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

AGENDA ITEM 87
Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (continued)

1. The President: Before coming to the first speaker inscribed for this afternoon, I give the floor to the representative of Honduras in exercise of his right of reply.

2. Mr. Milla Bermudez (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): In exercising its right of reply, my delegation wishes also to take this opportunity to clarify, as requested, some points in its draft resolution (A/L.324).

3. In the first place, the Honduran proposal is in no sense an alternative to the African-Asian draft resolution. On the contrary, it is a supplement which we consider necessary for the implementation of the latter proposal. What is more, my delegation will vote in favour of the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. The Honduran proposal, then, is designed merely to help in solving the problem of ways and means of the proper implementation of the African-Asian draft resolution. In other words, we establish a right and proper link between the two. I should also like to make it quite clear that the position of Honduras in this matter, as in any other, is above suspicion, and that we shall never lend ourselves to manoeuvres on either side.

4. In the second place, I have been told that no provision is made for an East European country among the members of the commission. I disagree. The proposal provides for the representation of two Administrating Powers. It is therefore incorrect to call the Honduran proposal inadmissible on the ground that it excludes a representative area, for there is nothing to prevent the inclusion of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an Administrating Power.

5. In the third place, I have been asked to specify what I mean by colonies, or what colonies I have in mind. This is a more difficult question to answer, for there are disputes pending now before the Assembly, for which no solution has been found in previous years; Algeria is a case in point. We all know which colonies still exist in the world. But if debate or interpretation of international law has so far failed to produce, or if entanglement in the conflict of two worlds and in the cold war has so far prevented any agreement on this matter, it is hardly for the Honduran delegation to supply the panacea—solution to this problem—by defining which territories are still colonies. This Assembly has not been able to define exactly what constitutes aggression either. Nevertheless, if pressed sufficiently, we might hazard the following definition: colonies are all those groups or peoples that do not yet govern themselves and cannot choose their rulers by democratic means.

6. In the fourth place, we have been told that the commission proposed by Honduras would solve nothing and would merely delay matters. We do not agree. The commission can do a great service; it can chart the course for the peoples that are still seeking independence. Again, the argument that visiting commissions should not be sanctioned, because they are not allowed to enter the territories concerned, is no reason for rejecting the draft resolution, for such a situation is not new to this Assembly. Four years have passed since the establishment of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, and Sir Leslie Munro, a former President of this Assembly, has just submitted another report [A/4606] to us without setting foot on Hungarian soil.

7. To sum up: the Honduran draft resolution supplies the African-Asian group's proposal with a means of carrying out the liberation process.

8. Mr. Wadsworth (United States of America): Through all its life, the United Nations has been deeply concerned with the progress of dependent peoples towards self-government and independence. The progress has embraced nearly 800 million people. It has become the greatest tide of political liberation in all history.

9. This year, with the admission of seventeen newly-established nations to our midst, the independence movement has reached a climax. It is well, therefore, in the presence of so many nations which have achieved independence in recent times, that this session of the General Assembly should consider the future of this momentous movement. The movement itself is natural, just, and irresistible. It is determined not so much by what we say here as by historic forces which cannot be reversed. But it seems reasonable to hope that our deliberations here may help to speed it, and to make it more orderly, more peaceful and more just for the scores of millions whose future is bound up with it.

10. No people supports the idea of freedom and national independence more eagerly or more proudly than the people of the United States. All delegations here are aware of the historical background which led the founders of my country to make and carry into effect the famous Declaration of Independence, which we celebrate every fourth of July. After one hundred and fifty years of colonial rule, and after the economic and social development of the original colonies had attained a point where they were able to stand on their
11. Our founders declared, and we still hold, that these truths are not the heritage of any particular race or any particular nation but of all men. And so it has proved in fact, for the influence of that Declaration reverberated around the world and still reverberates today.

12. Therefore the general sentiment of the American people has always been that freedom and independence are among the basic natural rights of every people and nation. Our public opinion has shown no ambition to dominate other nations and has had little enthusiasm for colonial ventures, whether by ourselves or by others. When a former colony emerges as a new nation we instinctively remember our own origin and we respond with heartfelt rejoicing.

13. In this debate, on a subject where so many nations have greater experience than we, it would be idle for the United States to try to preach to anybody. Nor shall we try to arouse passions by lurid accusations. We are more interested in the future than in the past. We believe that the rapid progress of the independence movement is essential to peace. And in this statement we shall try to set forth some of the broad principles by which that progress should be governed.

14. From its very founding the United Nations conceived of the long-established colonial Governments, which then embraced a major part of the globe, not as sources of profits to the governing Power but rather as a "sacred trust" and a means of progress for dependent peoples. This was made plain by Article 73 of the Charter, under Chapter XI entitled: "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories". That Article makes clear that the Administering Powers have a responsibility to the community of nations; that the interests of the indigenous populations come first; that among those interests are progress toward self-government and free institutions and the realization of their "political aspirations"—which, in most cases, has meant independence. The same article also makes clear that the pace and method of progress must take into account the "particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

15. In the fifteen years of the United Nations, Article 73 has been put into effect with greater speed and on a grander scale than any other provision of the Charter. Some thirty-four countries, containing over 775 million people, have attained independence since 1946. Nearly all are Members of the United Nations with representatives in this hall. In Africa alone no less than twenty-one States have made this transition, until two thirds of the whole of Africa is free and independent. And, as the representative of the United Kingdom reminded us in his statement early in this debate [255th meeting], still others will follow in the years just ahead.

16. Now this success has given a powerful impetus to the drive for independence and full self-government in other countries which are still dependent today and which feel themselves to be part of the same great stream of history. It is natural and healthy that this should be so. The very presence in our midst of a greatly increased number of new nations, all free to express their views as they think right, imparts to this question a new urgency.

17. It is equally fitting that, within the context of the Charter provisions to which I referred just now, an effort should be made to state the sense of the General Assembly in a new declaration which accords with the circumstances of 1960. For that task no one among us is so well qualified as the nations of Africa and Asia, to most of whom this question is a matter of first-hand experience and who are the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] before the Assembly. We believe that the United States wish to be in a position to support their declaration. We hope that whatever questions of language might remain can still be worked out. We applaud their initiative and the spirit which animates it.

18. In this statement, rather than dissect the draft resolution, I shall try to set forth in broad terms the point of view of the United States.

19. First, let me say what we mean by colonialism. There is no need for a formal definition. We have learned from history certain of its characteristics, it is the imposition of alien power over a people, usually by force, and without the formal and free consent of the governed. It is the perpetuation of that power. It is the denial of the right of self-determination—whether by suppressing free expression or by withholding necessary educational, economic and social development. Obviously not all colonial regimes have been the same. Some have been benevolent and have expended great sums for the benefit of the indigenous people; others have been harsh and repressive. Some have understood the justice and inevitability of progress by the indigenous people to full self-government and self-determination, and have shaped their policies accordingly; others have not. But however important these differences, the fact remains that colonialism in any form is undesirable. Neither the most benevolent paternalism by a ruling Power, nor the most grateful acceptance of these benefits by indigenous leaders can meet the test of the Charter or satisfy the spirit of this age. In fact, the only colonial rule which can meet that test is that which energetically works to turn over full power to the indigenous people and thus seeks to bring itself to an end as soon as possible. Time and again, that test has been met. The vast areas which, in generations past, were overseas possessions of Western nations have been transformed by the joint efforts of the governing and the governed, until today the complete end of this traditional colonial era is a certainty. In spite of inevitable friction and some tragic instances of violence, this historic transformation has been largely peaceful; and for that blessing great credit is due to statesmen and leaders on both sides.

