in Wonderland" marvels, its milkless breasts, and its keen-edged mandibles, which cut slowly but more surely than a lancet. Not long ago we watched what our masters did, and said not a word to them. Our masters took advantage of our silence to sate themselves on our natural wealth. They took advantage of it to plunder our villages, and in return—a fine return!—they taught us to go backwards instead of forwards and gave us tools, good or bad, without showing us how to use them.

47. But we have outgrown the stage of servitude, we are no longer credulous children who can be made to believe in Santa Claus forever. Those days are over, and colonialism has been outstripped at every point. Africa, Asia and Oceania are no longer an "open sesame" for men who, through their own rudeness, their own discourteous and humiliating ways, have bred embittered minds, peaceful revolutionaries who seek only the liberation of their country and people from the yoke of colonial occupation.

48. Yesterday we were told, uphill and down dale and in emphatic terms, about a wet-nurse by the name of colonization. Today that wet-nurse has been dressed up and is called "decolonization". It is a fine thing, this dressing-up, this neologism that is the outcome of several distressing and regrettable events. What did they mean yesterday by "colonizing"? What do they mean by "decolonizing" today? The answer to that question lies ready in the minds of yesterday's colonizers and today's decolonizers.

49. I have no wish to labour the point but it will be well to remind our princelings that colonizing, to them, meant "divide and rule"; it meant breaking up the conquered lands and sharing them out like game, so as to make fat profits from them at the expense of other men, who are yet their equals in the redness of their blood and the invisibility of their souls. Colonizing meant entrenching themselves in countries which did not belong to them, in order to corner their wealth

and to oppress their peoples, to the length of reducing them to their lowest terms—to utter non-existence.

50. Well, they have at last come round to the idea of decolonizing; and in my humble opinion as a Negro, and thus as one of yesterday's subject people, decolonizing means admitting their past errors, making confession after plundering and playing the master, after paralysing and immobilizing the evolution of the beasts of burden. Decolonizing means lifting off Africa, Asia and Oceania the heavy and massive carapace of colonialism. Decolonizing means restoring freedom to peoples who were born free but who, out of sheer presumption, were long condemned to ignorance and bondage. That is the part of greatness and sincerity.

51. At a time when the United Nations is taking up the question of colonialism we must be mindful of the existence, spread across the world, of colonized peoples, subjugated peoples, who are looking to us. These peoples, whether African or European, expect of the United Nations positive action to deliver them for all time from the yoke of colonialism, the system that disgraces the twentieth century, in which nuclear weapons seem a superhuman discovery. My meaning is that our century is the one in which mankind has reached perfection; also that the time has come when the colonizers must realize that our cries of protest are justified; for in this century, in which man has mastered science and rivals the Creator in inventiveness, freedom for the former colonies must not be the cause of bloodshed and mourning.

52. Convinced that decolonization will fling wide the gates to independence for the colonial countries and peoples, the delegation of the Republic of the Congo takes this opportunity to express once again its gratitude to France and to General de Gaulle, President of France, who was quick to realize that to keep the peoples subject to an outdated system in this century was contrary to the principle that every people should enjoy self-determination.

53. My delegation wishes also to congratulate all those African and Asian States which worked at Bandung in 1955 and denounced colonialism in all its forms. The Congolese people are grateful to all those who have helped and are helping to condemn the colonialist system. The Congolese people are proud that they are now free to join the ranks of the fighters for the freedom of all peoples. Not long ago my country was a French colony. Eminent speakers from this rostrum have vigorously and eloquently branded every aspect of colonialism. As an African, and as a Congolese, I am too well acquainted with the horrors of the colonized not to associate myself with all who, for love of freedom, are waging a bitter struggle to end the colonialist system once and for all.