20. The United States devoutly hopes that the complete ending of the colonial age will be still more peaceful and harmonious. That this should be so is manifestly in the future interest of all concerned. We cannot help remarking on the fact that some speakers who have taken a prominent part in this debate, and who maintain that they themselves are all free and independent and have no colonies, have outdone all the rest of the
21. Now we could describe at this point, if it would be helpful to any suffering people to do so, a new colonial system which does not span any oceans but which is nonetheless as complete a violation of the rights of man as any that has ever existed. This colonial system was imposed by force on many peoples of many races, many of whom had for centuries been free and independent States and had been Members of the League of Nations. Some lost their independence even in form; all of them lost it in fact. This entire system is disguised by censorship, by ruthless thought control, and by an elaborate misuse of words like “democratic” and “autonomous”. But its tragic reality is attested by the millions who have escaped from it and by the tens of thousands who have died in their vain efforts to shake it off.

22. That is the new colonialism. In the very years when the old colonialism was being transformed by the independence movement, the new colonialism was spreading to still other nations. It is the largest colonial empire in all the world today, yet it seeks to spread still further under the false banner of “liberation”. Fortunately, its further spread has been checked by the increasing ability of free peoples to understand the reality through the disguise. We are convinced that this new colonial system too will die out—and we hope and pray it will die peacefully. Its time, perhaps, is not yet; but its time will come. Meanwhile, when we hear the practitioners of this new colonialism launch their thunderbolts against the old, we are tempted to recall the old proverb: “What you do speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say”.

23. The arch practitioner of this new and lethal colonialism demonstrated to us as recently as last Sunday the true colours of its cynical and hypocritical nature, which it hides under the false banner of liberation and behind masses of words and slogans expounding freedom from colonial domination and independence for all peoples of the world. I know I do not need to refresh your memories that it was the Soviet Union which, last Sunday morning in the Security Council, vetoed the draft resolution proposing the admission of the recently free and independent Islamic Republic of Mauritania. This veto, a bare-faced attempt to blackmail the Security Council into accepting a package deal, has effectively prevented Mauritania from achieving its full status and rights in the community of nations. I ask you to think about the implications of the Soviet Union’s action last Sunday morning. Particularly consider this veto on the admission of a sovereign State to the United Nations when the representative of the Soviet Union next takes the floor to champion, with his hollow oratory, the independence and equal rights of all peoples.

24. I have made this short digression to describe the “new colonial system” so that we may not forget the many millions of people who suffer under this “new colonialism” and whose fate, rightly or wrongly, most Members of the General Assembly have chosen not to talk about at this time. At the same time, I think we should and must recall that the draft resolution now before us quite rightly speaks out against colonialism “in all its manifestations”, just as did the historic declaration following the Bandung Conference. I return now, however, to the old colonial system, in the view of the United States, certain points are clear.

25. First, the ending of the colonial era is already far advanced and its complete end is certain. The sentiment of nationalism is one of the strongest and most irresistible forces of modern times. It should not be thwarted or suppressed—indeed, it cannot be. Modern history records many instances of nations which were partitioned or completely extinguished, only to emerge again as members of the family of nations. Some of these are sitting in our midst today; others may be here tomorrow. In any case, those who have responsibility under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories must realize that their tutelage at best can be only temporary. Any attempt to prolong it by unnecessary delays, any failure to prepare for it with all possible speed, will only frustrate the inevitable and sow a harvest of bitterness which will persist long after independence has been achieved.

26. Secondly, it is not enough merely to liquidate the old; it is necessary also to plan soundly for what will replace it. And in this the wishes of the indigenous people must be paramount. Experience shows that a separate independence is usually, but by no means always, the people’s choice. For instance, contrary to the impression left by the declaration which Mr. Zorin read here some weeks ago [353rd meeting], the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico do not now desire independence. They are fully self-governing and have freely chosen to be associated with the United States as a self-governing commonwealth. There are strong economic, financial and other reasons behind their decision. On 8 November last they re-elected Governor Munoz Marfil, who is a strong advocate of the commonwealth solution and in fact one of its chief architects, by a clear majority of 56 per cent of the vote in a free election. Perhaps its significance is the fact that another 32 per cent of the voters advocated statehood, or full political integration with the United States, and that means in simple terms that over 90 per cent of the voters of Puerto Rico wish to have commonwealth status or a closer permanent tie with the United States. There are other examples, countries which, on emerging from colonial rule, have freely chosen to join with a neighbouring State in a single sovereignty. Solutions like these may also be preferred by other peoples, particularly those who live in small and widely scattered islands. Thus independence is only the most obvious of several possible choices. The essential point is that the people should choose.

27. My third point is related to this principle of popular choice. The vital test for the administering authority of every dependent area is the test of free consultation with the people through free elections or through some equally valid means of self-determination. This means more than a ceremony in which the people are permitted to ratify a single predetermined decision. It means an actual choice among alternatives. That is the essence of the principle of self-determination of peoples which is included among the Purposes of the United Nations. It is fulfilled, I believe, when the people may make the wrong decision, or a decision which may prove to be bad for them. At some moment,
and better soon than late, the administering authority must trust in the people's wisdom and put their destiny in their own hands. This has been done with success in so many cases that there can be no denying its practical validity. Let more use be made of free elections, then, so that peoples everywhere may be free to determine their own destiny.

28. Now I come to the question of time. How soon shall the remaining dependencies become independent or be given the opportunity to decide their future? The United States believes that steps must be taken immediately towards self-government or independence. In many cases this process is already far advanced, where it is not so advanced, there must be no delay. Certainly no administering authority should maintain the colonial status or relationship one day longer than may be necessary to enable each territory to stand on its own feet in the strenuous conditions of the modern world. Moreover, the determination of a timetable should not be arbitrary but should be the result of continuous consultation with the indigenous peoples and with their leaders. The Charter makes it clear, in its Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the progressive development of free political institutions is to be carried out according "to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement" [Article 73 b]. All Members of the United Nations, in subscribing to the Charter, have accepted this principle; and its wisdom has been fully demonstrated by experience. If independence is to be real and not merely formal, it must be accompanied by economic, social and political growth and stability. Even in the same region there may be wide variations in this regard. The Trust Territory of Western Samoa, for example, which will soon have a plebiscite regarding its future, has a very advanced society compared to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, large parts of which are still unexplored and unknown to the outside world. Thus, to deal with both as if they were in comparable stages of advancement would not ensure to either what the Charter pledges, namely, "their just treatment, and their protection against abuses".

29. We can sum up our views on the matter of timing in this way. Common sense, and the terms of the Charter as well, make it inescapable that independence—or whatever final result the people may choose—must be reached in progressive steps. Sometimes the remaining road is short; in other cases it is still long, and a long road should not be attempted in one leap. It is a poor service to any people to convert them overnight from colonial subjection to a paper independence which they are not equipped to sustain. The result is certain to be a collapse into chaos and violence—and perhaps an attempt by other stronger Powers to put them under a new yoke. It could be simply jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

30. Yet none of these cautions should be used as an excuse for delay with the urgent business in hand. Administering authorities should consult with the people to establish timetables of progress. And the steps along the way must be immediate. Both the administering authority and the people must feel an urgent obligation to speed the day of full liberation. That obligation is imposed upon us by history, and to shirk it would lead only to tragic and needless conflict.

31. We are speaking here of one of the great liberating movements of history—the creation of new sovereign nations. It is fitting to recall to ourselves how much this movement already owes—and how much it is sure to owe in the future—to the United Nations. Not only has this Organization, under its Charter, already taken a substantial and creative interest in the liberating process itself; the United Nations also provided—and this may even be a greater service in the long run—a house for the community of nations. And here the world's many independent nations, in all their variety and despite all their discord, can find a sound and strong framework within which to dwell in peace.

32. This priceless value of the United Nations for the emerging nations was recognized by President Eisenhower—when he proposed, in his address to the General Assembly on 22 September [86th meeting], a United Nations programme for Africa. Among the points in this programme are an immediate increase in the size of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and of the United Nations Special Fund; expansion and permanent status for the United Nations programme to provide operational and executive personnel to newly developing countries; special attention to Africa by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund; and a new United Nations programme of education, so that the peoples of Africa can more rapidly acquire the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom.

33. We shall develop these proposals further when the Assembly considers the item which the United States delegation proposed entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development" [Item 88]. We shall welcome particularly the ideas of the African States on that programme. Already we have been greatly interested to hear a number of speakers from Africa, during the present debate, emphasize their wish that aid to Africa should come as much as possible through the United Nations. With that attitude we entirely agree.

34. By such steps as these, we shall take the most statesmanlike course of all—the course which strengthens the independence of nations and at the same time strengthens the world institutions which bind us together in peace. Only from that unity in diversity can a peaceful world community be built. And only in such a community can freedom be achieved, and securely sustained, for all the peoples of the world. The President of the United States, in his address to the General Assembly earlier this fall, described this ideal in these words:

"This concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate, through his or her vote, in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: 'Do you want this right?' Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily towards fulfillment through our plans, our efforts and our collective ideas."
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Thus we see, as our goal, a super-State above
nations, but a world community embracing them all,
rowed in law and justice and enhancing the
potentialities and common purposes of all peoples." [868th
meeting, paras. 84-85]

33. In the light of those ideals, we rejoice to see the
age of colonies pass into history and a host of new
ations emerging into the community of freedom. Let
that great community grow steadily to completion,
overcoming all fanatical divisions and groundless am-
bitions, until it embraces—as one day it surely must—
all the members of the family of man.

34. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from
French): During these memorable days we are writing
a great page of history, not the history we studied not
so long ago about nations and their kings and wars, but
universal history as it must henceforth be taught: the
history of mankind, of its progress and achievements.
The history of mankind is a history of continuous
liberation—liberation from domination of man by man,
whether it involved individuals, communities or
peoples, that is to say, liberation from slavery and
colonialism.

37. But before we reached our present stage, how
much suffering was inflicted, how much blood and tears
shed! And also, how many failures, setbacks and pain-
ful new beginnings! At each turning in this tortuous
road a bright summit has emerged like the peak of
all stages in the extension of knowledge and the Hbera-
ting from the existence of a racist State. It appears there
as an institution of the State itself. Whether in the form
of segregation imposed on the Arabs under the pretext
of national security, or of inequality before the State
and the public authorities, it constitutes one of the
fundamental laws of the State. The censure incurred by
the Union of South Africa is merited to an even greater
extent by Israel. How long will people close their eyes
to this anomaly, to this monstrity of racist policy in
anachronistic State, and of the Zionism which
nourishes it?

38. Today the subjugation of individuals by slavery is
coming to an end. Nevertheless it has not completely
vanished. Remnants of it remain in racial discrimina-
tion, serfdom and forced labour.

39. Until the beginning of the Christian era there was
only a sporadic struggle against this endemic evil and
revolts which were speedily repressed. In the eyes of
his contemporaries Spartacus was a rebel to be
punished, a rebel against an established institution, a
threat to one of the foundations of the civilization of the
time.

40. With the advent of Christianity, the legitimacy of
slavery was called in question. After it had been
abolished in Europe it still subsisted in Czarist Russia
in the milder form of serfdom, despite repeated at-
mpts at liberation and the two great revolutions in the
United States and France, together with the Declara-
dions of the Rights of Man which they brought forth in
pain. But it needed an Abraham Lincoln and a Civil War
for slavery to be abolished in the United States, and the
General Act of the Brussels Conference relative to the
African Slave Trade of 1890/ for it to be condemned
also to Asia and Africa. The Powers that had officially
protected the slave trade on the Atlantic Ocean made it
their duty to combat it in the eastern seas. That was a
reparation they owed to the peoples they had op-
pressed. The activities of European navies against the
African slavers were instrumental in suppressing this
hideous trade, which was ended for good by the Inter-
national Convention for the Suppression of Slavery
adopted by the League of Nations, and signed at Geneva
on 25 September 1926.3/4

41. But, as has been observed, the remnants of slavery
remain in the form of racial discrimination, which
rages in at least two countries: the Union of South
Africa and Israel.

42. It is time, high time, that these inhuman practices
should cease. The struggle against racial discrimina-
tion in the United States is proceeding successfully,
although slowly and considerably more in the legisla-
tive acts and court decisions than in popular practices
and reactions, but so far little progress has been made in
South Africa despite repeated United Nations inter-
vention. The policy of "apartheid", which we have con-
demned more than once, remains an open sore in the
side of mankind. How long will the United Nations
tolerate this affront to its most noble and lofty prin-
ciples? The draft resolution before us [A/L.323 and
Add.1-6], and on which we are called upon to vote,
condemns once and for all that policy which violates
both moral law and the precepts of religion, of all
religions. Will the Government of the Union of South
Africa withhold its vote from this draft resolution? It
is offered an opportunity to reconsider its policy,
which is as disastrous for the community which it
defends as for the one which is its wretched victim.

43. As to Israel, there have been many denunciations
of its policy, a State policy which has racial discrimi-
nation as one of its corner-stones. The very Consti-
tution of Israel, a theocratic State, is based on the notion
that only the Jew is a real citizen, the non-Jew being a
second class subject. Racial discrimination results
from the existence of a racist State. It appears there
as an institution of the State itself. Whether in the form
of segregation imposed on the Arabs under the pretext
of national security, or of inequality before the State
and the public authorities, it constitutes one of the
fundamental laws of the State. The censure incurred by
the Union of South Africa is merited to an even greater
extent by Israel. How long will people close their eyes
to this anomaly, to this monstrosity of racist policy in
anachronistic State, and of the Zionism which
nourishes it?

44. Slavery in all its forms, as the League of Nations
declared, slavery in its most diverse shapes and with
all its hideous remnants, must finally give way to real
equality between men of all races and colours, and to
respect for the human dignity of each and every person.

45. Even before voting on the resolution condemning
racial discrimination, we should like to believe that this
resolution will not, like so many other United Nations
resolutions, remain a dead letter. A people whose
actions violate the principles of the Charter and the
provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human
Rights, whether it be Israel or any other country, must
henceforth incur not only moral penalties in the form of
United Nations censure, but the legal penalties attach-
ing to the violation of the rules of conduct for peoples

3/ See Publications of the League of Nations, V.I.E. Slavery, 1926,
and individuals. We hope that the world, which has seen the advent of independence for so many peoples, will in the near future see the advent of universal law and justice for all.

46. A last word before turning from racial discrimination, which besets the individual, to colonialism, which affects entire peoples. For the common good, we hope that racial discrimination will not spring up again in the relations between the newly emancipated peoples, or those soon to be freed, and their former masters. We entreat these long-suffering peoples to rise above malice and vengeance. At stake are their own interests, which can be fulfilled only through co-operation on an equal footing, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence among all men and peoples.

47. The draft resolution before us states that the liberation of peoples is an irreversible process. Whatever anyone may say, international morality is winning a victory. It will be one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations, if not the greatest of all, to have taken part in this regeneration of the world by helping all peoples still in bondage in their struggle for independence. What the League of Nations did to free the individual from slavery, the United Nations is in the process of doing to liberate all peoples from the bonds of servitude.