54. The political developments which, happily, have lately been gathering speed, enabling many African States to attain independence, gave rise in 1960 to acts made more memorable by the fact that that year will be remembered as the year in which Africa's history started anew. It should be recognized that a great step has already been taken towards the freedom of the colonized countries and peoples; even more, however, it should be stressed that, for the future, decolonization must be effected without disguise and without hypocrisy. For we have also to wage a determined war on racial segregation and to bury it for all time.

55. There is a country—Cabinda—which knows no freedom. Though the sun is said to shine for everyone, the people of Cabinda still vegetate under colonialist rule. Its foreign occupiers seek to dazzle the world by representing it as part of a Portuguese province, whereas there is in reality a considerable margin between colonizers and colonized in that country. I do not wish to go into details, but merely to draw the attention of the United Nations to a situation which is certain to cost us more bloodshed and mourning in Africa. From 1946 to 1958, according to a provision of the French Constitution of 1946, we Congolese were French citizens; but this did not prevent France from giving us independence. What France has done other nations can do, especially those which claim to be Christian.

56. But if there are still peoples under the colonialist yoke in Africa, it should not be forgotten that there are countries elsewhere in the world which know no freedom either. Even in Europe, which prides itself on its civilization, we can count up the peoples who, at the present time, certainly envy the lot of the African States which have attained independence. We must not forget those countries whose cries are stifled and hence cannot reach us. What are their colonizers waiting for before decolonizing them?

57. I have no desire to set myself up as defence counsel for France in this Assembly. I know that that nation, like all other civilizing nations, committed serious mistakes in the countries which were under its colonial occupation. But allow me, in passing, to emphasize the greatness shown by France in knowing when to free its African colonies, after having brought them to an undeniable political maturity, after seeing them climb the successive rungs of the "indigénat" system, the "loi-cadre" that led to internal self-government, and finally independence.

58. France's nobility of heart is far from being equalled by other civilizing nations, which cling jealously to their colonies. France did not wait for pressure from outside before recognizing the right of its former colonies to the freedom it owed them. I do not want to put the cart before the horse by stating this as a fact, but the state of public opinion indicates to me that France will not delay much longer in decolonizing Algeria; for, speaking personally, I have complete confidence in its good faith and greatness, whatever people may say. France will not wait until the most disastrous possible moment like Portugal, which persists in ruling Cabinda by magic wand and keeping it under the yoke of its prejudices. France has not waited for the hour of doom as did Belgium which, through obstinacy and lust for permanent dominion, carried monsters on its shoulders and turned the Congo (Leopoldville) into a vast arena for brawls, massacres, fratricidal war and senseless violence.

59. Freedom is not a shoddy item to be bought, in the world's every market place, for the blood that has become current coin in our times. It is an inborn right; no one here below can claim to be freedom's master, to give it or take it away as he pleases. Down with colonialism! Down with dogmatism, down with the imperialists and capitalists who plundered Africa, my native land, that became a laughing-stock for other nations!

60. This brings me to the end, but I must state in conclusion that the Congo (Brazzaville) delegation will

join wholeheartedly in voting for the draft resolution before us [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] and keenly desires to see decolonization speeded up, so that all peoples may live in freedom and independence.

Mr. Liu (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

61. Mr. N'GOUA (Gabon) (translated from French): My delegation, representing an independent State which was once a colonial territory, cannot remain silent on the important question of colonialism which we are now discussing. I shall be brief, firstly in order to avoid the repetition to which some speakers are prone, and secondly in order not to abuse the indulgence of the Assembly. But I do not wish to forego this opportunity of expressing my country's views.

62. In its latest report, which has been circulated to delegations, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories noted that

"... the Administering Members, and others alike, seem agreed that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories are entitled in each case, and on a basis of complete equality, regardless of the differences of race, colour or creed, to complete independence, or, if they prefer, to some form of full self-government freely chosen by them, and that it will be for them to determine their future status."^{4/}

63. Here, clearly defined, is the basic principle upon which—I hope—everyone in this Assembly is agreed. In giving his approval to this principle, however, the representative of Gabon has no sensation of pushing an open door, for it became clear to him during the discussions in Committee that there were differences of opinion on various points, particularly as to the form in which that development should take place; differences which were sometimes on minor points but which, influenced by partisan feeling, often confused the discussion and obscured the main issue, just as it is sometimes impossible to see the wood for the trees.