48. We do not wish to deny to the colonial Powers, or at least some of them, the merit of having understood this movement and of having risen to the heights of this morality, yielding to the pressure of peoples striving for freedom. In the past two decades the United Kingdom, France and Italy have cut the bonds of subjection placed on more than thirty nations inhabited by more than a thousand million people. This Organization and these Powers are today insistently urged to extend to all the peoples of the earth, on whatever continent they live, and whether they are black or white, the blessings of freedom and dignity. Let them put a speedy end to bloodshed in the countries where the struggle is continuing. Let the territories taken away from sovereign nations be restored to them, for parts of their flesh and blood in Asia and Africa remain in the hands of occupying Powers and forces.

49. Special mention should be made of a land, the most holy of lands, which a rapacious colonialism, Zionism, has usurped and occupied in defiance of human laws and, I may add, of Divine Law, since this is the land of the Holy Places and the Holy City. While the whole world acknowledges that the age of conquest and colonialism is past and while dozens of nations are holding up their heads and advancing towards freedom and light, colonialist Zionism is clinging desperately to the alleged rights of conquest so as to disposess a people of its ancestral fatherland and open the land for colonization. Palestine—the land of Canaan—was not a Sahara, an uninhabited desert. It was, in the words of the Bible, a land flowing with milk and honey, a land bearing huge bunches of grapes that astonished the nomadic Israelites. It was conquered in the time of Joshua, and conquered again three thousand years later in no less cruel fashion, under the very eyes of the United Nations and in spite of and in violation of its principles and its most solemn resolution. Israel, in defiance of logic and decency, masks this new colonialism under a screen of principles proclaiming freedom, but the United Nations must be true to itself by unmasking this deception, by exposing and hunting down colonialism wherever it seeks to perpetuate or reinstate itself. By occupying a part of Arab Palestine, Zionism has violated both the sovereignty of the people it expelled from their homes and the integrity of the national territory. While pretending to assert a right, it violates with impunity the most elementary principles of good faith.

50. Without a doubt, the colonial Powers have spread their civilization in the colonized countries, to a greater or lesser extent. This cultural expansion was at times attended by violence. It was imposed rather than accepted. It may be that without this culture and without this violence, the colonized countries would not have awakened so quickly to independence and freedom. This has happened at various times in history. In antiquity, in the Middle Ages and in modern times the currents of culture were sweeping through the world, sometimes from East to West and sometimes from West to East, were not always peaceful currents, far from it. But this no longer holds true today. The book can dispense with the sword and the rifle. Economic development must no longer mean exploitation, as it often meant in times gone by, in all eras and under all skies—exploitation of natural resources as well as of men.

51. Our age is one of co-operation among free and equal peoples and men. More still, it is an age of human brotherhood, association and mutual assistance. This mutual assistance is more particularly necessary since justice-economic and social justice—did not always in the past govern the relations between nations. The economic and technical development of some peoples was sometimes achieved at the expense of others.

52. The proposal for assistance to African countries which have attained independence, submitted by the United States [868th meeting], comes at a timely moment. It springs from the new spirit. It will be welcome, as will also be any assistance which the countries of western Europe may propose to give to the States they once administered. The same may be said of the decision of the Soviet Union announced in the Second Committee, to increase its contribution to the programme of assistance to newly independent States.

53. This assistance has already been the subject of two important resolutions of the Second Committee, one on assistance to newly independent States [A/4649, draft resolution I] and the other on concerted action for the economic development of all peoples [A/4648, draft resolution I]. These two resolutions underline the duty of the United Nations to promote the economic and social advancement of all the less developed peoples. They complement the draft resolution which is now before you. They constitute the economic charter of a new world in which all peoples must work together.

54. If this assistance is accompanied by respect for the independence and sovereignty of young States, as required by the draft resolution on concerted action for economic development, if the recipient States are not drawn into the conflicts and rivalries of the Great Powers and are enabled to develop in peace and tranquillity, an effective contribution will indeed have been made to human progress and universal harmony in the world. Let us not regard this as a vision or as a figment of the imagination. It will be the reality of our time, and of the years to come, dictated by the sequence

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

55. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Uruguay is taking part in this debate in full awareness of the importance of the matter before us.

56. There are still many millions of people in Asia, Africa and even our own America for whom the words we speak here have special significance. There are many millions of people whose eyes are fixed on the United Nations at this moment, and who await from us a word to hearten them in their struggle, a word of encouragement to help them to endure their ceaseless sufferings, a word of hope in their dejection.

57. This lends particular gravity to our discussion and compels us to approach the subject with the honest intention of working only for the objective which we have set ourselves. We do not want this debate to be used as a cold weapon in a cold war, much less as an instrument of propaganda for an ideology which has itself proved to be a modern version of colonialism—of a colonialism that is implacable, rigid and inhuman. My delegation has therefore been glad to note the moderation and deliberation which have characterized the statements of many countries that in recent times have fought most fiercely against the colonial system. The peoples of Asia and Africa, more immediately affected than we by whatever is said or done in this Assembly, have shown an admirable prudence. We hail this fact as a favourable augury for the future of the United Nations.

58. Uruguay, like its fellow nations of Spanish and Latin America, can claim a special justification for intervening in this debate. Our independence, like that of our fellows, was attained at the cost of great sacrifices. The war of independence in South America lasted fourteen years and, even after the Battle of Ayacucho, which set the final seal on America's destiny, we had to fight on for another five years. For then we had no United Nations. There was no chapter XI and no Trusteeship System. There was only an indomitable will to independence. Independence did not come to us as a gift. Nor was it an act of justice on our behalf by a third party. Independence was the exercise of a right; but the right was exercised through sacrifice and pain.

59. It is true that the circumstances then were not the same as those which came to prevail in the countries exploited by the typical colonialism of the nineteenth century. We should be unfair, and we should be simplifying historical fact to the point of distortion, if we failed to distinguish between the colonialism against which we rose and the colonialism of more recent times, particularly in the ruthless forms which characterized it at least until the end of the First World War.

60. For our part—and this point has already been made by other representatives of Spanish America—we must acknowledge that the Spanish venture began in an age when values and standards other than those which today are the concern of men were still acknowledged; in an age still strong enough in Christian tradition to resist the divorce of political action from ethical action; in an age which still held man to be fully responsible for his every action.

61. Spain may have made many mistakes in the American Indies. Indeed, its very conception of the enterprise of colonization—as a gigantic effort to lift the conquered countries to what it considered a higher plane of morality and living—may have been a mistake. It may have been a mistake from beginning to end; and yet, for all the fire and passion which we put into our struggle for independence, that mistake does not blind us to the beauty and transcendence of the conception. With all its faults and cruelties—though the latter seem innocuous in comparison with the methods of mass extermination used in our century—it was an enterprise of high civilization. It was the Spanish moralists, jurists and theologians who proclaimed before the world that justice was the source of all law, and that reason and morality prevailed above the absolute will of monarchs. It was they who drafted the admirable pages of the Code of the Indies that governed the life of the American communities for three hundred years.

62. Spain's work in America is present here today; we ourselves are that work—we who, for a century and a half, have been dealing with the mother country on a footing of equality, with no misgivings, suspicions or fears. Even without our presence to testify to its continuity, the earth and flesh of America would still abound with evidence of its prodigious labour of civilization, to which these lines from Quevedo's moving sonnet could well be applied: "They will abandon their bodies, but not their care. They will be ashes, but will have feeling. They will be dust, but loving dust."

63. I said that we should be unfair if we simplified historical fact by attaching the same label or applying the same yardstick to all colonialism. To be fair, we must now recognize that it was the West itself which, in the context of the modern age, took a tragically wrong turning. It was Western thought that questioned the existence of those supreme and objective values of justice and morality which could and did give meaning to the Spanish enterprise of colonization. That scepticism, rooted deep in history, had enormous explosive force. If there was no law but that imposed on the community by the monarch; if it was will, and not reason, that made the legal order; if it was the will of the conqueror not enlightened by the law of understanding and the objective nature of things; if force was not measured and regulated by a higher law, by that law whose edicts in the fine words of Sophocles' heroine Antigone, "are not of yesterday or today, but everlasting, though where they came from, none of us can tell;" then is it any wonder that crime should now be rewarded and transgression praised? If whatever is good and just is not good and just of itself, but only because an omniscient and omnipotent ruler willed it so, then in the name of what logic, that we shall never succeed in understanding, has our conscience the right to revolt against the daily spectacle of injustice and disorder? I do not know whether they were many or few who perceived at the time the danger that lurked in this philosophy. I know only that we have here the rightful fruits of that philosophy: the grave of Katyn, the gas chambers of Dachau, the fiery mushroom over Hiroshima, the millions of human beings who still live in fear, anguish and slavery.

64. It was colonialism conceived in the shadow of that sceptical and therefore materialistic philosophy; it was
colonialism born the sign of the spirit of gain: it was colonialism as the legitimate child of the capitalists' spirit, which was responsible for the sad reality of the colonial empires, the exploitation of peoples, and the stupid myth of racial superiority. It is this cold, calculating, unfeeling colonialism that we are going to condemn in this Assembly in the name of the essential equality of men and peoples, in the name of that common ancestry of the human race which makes us but a single community and a single family.

65. To be completely fair—and, I repeat, we have heard much that was just and sensible said in this debate—we must obviously be extremely cautious when it comes to judging or condemning any specific historical situation. The responsibility of the colonial Powers is not always self-evident, nor can we affirm a priori that the Governments of those Powers must in all cases be held answerable for the acts of their nationals. Many noble efforts to guide social conduct along more rational paths come up against indifference, prejudice or selfishness. Moreover, we are bound to say, not everything stems from foreign oppression. Since colonialism, in the sense of exploitation of human beings, is a state of mind, there is national colonialism as well as foreign colonialism. The exploitation of our peoples by men of the same stock, by groups indifferent to the requirements of the common good, is a moral and adverse fact, as adverse as colonialism proper. But it is said in passing, that situation of privilege and injustice has always been the most effective ally of foreign interests in reducing the sovereignty of weak and small nations to thraldom.

66. Although independence and self-government represent the first objectives to be attained in the process of gaining freedom and eradicating colonialism, they are not the ultimate goal. The ultimate goal is independence in the fullest sense of the word, independence which really makes us masters of our fate, independence in each and every activity of the political community to which we belong. I readily acknowledge that political independence may be a sine qua non for the achievement of this other independence; but it is not in itself enough. We, the peoples of Spanish America, know a great deal about this. At any rate we know—and perhaps our experience may be of some use in this debate—that political independence and the establishment of a country's own Government presuppose an intelligent adaptation of legal forms to the sociological realities of that country. Speaking for a country which, like its fellows in America, was in the past perpetually torn between ideal constitutions and real constitutions, between written constitutions and sociological constitutions—happily, the conflict was settled in Uruguay more than fifty years ago—we can appreciate how important it is that the formulas through which free institutions develop should be made to fit—not like a ready-made suit, but like one made to measure—the always complex conditions in which the Government is to function. Every country must, of course, experiment with formulas for itself; but the goal must be the same for all: to ensure that—subject to those basic principles, such as the sovereignty of the people and respect for fundamental human rights, which have absolute validity regardless of the situation—the institutions are adapted to the real structure of the country. Otherwise independence leads to chaos, and chaos reverts to colonialism or to spurious forms of political government which, as experience has shown, are always used to further interests foreign to the legitimate interests of the nation.

67. It would, however, be naïve to think that political independence can be maintained without breaking the bonds of economic colonialism. I neither mean nor claim that such bonds can be broken overnight once freedom is achieved. We know all too well that the intricate network of interests in which the world is, to some extent, held prisoner cannot be broken so easily. Again, it has never, perhaps, been the part of political wisdom, to make an abrupt break; whether we like it or not, we have to reckon with world realities. What is important is to fight on resolutely and with a true sense of patriotism. Let there be an end to the paradox of political independence and economic dependence. At a time when the end of colonialism is already a fact, perhaps our main concern should be, not so much to issue a declaration which in the last analysis merely takes note of that fact, as to issue a warning that there will be no real end to colonialism while the peoples may still be colonies in essence. We know that nature and exploit their natural wealth and resources for the benefit of their communities; while we must rest content with the role of mere providers of raw materials for the industrial Powers, and while we lack that minimum of self-sufficiency which, within the natural interdependence of nations, is the truest sign of full and genuine independence.

68. An understanding of these truths, a generous attitude on the part of those who until yesterday were the masters—by what right we need not consider now of the fate and wealth of vast areas of the world, is not merely an attitude which morality dictates but perhaps the one factor upon which, in the long run, the fate of the free world depends. Whenever the free world clashes within itself, whenever the West betrays the great and imperishable principles which have sealed the greatness of its culture, the West loses a battle; and every battle lost by the West is a battle lost for man; for the values of the West—the freedom which Greece and Rome bequeathed to us, the sense of law and order contributed by the genius of Rome, the grace whereby Christianity transformed the temporal meaning of our life—are, in one way or another, the values of mankind, which are now threatened by atheistic and totalitarian reaction. If the West understands, there is nothing to fear, whatever triumphs the adversary may seem to gain. If the West does not understand, that lack of understanding, and not nuclear war, will be the real self-destruction of mankind.

69. Mr. MARTINO (Italy) (translated from French): The problem of the independence of Non-Self-Governing Territories and colonial peoples has already, in the past, been the subject of lively debate in which many contrasting views have been expressed. That is quite logical, for it is no accident that one of the main purposes of this Organization, since it was established, has been to urge and to help Member States to lead the territories which they administer, and which have not yet gained their independence, to the gradual achievement of that supreme aspiration of mankind.

70. The freedom of peoples is now the central preoccupation of the human race. We live in an age marked by continual changes in the relations between peoples. These changes are partly the effect of extraordinary technical progress, but it is not only technical progress which unites the thoughts and interests of men and which now allows no man to live separate from his
The central issue is not a matter of political wisdom or political desire but a matter of political and moral fact. The central issue is not a matter of political wisdom or political desire but a matter of political and moral fact.

71. Whatever may be the motives which have led a member of the Assembly to request this debate, we regard the initiative as a useful one. It further demonstrates the importance which this problem has acquired and the urgent need to seek a solution. The present, which has its roots in the past, is dominated by a powerful unifying force. We are moving towards unity.

72. Italy is convinced that, because of its recent experience, its awareness of present problems and the general approval of its action in the territories it once administered, it is in a position to speak objectively, to calm passions and to make a fair assessment of the true aspects of the problem, without any attempt at demagogic exaltation or ideological or political exploitation. I believe I can say truly that the Italian nation has, to its own great satisfaction, played a part in the development of the countries for whose government and administration it was responsible. This is borne out by the cordial relations of trust and collaboration that have been established with the States which were once under Italian trusteeship or which were Italian colonies.