64. That is why Gabon wishes to play its part in restoring calm by recalling a few elementary truths; these are worth repeating after so many statements which, although perhaps inspired by very lofty considerations of political principle, have in many cases been distorted by what I might call a certain demagoguery. The representative of Argentina rightly said in Committee, as many others had said before him, that one of the principal conditions for the peaceful evolution of Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence was the existence of proper administrative and technical staffs capable of operating the complex services required by the modern structure of the State. In our view it is not sufficient to clamour for the immediate liberation of thousands of beings who are still, in one way or another, dependent; the right conditions must be created for that liberation. There may be a desire—and a most laudable one—to bring the date of independence or self-government forward somewhat; but the main consideration is to have ready for the take-over the new structures without which there can be no viable and durable independence. It is a fact that the colonial system is outmoded and doomed, but the problem is to prepare the peoples for their new responsibilities. That will not be accomplished by subversion, hatred and the unleashing of political passions.

^{4/} *Ibid.*, para. 25.

65. I referred, in my short statement in Committee, to the example of the former Belgian Congo. The causes of the chaos which now reigns in that unhappy country could be discussed indefinitely. It pains me, as a brother African, to learn each day of fresh misfortunes afflicting that young nation. Each one may, according to his political lights, lay greater or lesser stress on the underlying causes of that unfortunate situation and throw the blame for the catastrophe on this or that State or political ideology; but the fact remains—and I do not think I am the only African to reason thus—that the main cause of this fiasco is the lack of preparation for, or rather the improvisation of, that independence. It is not my purpose here to expatiate on the errors which may have been committed by the responsible Power. Impartial observers recognize that Belgium made commendable efforts; but without wishing to overwhelm that country with reproaches we must admit that, intentionally or not, the colonial Power failed to prepare the Congo sufficiently for independence. Proof of this truth has unfortunately been supplied by the distressing events we have experienced. But that is not all. If we turn to the Second Progress Report of Mr. Dayal, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo, we read the following:

"There is clear evidence of the steady return, in recent weeks, of Belgians to the Congo, and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities, whether as advisers, counsellors or executive officials." [A/4557, para. 39.]

Mr. Dayal goes on to say that there is at Brussels a recruiting agency for the Congo, the object of which seems to be to assist in re-establishing a civil service of Belgian nationality principally at the policy level. Here, then, is a striking case in point. An attempt was made to rush the fences—to climb the ladder too fast. The rungs gave way, and the climber was back where he started, if not further down.

66. These are the serious disadvantages of independence granted without transition, disadvantages which the Governments of some colonial Powers have endeavoured to avoid. Thus the majority of African States recently admitted here have attained independence quite smoothly and without jolts; and, although not everything is yet perfect in our countries, the conditions are set for steady progress. Our new States are firmly established, and our accession to independence is none the less genuine and irreversible for having come about gradually. By way of illustration I need only recall the stages through which Gabon has passed: from the colonial regime, known as the French Empire, to the institutions of the French Union; then to the more liberal "loi-cadre" which transformed what had been a colony into a territory already enjoying broad self-government, with its own Parliament and Government; and finally to the recent proclamation of the Gabon Republic and the ultimate accolade of our country's admission to this Organization.

67. It could thus be said that here was a perfectly successful decolonization. I do not think this can be seriously questioned on the legal or political side: our freedom and independence are real. On the other hand it could also be said, and rightly, that on the economic side inequality persists. We are aware of it. We know that in the near future we must aim at more satisfactory economic structures, including an ade-

quate industrial sector. We know that we should move away from the single-product type of economy, which is particularly vulnerable, and try to secure more equitable terms of trade so that our international dealings do not go against us. We know all that.