73. We are also convinced that nothing is more likely to lead to useful results, in the best interests of all countries, than sincere technical and economic cooperation. Some are strongly critical of such cooperation between countries which have just gained their independence and their former administrators. They speak of colonialism, condemning it as a substitute for past colonial exploitation. Even if we can sometimes understand and appreciate the reasons for these charges, we should resist the temptation to make them indiscriminately. Such a generalization would not only be completely unjustified, it would also be dangerous. It might be used as a pretext by those who are in no way concerned lest such cooperation should hinder peaceful progress towards the independence of the former colonial countries, but who are concerned and afraid that such cooperation might be an obstacle to the enslavement and ideological domination of these peoples—by those who fan the flames of resentment and pride, in the hope that the work of renewal will take the form of an anti-western movement and an attack on certain ways of life, rather than on certain western peoples.

74. This shows the delicate nature and the importance of the question we are discussing today. The Italian delegation is firmly convinced that every possible effort must be made to ensure that the debate will lead to useful and constructive decisions, it can obviously have but one objective, the ending in all countries, of all forms of rule over one people by another; no other objective would be justified. But, if we are to achieve this objective by the most suitable means, we must always assess what has been done in the past to the same end, and we must then look towards the future, having made a correct and intelligent assessment of the past.

75. We believe that several forces have helped to determine and to accelerate the emancipation of colonial peoples, but it is true, as the representative of Lebanon has said, that this process was helped and furthered by the policy of those countries which understood the historical reality of the hour and the true meaning and responsibilities of their mission. Within this very Assembly, several representatives of territories which were until recently non-self-governing, have acknowledged this fact and have openly declared themselves satisfied with the work done by the administering countries, with which, in several cases, the new countries have relations of close cooperation. A few moments ago I referred to the concern which this cooperation may cause. Yet, although we recognize that such a concern is legitimate in certain cases, we can only consider the tendency to oppose such cooperation as the most serious threat to the development of the former colonial peoples. These peoples feel a deep desire for renewal—a desire which should not be a cause of separation and inevitable conflict, but should, as a rule, lead to closer understanding and more fruitful and lasting cooperation. If there is to be such an understanding, it is essential that both sides should quickly free themselves of all remnants of resentment and regret.

76. When we speak of colonization, it is necessary to emphasize, not only its executive aspects, but also the spiritual values and forces which it eventually succeeded in releasing. This is exactly what the distinguished representative of Uruguay did a few moments ago. K. M. Panikkar, the Indian author of Asia and Western Dominance, which is regarded as the sternest indictment of the colonizing West, once, in the course of a lecture emphasized India's debt to the West in terms which may perhaps apply to all former colonial peoples. He said that social reform in Hindu society, the raising of the untouchables and the profoundly significant purification of Hinduism, all of which were greater and more lasting things than the independence of India, were reflections of that country's western heritage. The organization of the democratic and secular States, the structure of its institutions and the political principles on which it was based were essentially European in inspiration.

77. As in all human history, good is inseparable from evil and must always combat it. It is to be hoped that the countries which have gained their independence will find themselves in a position to eradicate both the bondage of their recent past, which still bear the germs of distrust and resentment, and the repeated and tempting incitements of those who would gain by their isolation which would place them more completely at their mercy. But it is also desirable that the peoples of the West should understand that their task does not end where the independence of colonial countries begins. The assistance which the more advanced countries should give to the less developed nations is not a complete moral and political solution. The peoples of the West must play a part in the creative efforts of the newly self-governing countries, to their full capacity and with a firm resolve to understand the full meaning of those efforts and to further them with a view to making joint progress.

from French: ·Self-Government is already, in the sense in which many of us understand it. That is quite different from what was established, has to be regarded as the central problem of the people which have not regained their independence.

He central problem is marked by the extraordinary and extraordinary efforts of men and women, from the earliest days, to accelerate the emancipation of colonial peoples, but it is true, as the representative of Lebanon has said, that this process was helped and furthered by the policy of those countries which understood the
tural sectors and with regard to the rate of development towards political independence. In this context we may also point out that, if we consider the various fields of international co-operation provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, we will find that the same results and the same progress have not been achieved in each of these fields in the fifteen years of our Organization's life. However, as far as the Non-Self-Governing Territories and trusteeship system are concerned, remarkable progress has been made, possibly even exceeding the initial expectations. I shall not pause here to repeat the list of admittedly extraordinary achievements which the representative of the United Kingdom [925th meeting] quoted to us on the first day of our debate. Those facts and figures are in any case well known to all Members of the United Nations. The number and population of the Non-Self-Governing Territories are today a very small fraction of what they were in 1945. The progress made in the Trust Territories has been no less rapid and decisive. It seems to us indisputable, after what I have just said, that the Non-Self-Governing Territories have come a long way in the last fifteen years. The United Nations must take the credit for this development, especially for the gradual and orderly way in which it has been achieved. Experience has shown that the principles enunciated in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter were inspired by wise and well-balanced views. It is these principles that have guided our action, and we feel that it is in that we should seek inspiration for the decisions we must take in this debate.

79. We also believe that our most important task is to look beyond the simple question of independence. The achievement of political independence by the new countries should be a stage rather than a goal, although it is, of course, a very important stage. Independence should not give rise to disorder and chaos. It should not mean political and economic isolation. It should not cause sudden imbalances and, above all, it should not provide an occasion for friction or controversy. I said that the emancipation of peoples still ruled by or under trusteeship of another country was the main goal which we should set ourselves. To say that task, arduous and ambiguous though it may be, does not exhaust the role the United Nations has to play. The essential task of the Organization is to defend peace and put an end to war as a means of settling disputes between peoples. To this end, we must fight the causes of war, which are poverty, slavery and ignorance. It is essential to establish living conditions which are by nature peaceful, and forces for peace. It is therefore indispensable to create, in the social structure of the various peoples, conditions more conducive to understanding and cooperation, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

80. The circumstances of each people being different, so also is their capacity to participate in the common effort needed to establish peace as a part of civilization. All peoples, however, have a duty to contribute to the best of their ability. That is why the new idea of collective solidarity, which is reflected in the United Nations Charter and replaces the earlier antagonism created when the more advanced nations took control of the less-developed countries, is an essential part of our Organization's activity and one of the most suitable instruments for the maintenance of world peace.

81. There is no need for me to recall the principles enunciated in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, but I think it may be useful to point out that these principles set two essential tasks for the United Nations.

82. The first is to encourage and promote in the best possible way the further development of Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories which have not reached the final stage of political development. This does not mean, however, that attainment of this objective necessarily entails the creation of new national entities. Certain territories—it is true—because of their limited size or population, do not have the necessary resources to become independent States. However, in such cases, it is necessary at least to provide for special forms of self-government, in association with the metropolitan country or with other adjoining countries. Such forms of government are in keeping with the United Nations Charter, which envisaged them as a natural conclusion of the development of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

83. The second task facing the United Nations today is that of selecting the best means of helping those countries which have only recently become independent because, as I said before, political independence is only one stage in the present complex process of development. Forms of economic co-operation with these countries will become increasingly necessary, as will also forms of political co-operation, which may frequently prove effective in a regional framework. Cooperation on a basis of trust, between the more developed and industrialized countries and the less developed ones may be the best means of furthering development in the political field. This co-operation may be based on technical assistance, commercial interests and economic co-operation. As well as economic relations, cultural relations can also make a considerable contribution to a later development towards more perfect forms of political self-government.