68. But we know also that our countries are underdeveloped, and that we are in great need of capital equipment. Furthermore, until national personnel can be trained, we badly need international technical assistance, whether bilateral or multilateral under the United Nations. As we listened to some representatives, however, we received the impression that these needs were sometimes overlooked, and that the provision of assistance to underdeveloped countries like ours was sometimes regarded as a manifestation of neo-colonialism in that it crystallized the inequality between the country assisting and the country assisted. I therefore wish to state, on my country's behalf, that economic aid or technical assistance of any kind, rendered with no thought of domination, that is to say on an equitable basis and in respect for our freedom and independence, cannot be dubbed neo-colonialism.

69. My country decided to associate itself with the submission of the draft resolution on decolonization [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], and that was a perfectly natural step to take. Gabon, proud of its independence and imbued with the principles of freedom, cannot but wish all peoples without exception, not only in Africa but on all continents, to enjoy the supreme benefits of freedom and independence.

70. I also felt it my duty, however—and I think the Assembly will share my feeling—to stress the need to avoid exposing this independence to the scourges that arise from improvisation. True, we mistrust those enemies of freedom who always tend to think it too soon to make the necessary changes. The trend to emancipation is irreversible. But we should not wish our brethren in Africa or elsewhere who are still living under foreign tutelage to be thrown without preparation or resources into the formidable tasks that confront young States. Such a policy of the worst way out would mean in practice that they would pass from foreign domination to the tyranny of anarchy, in which all freedoms and prospects of well-being perish together. The process of liberation, then, must be speeded up; but so must the installation of the personnel and machinery in whose absence the freedom granted would be merely nominal and would founder in chaos; for we well know that the confusion thus created would deprive the recently emancipated peoples of the benefits they are entitled to expect, and give free rein to the least acceptable influences.

Mr. Liu (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

71. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Panama voted, both in the General Committee of the Assembly and in the plenary meeting, to place on the agenda item 87, concerning the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Our attitude reflects a political view which the Republic of Panama has constantly maintained, ever since the foundation of the United Nations—the view that all peoples should effectively enjoy the right of self-determination, respect for their integrity and independence and all fundamental human rights and freedoms, and that colonialism should be abolished by peaceful means. In this connexion, I need only recall that Panama was the

country which had the honour to submit to the San Francisco Conference the first draft universal declaration of human rights considered by the Organization.

72. An outstanding feature of the history of Latin America is the struggle for one of the fundamental ideals advocated by the Liberator, Simón Bolívar. This ideal was the safeguarding of the political independence and territorial integrity of American States, which entailed the condemnation of the so-called right of conquest. This question of safeguarding the territorial integrity and political independence of American States was dealt with in the Treaty of Perpetual Union, League of Perpetual Confederation, conceived at the Congress of Panama convened by Bolívar in 1826. That treaty laid the foundations of our present American regional system and anticipated this world Organization.

73. The views of the leaders of our region were expressed at the International Conferences of American States, which began towards the end of the last century. I shall quote a few examples. The resolution adopted on 18 April 1890 by the First Conference, held in Washington, declared that "the principle of conquest shall not, ... be recognized as admissible under American public law" and that "all cessions of territory ... shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force".

74. The Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo in 1933, laid down a fundamental doctrine of American public law in article 11 of the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States. That article provides as follows:

"The contracting states definitely establish as the rule of their conduct the precise obligation not to recognize territorial acquisitions or special advantages which have been obtained by force whether this consists in the employment of arms, in threatening diplomatic representations, or in any other effective coercive measure. The territory of a state is inviolable and may not be the object of military occupation nor of other measures of force imposed by another state directly or indirectly or for any motive whatever even temporarily."

75. We also think the thought of Bolívar was accurately expressed in resolution XCVI of the Tenth Inter-American Conference [Caracas, 1-28 March 1954], which reaffirms the right to self-determination of peoples and declares that it is the will of the peoples of America that colonialism and the occupation of territories should be definitively ended.

76. It is against this background that my country comes to this rostrum to reaffirm its democratic faith and, through its representative, to declare that it intends to contribute, to the best of its ability and within the United Nations system, to the achievement of the aims of the Organization's Charter, in order that the countries and peoples still under colonial domination may obtain their independence. We believe sincerely that those countries and peoples could become a beneficial influence and could help to bring about the conditions of peace, harmony, goodwill and confidence, which the modern world needs if it is to move towards a creative peace that will put science to work for the progress, security and well-being of mankind in every part of the world.

77. In this endeavour we can look towards a more promising future, in which the threat of war and internal struggles will disappear and, in their place, we shall see a strengthening of the independence of States great and small which, exercising the principle of sovereign equality, are prepared to co-operate in a sound and well-directed international effort to solve the grave and distressing economic and social problems which afflict great masses of people in various parts of the world.

78. This debate, with all its vicissitudes and controversies, must serve constructive purposes. There is no denying that colonialism, as a system of political and economic domination, has lost its hold. The greatest contemporary historians go so far as to say that, in the not too distant future, nationalism, which is the latest stage but which now seems very deeply rooted, will also give way to a new system of world government, in which frontiers and political boundaries will disappear.

79. I do not intend to digress into historical or philosophical considerations and shall therefore confine myself to a few brief remarks on the item we are discussing. One cannot generalize on the subject of colonialism, a system which has influenced the history of many peoples. Impartiality requires us to consider each case separately. Some metropolitan Powers have evolved a wise policy, which, in the course of time, has led to a voluntary and harmonious association between former colonies and the metropolitan country. Their contribution to the international community cannot be ignored. There are other Powers, however, which in the course of history have used an utterly repugnant kind of colonialism as an instrument of repression, cruelty and exploitation, and have left no pleasant memories in the lives of colonial peoples. Yet cultural and religious forces have played a significant part in the restoration of harmonious relations between the independent peoples and their former oppressors.

80. It is fitting that we should recognize the immense value of the work done by the United Nations in furthering the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the dependent subject territories and their gradual development towards independence. The important role which the United Nations Trusteeship System has played in this connexion, in spite of its limitations cannot be overestimated, as the results it has achieved demonstrate. A large number of independent States, which are now seated with honour and dignity in this Assembly, achieved their independence through the United Nations Trusteeship System.

81. We are therefore extremely surprised that the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502], submitted for the consideration of the Assembly by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, states, *inter alia*, the following:

"The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism."

82. As far as the Trusteeship System is concerned, my delegation does not believe that this violent statement is justified either by the facts or by any arguments. For the last fifteen years the Soviet Union has been a permanent member of the Trusteeship Coun-

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It is therefore aware of the tasks successfully carried out by that body, not only with its participation but with its vote and its co-operation with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and other Member States.

The Trusteeship System cannot be buried with a mere sentence, however resounding it may be. To bury means to inter something dead or to stifle something living. If what the Soviet Union proposes in its draft declaration is the ending and abolition of the International Trusteeship System and its removal from the structure of the United Nations, it should resort legally to Chapter XVIII of the Charter, which deals with amendments to that instrument. We are apparently faced with a contradiction, since it has not yet proved possible to alter the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, owing to opposition by one of the great Powers, whose negative vote amounts to a veto of any attempt to do so.

The day is not far off when all dependent countries and peoples will have achieved independence. Then, and only then, will Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter cease to apply and the Trusteeship Council, having no reason to exist, will disappear in accordance with the Charter, since there will no longer be any Administering Authorities, Trust Territories or trusteeship agreements. However, until the ideal of self-government has been achieved by all peoples, we must strengthen the United Nations system in order to achieve the highest purposes of the Charter.