84. We have heard in this Assembly of the cultural enslavement of colonial peoples. I should like to point out that culture is an end and not a means. Political institutions, as the poet T. S. Eliot says, are the things that are built, but culture is something that grows. It is not possible to build it, just as it is not possible to build a tree. Hence there can be no true cultural enslavement. Only people deprived of their freedom can take what is often called unilateral education to be culture. The life of the mind is a perpetual synthesis, bringing together and developing various ideas, and conditions of freedom are necessary to this synthesis. If such conditions do not exist, we may truly say there is enslavement; but we cannot speak of culture.

85. As I mentioned at the opening of my statement, the forces which have encouraged the process of development that has already taken place in a large number of countries, and which are the ones that will inevitably determine future progress, have not affected all geographical areas in the same degree. These signs of "development, in which we take pride, and which have led to the formation of new States which are now Members of the United Nations, have not appeared in certain areas. In certain cases we have even seen movements in the opposite direction, towards the enslavement and foreign domination of peoples who once were free. It is clear that the historic expansion known as colonialism, which occurred essentially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was not confined to the countries of
Western Europe. Other countries played their part in it, including Tsarist Russia which extended its power beyond the Ural to the frontiers of China, into the very heart of widely different territories and peoples. Even today, in the centre of Asia, we have witnessed expansionist moves with all the painfull oppression and repression they entail, which have been made in defiance of the traditional freedoms of the Tibetan people. Other States of eastern and northern Europe, which yesterday were still free, have now lost their freedom.

60. We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of these peoples. Any declaration or resolution which we are to approve cannot concern only some other continent; it must be regarded as being equally valid in every corner of the earth, where peoples still live under any form of foreign oppression, even if such oppression is concealed or consists only of a limitation of their independence.

67. The Italian delegation hopes that this debate will lead to an agreement which is the result of enlightened and objective considerations, not of acrimonious attempts to disturb the atmosphere of international relations. We are bound to distrust the Soviet Union's proposals, because it is clear that they are designed to stir up the hatred and resentment of former colonial countries against their previous rulers and to excite their passions, in order to turn their energies to the advantage of the Soviet Union. Its initiative is too obviously designed to serve Soviet propaganda purposes to be favourably viewed by this Assembly. It is only a clumsy attempt to make the germs of distrust more virulent, in order to separate the West from the people who have recently emerged to independence and to bring them under the ideological and political domination of the Soviet Union.

80. On the other hand, my delegation does view with favour the initiative taken by a group of African-Asian countries, which has submitted for our consideration a responsible and constructive draft resolution [A/L.325 and Add.1-5]. We sincerely appreciate its aim, even if we some doubts regarding the manner in which certain points in the declaration are expressed. The Italian delegation fervently hopes that any final text the Assembly may approve will mention the results already achieved and our gratitude to the United Nations organs which have laboured most effectively with results of which we can rightly be proud.

92. The unconditional and immediate abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—that is what Cuba demands of this historic debate. How could Cuba take any other stand without betraying itself, the tradition of Bolivar and the peoples who are struggling heroically to win self-determination, independence, sovereignty and dignity? How could a people which, in the flesh and in the spirit, has suffered without respite the crudest manifestations of anti-colonialism, and thus its impossible to serve both God and Mammon, what they serve, objectively, is colonialism and what they are trying to undermine, subjectively, is anti-colonialism. Trying to appear subtle, they turn out to be heavy-handed. It is understandable that the instigators and beneficiaries of the colonial system should resort to subterfuge, phantasy and dissembling; what is not understandable is that those who in the past have suffered its crudest manifestations, and even those who are still suffering them in disguised form, should do so too.

93. It is worth placing this on record, Three years ago, Cuba would not have been able to speak in the straightforward, upright manner it uses today. Three years ago, the true voice of Cuba was not heard in this universal forum of the nations. The flatulent tones of the docile, muffled and obsequious voice of its official representatives reflected a state of international vasalage which gave the lie to the bogus independence and
sovereignty of the Cuban State. According to its official political and juridical structure, Cuba was a republic and possessed the formal attributes of independence and sovereignty: a flag, a shield, an anthem, a separate colour on the map, and a seat in international organizations. But its voice in those organizations was mere mimicry, an echo pure and simple of the political, economic, military, and diplomatic interests of a foreign Power. Its voice sounded with borrowed accents. It was not Cuba which spoke, but imperialism. Colonies, where they are officially acknowledged, have nothing to say. Where they exist in disguise, they speak with a voice not their own. And now, because Cuba has for ever ceased to be a colony and effectively exercises its own self-determination and sovereignty, the voice of its official representatives is the clear, full, deep voice of its people and its Government, merged for the first time in our history, in a dynamic community of thought and action. Since the fourteenth regular session, which coincided with the glorious year of its liberation, the new Cuba has given clear and firm proof of the independence of its foreign policy. Cuba—let it be said at once—supports all parts of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502].

94. At this stage of the debate, it would be idle to enter into the history of colonialism or to refer to its depredations, its perfidies, its outrages and its opportunism. The task of refreshing the memory of those who find it convenient to disguise themselves as innocent angels has already been undertaken in a dramatic recital of injuries and facts and figures by representatives of peoples whose backs, torn by the claws of colonial exploitation, still bear mute witness to their wounds, suffering and brutal treatment. But what we must not fail to emphasize is the true nature, the real motives and the specific aims of the colonial system. Cuba has lived in the monster's maw, and it has a moral obligation to reveal it to the world.

95. Colonialism is the legitimate child of the profound and sweeping changes that took place in the economic structure of European society during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of their concomitant repercussions on political, juridical, social, religious and cultural life, Renaissance humanism—the evocation of the uomo singolare in a society rent internally—is the fine flower of the tempestuous advent of modern capitalism, and the spring-like flowering of ideal societies that went with it, starting with Thomas More's Utopia, was a denunciation in advance of its miseries, degradations, inequalities, performances, conflicts, wars and revolutions. This new society which rose victorious from the cracking embers of feudalism, rested on the more and more pronounced preponderance of merchants, money-lenders, bankers, entrepreneurs, and ship-owners. Its emblem was the class system; its instrument, the Graeco-Roman culture; its oracle, nature; its Archimedean lever, technology; its desire, the chimera of gold; its cry, liberty; its fetish, trade; and its criterion of truth, quantitative evaluation.

96. The dynamics of the new constellation of economic interests, social relations, political forms and tables of ethical values which accompanied this prodigious upheaval required, before it could take root and grow, the freedom of labour, of markets and of expansion, and also the unlimited assistance of science and technology to stimulate its rate of development and satisfy its desire for domination. The questioning spirit, held back for ten centuries by the brake of scholasticism, thrust forward into all fields and expanded the horizon of scientific knowledge. The clock conquered time; the telescope, space; the experimental method, nature; the compass, the sea; the machine, production; rationalist philosophy, the conscience of man. The acquisitive spirit and the lust for expansion, spurred on by this extraordinary adventure of the mind and impelled by the beckoning gleam of precious metals, was soon crystallized in commercial operations, mercantile enterprises and agencies for exploiting the terra incognita which was taken over by the great maritime Powers of the time, especially Spain, England, Holland, Portugal and France, by a process similar to the transformation of territorial revenues into monetary wealth.

97. The main source of the political power and economic potential of the rising merchant class was its huge profits derived from the pillaging of the colonies, from mass slavery and from the systematic depletion of the soil and sub-soil of the territories which had been discovered, conquered and subjugated. "We have become rich," wrote Werner Sombart, "because whole peoples and races have died on our account; on our account, whole continents have been decimated." Here in a few words is summed up the real essence of colonialism, which had, and still has, its theoreticians and its apologists, skilled in the art of making "spiritual values" tally with highly lucrative necessities. Language and religion, education and culture were tools used to twist the minds of the subjugated peoples, psychological devices for castrating any urge to break away, just as highways and hospitals, railways and factories tended and still tend to increase the productivity of forced labour and total returns. This was and is the total achievement of the "civilizing mission" of the colonial and administering Powers, Their education and indoctrination is for slavery, not for freedom; they exploit the resources and wealth of other people for themselves, not for the peoples who produce them in labour, sweat and poverty.