The experience obtained by the Trusteeship Council suggests that we should strengthen rather than weaken the United Nations system as far as the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the International Trusteeship System, referred to in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, are concerned so that, as stated in the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], steps are 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, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

There is no doubt that Chapter XI of the Charter has led to heated controversies since it was adopted at San Francisco. The declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories which is embodied in the Charter, means that the colonial Powers accepted extensive general obligations to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. There was, however, one defect in the drafting of the provisions of the Charter, not only because it did not specify the means by which the Administering Powers' obligations were to be made effective, but because it did not define the functions of the United Nations with regard to the fulfilment of obligations assumed by Member States.

In this connexion it might have been useful to take in account the recommendations of certain experts, such as Professors Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn. In the second edition of their book "World Peace through World Law", published by the Harvard University Press in 1960, they propose to amend Article 73 in order to clarify the obligations accepted by member states as to Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, and completely to revise

Article 87 so as to broaden the responsibility and authority of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council in respect of many Non-Self-Governing Territories other than Trust Territories.

I would now like to turn to the draft resolution which the representative of Honduras has submitted for our consideration [A/L.324]. Perhaps the Honduran draft, which has been laid before the Assembly by a sovereign country inspired by sound motives, aims to give the United Nations greater influence in the process of emancipation of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although we appreciate our Honduran colleague's good intentions, my delegation reserves the right to make certain comments on his draft in a future statement, if circumstances make this advisable.

Paragraph 5 of the draft declaration submitted by the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] reads as follows:

"5. 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."

My delegation wonders what immediate steps should be adopted in accordance with the African-Asian draft. The document does not say. It says, of course, that all powers should be transferred to the peoples of those territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. But what legal means are to be used to determine the peoples' choice? Is that to be a matter exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of the Administering Authority, or is the United Nations to exercise international supervision over the method of consultation? All these are problems which will have to be considered, and presumably they cannot be settled immediately through the power of some miraculous phrase. Objective analysis is required if practical steps are to be taken to enable the United Nations to promote efforts to secure the independence of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

My delegation is aware of the complexity of the question we are considering and realizes that a declaration of this kind cannot cover all the practical aspects of attainment of its objectives. We must recognize that this declaration by itself will not be enough, and that we shall have to continue to work within the framework of the United Nations for the freedom of subject peoples, through a peaceful process which is of the greatest interest to the whole international community.

My delegation cannot support the Soviet draft resolution [A/4502] in the form in which it has been submitted to this Assembly, as it contains certain elements which would make it difficult to find harmonious and peaceful settlements. We are opposed to injection of a controversial, hostile and harmful cold war atmosphere into a matter of such great importance.

I have already said on a previous occasion that the small Powers should become a real force for mediation and understanding between the great op-

posing blocs. For this reason we view with considerable favour the joint draft resolution submitted to this Assembly by the African-Asian delegations.

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

94. Mr. NIMNANHEMINDA (Thailand): It affords me much pleasure to note that the General Assembly has unanimously accepted [903rd meeting] the proposal made by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to discuss the vexed question of colonialism in the plenary meeting instead of referring this most momentous subject to the First Committee. On this point I am happy to note that for once the view of my delegation is in perfect accord with that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The matter is ripe to be brought before this Assembly so that wholehearted attention can be paid to it.

95. My delegation wishes to put it on record that we unreservedly support the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], submitted by Afghanistan, Burma and other Member States, and that we shall vote for it and for all that it stands for.

96. Ours is one of the very few nations in Asia that somehow or other succeeded in eluding the clutch of colonialism or imperialism, eastern as well as western, during the last 700 years of its distinctive existence, after the Thai people had finally settled in its present territory. I am sure that our past experiences both in dodging and in temporizing with evil—and I think that everybody agrees that colonialism is evil—when such evil became inevitable, may prove to be of interest to some of us here today in dealing with the evil aspects of colonialism that they may come across, now or in the near future.

97. As you know, my country is called Thailand in English. In our language, we call it "Pratate Thai" or "Muang Thai", which means "The Land of the Free". The mind of our people, as its name implies, is always actively conscious of the idea of freedom and independence, and it always arouses our sympathy to observe that so many of our fellow beings are still deprived of their birthright, the right to be free and to be master of their own destiny. The fact that we always have been free makes us all the more sympathetic to the yearnings and aspirations of our less fortunate fellow beings. In our contact with many peoples, we are constantly being asked on what day we celebrate our independence, and we are always at a loss to answer this query. We have no Independence Day; every day, to us, is always our Day of Independence.

98. Perhaps by this time you must be thinking that I am carried away by emotional feelings, so let me make my position clear. Our past efforts in defending our independence and in eluding and evading foreign domination or colonialism, entailed an almost infinite amount of hardship, privation, self-restraint plus no less an amount of self-renunciation and personal sacrifice. We had often to exercise infinite patience and to pocket our pride in the face of great and irritating provocations.

99. It is my thesis, however, that whilst it is not beyond human effort and endeavour to acquire freedom and independence, it is definitely more difficult, once complete freedom from enslaving colonialism has been acquired, to maintain and preserve this independence

intact for future generations. Circumspection as well as wisdom and correct self-appraisal must be vigilantly kept in mind, or else we may fall into another and greater evil.

100. Let me cite an example of how we managed to evade and then to temporize with the expansionism and imperialistic drive from our then powerful—and still no less powerful now—neighbour of the North.

101. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, the great Mongol Emperor who ruled over China, Kublai Khan, ordered his invincible army to attack the early Thai principalities of Nan Chao, or what is now known as the Chinese Province of Yunnan. Instead of submitting tamely to the Chinese yoke and accepting the colonialism which they abhorred, the Thais of various branches preferred to migrate elsewhere where they could breathe the air of freedom as far from Chinese contact as was then possible. Some of them moved into present-day Assam Province, in India; a large group calling themselves "The Major Thais" settled down in the Shan States of Burma; some migrated into present-day Viet-Nam; while the largest group managed to move farther south into present-day Thailand and Laos.

102. In spite of all these mass migrations, the great Kublai Khan's territorial appetite was not completely satiated. He later on sent envoys into these new colonies or territories to demand tribute and acknowledgement of his suzerainty. Similar envoys were also sent to Sukhothai, the then capital of Thailand. There is a Thai proverb which says "Do not attempt to break the handle of a chopper with your own knees", meaning, of course, that one should not attempt the impossible and hurt oneself at the same time. King Ram Kamhaeng of Thailand, therefore, for the first time, put into practice what is known as personal diplomacy by personally travelling to Peking to make better acquaintance with Kublai Khan himself, and paid him due respect in virtue of his seniority in rank as well as age. By this gracious gesture, he found favour with the Emperor who initiated, for the first time in our history, a technical assistance programme, sending back with King Ram Kamhaeng a group of experts on pottery, who taught our people the art of glazing pottery by setting up kilns at Sangkaloke and Sukhothai for turning out Sangkaloke ware which found its way to different markets as far apart as Borneo and Persia.

103. Not more than two and a half centuries after having settled in the country, we began to receive attention from the outside world; first, from early Portuguese adventurers, envoys and Roman Catholic priests of that nationality. They were always welcomed with warmth and tolerance in accordance with the teachings of Buddhism. Land was given to them on which to build their camps and their churches and many of them were taken into the King's service as gunners.

104. The advent of the Dutch some time later weakened the hold of the Portuguese and lessened their arrogance. After having consolidated themselves firmly, the Dutch began to exercise pressure on us. As a result of a treaty signed in 1664, we granted the Dutch monopolies in various commodities and in the shipping of our produce to neighbouring countries. They in turn were responsible for the introduction into Thailand, for the first time, of that obnoxious and subsequently much abused practice of extraterritoriality.

105. Finding the presence of, and pressure from, the Dutch well-nigh intolerable, the Thais sought relief by addressing themselves to the French and entering into diplomatic relations with Louis XIV, who exchanged several ambassadors with our King, Phra Narai. But, there again, we soon found that the French intentions did not much differ from those of the Dutch, except that there were far more French troops in the country. It was only by means of a timely Thai version of the famous Sicilian Vespers that we were able to stave off the first attempt to plant a French colonial empire upon us. From that time onwards until the fall of Ayudhya in 1767, our relations with western countries were chiefly confined to a small amount of trading carried on by private traders from the West.

106. In 1833, less than sixty years after the Americans had discarded their colonial yoke and made their presence felt in the commerce of Asia, and twenty years before Commodore Perry's forcible opening of Japan to other nations in addition to the Dutch, the Thais entered into diplomatic relations with the United States of America. From 1855 onwards, treaties of friendship and commerce were concluded with the United Kingdom, France and other Western Powers.

107. Although we freely opened our country before forcible measures were taken against us, this does not mean that we have come out of the colonialistic game unsullied and unscathed. In order to avoid total extinction, we had to submit to the conclusion of a series of one-sided, unjust and iniquitous treaties without any terminating clause, thereby perpetuating that odious extraterritorial practice and the limitation imposed on our fiscal autonomy, which precluded us from levying duties on exports or imports over and above 3 per cent *ad valorem*. Furthermore, our borders were also subjected to periodical grabbings, known euphemistically as "rectification of frontiers".

108. To the Thai people, extraterritoriality was both humiliating and unjust. Fiscal limitation prevented us from embarking upon several necessary reforms through want of essential revenues. Before Thailand's association with colonial Powers, the area of the country exceeded 350,000 square miles, or 900,000 square kilometres. After 1907, its area was reduced to barely 200,000 square miles, or just over 500,000 square kilometres.

109. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, and for many years after, the keynote of Thai policy was that it was better to lose a certain part than to lose the whole country: half a loaf seemed better than no bread. I think that a well-known Russian story will illustrate our policy at that time very graphically.

A certain Russian gentleman went on a business trip in a carriage drawn by four horses. On his way home, he was pursued by a pack of hungry wolves. The gentleman drove hard, yet the pack managed somehow to overtake him after some time. To save the situation, he cut loose one of the horses to distract the wolves from pursuing him, at any rate for a brief respite. After that horse had been made short work of, the howling pack rushed after him again. He repeated this with a second and a third horse, until finally he reached a post of safety with but one horse. I need not point out the moral of this fable, nor trouble you with the identities of those big bad wolves.

110. Now we can more or less breathe freely seeing that the brazen type of land grabbing and the naked and shameless type of colonialism have become things of the past. In Thailand we deem that we managed to escape from "the mouths of the tigers and the bears" with the skin of our teeth. We are proud of the wisdom of our forbears in having chosen the better part so as to preserve our independence to this very day. We adhere, as good Buddhists, to our Lord's teaching, which says: "Hatred ceaseth not with hatred, hatred ceaseth only with non-hatred, this is an old law." Thus said the Buddha. We adopt a realistic view of the world. We refuse to live in the past, nor will we keep looking backward to the past all the time. We deem it a waste of time to cry over spilt milk, but we shall take care not to spill any more milk. It is our aim and our objective to lead our people to the goal where reign freedom from fear, from hunger, from disease and from ignorance.

111. Colonialism of the old days is dead, and in this Assembly we are driving home the nails into its coffin. But like the phoenix of old, while land-grabbing colonialism is no longer with us, out of its ashes a new type of colonialism is arising. It is far more dangerous, because it is cynically insidious; like the Kingdom of God, it seldom comes with observation; it often comes under the guise of liberation; it preaches a new gospel of salvation; it heralds a new millenium; and it comes in sheep's clothing. In my delegation's opinion, it is far more dangerous because of its deceptive ideological attraction. When it enters by one door, freedom flies out of the other. I think the case of present-day Tibet is an example which clearly illustrates my point.

112. Now, may I put one question: What shall it profit a country to gain complete independence only to lose its own soul?

The meeting rose at 10.55 p.m.