98. In this respect, Cuba the Spanish colony, and Cuba the American colony, nurses bitter experience in plenty. But it has always been able to keep the social root of the crime and the historical background of the oppression separate from the people in whose name and on whose behalf they were committed. Thus, when it took its stand against the colonial domination of Spain, it stated clearly that the war was against Spanish domination and not against the Spanish people, just as it has established, with equal clarity, that its struggle for emancipation from the colonial domination of the United States is directed against the instigators, beneficiaries and agents, and not against the American people, despite the fact that their wealth, power and standard of living are in large measure based on colonialist and imperialistic exploitation. In the last analysis, the people do not share the responsibilities contracted by their governing castes towards the inexorable justice of history. This principle, which affords ample ground for fruitful co-operation in the future between the former colonial peoples and the former colonialist peoples on the basis of mutual respect, mutual benefit and absolute equality. The day will come when both, prompted by identity of interests, needs, values and aspirations in a world in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all, will consider colonialism, imperialism and thermo-nuclear war as the most abhorrent and
98. I must stress this point. The peoples who have been subjugated and exploited in the name of civilisation were just as civilized in the sociological meaning of the word as their self-appointed tutors—and in some important aspects, far more so. Some were the repositories of ancient and lofty cultures, like China and India. When the ancestors of the English were still climbing trees—as Julius Caesar records in his Commentaries—the Chinese were already living in cities, politically organized in an empire, had discovered gunpowder and could print the writings of their philosophers, poets and statesmen. Yet that same China, which set standards for the world and today, rejuvenated, is waging a bitter struggle for self-determination, independence and unity, is denied its rightful place in this Assembly through the pressure of the colonial Powers which in former times usurped its wealth.

99. In India, religion and culture had reached remarkable levels centuries before Socrates brought his penetrating wisdom to the market-places of Athens and before Jesus and his disciples, in persecution and poverty, had founded Christianity. Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma, like many other Asian nations, have an eminent position in the history of human culture, Egypt, the age-old cradle of a complex and mature civilization, made a decisive contribution, through the Minoan civilization, to the advent of that glorious triumph of the human spirit, the "Greek miracle". The Arabs, who created a unique civilization and preserved the wisdom of Greece and Rome, revivified and enriched with priceless contributions the aphetic and turbulent currents of Western thought. Its imprint on Spanish culture and on the Renaissance still sheds a brilliant light. Preserved in the sub-soil of the plains of Black Africa there are vestiges of ancient and highly-developed cultures which have been mysteriously lost or have disappeared; and that continent may well boast of its vivid folklore, its rich patrimony of art forms, its priceless contribution to the universal culture, and above all, its burning passion for liberty, which is the highest possible form of cultural expression when slavery is the mode of life. Cuba, though geographically located in the Western hemisphere and a Spanish-speaking country, prides itself on the African sap which strengthens and colours its folklore, its art, its culture, its religion and its national development.

101. The international landmarks of the "civilizing mission" of colonialism and imperialism—the same process of economic exploitation and political domination carried one stage further—are called by sadly familiar names: Overseas provinces, Holy Alliance, Monroe doctrine, Manifest destiny, Platt Amendment, Spheres of influence, Reciprocal agreements, Open-door policy, Dollar diplomacy, War debts, Protectors, Quota system, Tariff privileges, Mandates, Private investments, Associated free State, Dumping, Guam and Naval base, Trusts, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, South East Asia Treaty Organization, Central Intelligence Agency. These landmarks have been a source of friction, violence, rapine, and wars between imperialists. They are at present the major obstacles to the independent development of the emancipated peoples, the launching-platforms for neo-colonialism and the worst enemies of international peace and security. A good proof of this is the policy of harassment, intrigue, compulsion, threats, subversion and aggression waged by the U.S. Department of State, the Pentagon and the American monopolies with the crude aim of breaking the Cuban people by force and making them surrender through hunger. And if this is not proof enough, you have only to look at the Congo which was for a time a former Belgian colony and is today the coveted prey fought over by those in temporary alliance—its former colonizers and neo-colonialists whose main driving force is American imperialism.

102. The plot against the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the Congo, to which this Organisation is unfortunately no stranger, is an unequivocal sign of colonialism's stubbornness in continuing by other means the economic exploitation and political domination of the territories and peoples which have apparently been freed. Colonialism is moribund; but even so, like Proteus, it can assume new forms and overtly or covertly reconquer its privileges and reimpose its exactions. Before our very eyes, the neo-colonialists and Imperialists have destroyed the constitutional structure of the Congo, deposed Lumumba, conferred autocratic powers on Mobutu, recognized the secession of Tshombe and given its full support to Kasa-Vubu after the latter had capitulated to their evil designs. Neo-colonialism and Imperialism have again planted the boot on the Congo. At this moment, the Congo is the battlefield of intervention. The self-determination, independence, sovereignty, unity, security and peace of Africa are in danger; and international peace and security is also in danger. The arrest, derision and abuse of Lumumba by Mobutu's Praetorian guard and his probable execution at the bidding of neocolonialism and imperialism constitute a flagrant attack on the right of peoples and a portent of tragic times to come. The life of Lumumba, the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo and the indomitable leader of the Congolese people, hangs by a thread and the responsibility for saving it rests upon the United Nations. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has given me precise instructions to press for rapid, energetic and effective action before it is too late.

103. Some representatives have deplored the scant attention that has been paid in this debate to the vestiges and methods of colonialism in Latin America; but I have been surprised to see that in their indictments the majority have merely asked for the abolition of the European colonies and have omitted mention of the colonial dependencies of the United States and its colonialist policy in our hemisphere. They have also forgotten the Panama Canal, the Guantánamo Naval Base and the Swan Islands. I should like to give this subject the urgent attention it deserves.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

104. The President: I am sorry to interrupt the Foreign Minister of Cuba, but a point of order has been raised from the floor. I call upon the representative of Honduras, on a point of order.

Mr. Milla Bermudez (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): I protest at the implication that the islands del Cisne, or Swan Islands, are a United States colony. The fact of the matter is that these islands are Honduran territory. They have been illegally and arbitrarily occupied by the United States, but I will not tolerate their being described as a United States colony.
105. The PRESIDENT: I would ask Members of the Assembly, when they ask for the floor on a point of order, to do so only when the point they have to raise is one of order. Other points may be dealt with by way of the right of reply; but the right to intervene on a point of order exists only where there is a point of order involved.

107. I ask the Foreign Minister of Cuba to be good enough to resume.

108. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I should like to point out to the representative of Honduras that I fully share his point of view. As far as we are concerned, the Swan Islands belong to Honduras, but they are occupied arbitrarily by the United States, which considers them as a colony, and that is a different matter.

109. To define the United States as an imperialist power is tautology indeed, since in this case what is defined constitutes the definition. The history of the United States is, for the most part, the history of its territorial expansion at the expense of Spain and Latin America and of its exploitation of the natural resources of peoples living between the Rio Grande and Patagonia. This ambitious design of expansion and supremacy was conceived in the very earliest days of the independence of the thirteen colonies. Jefferson, Madison and John Quincy Adams were its first prophets and exponents. From Adams came the theory of the ripe fruit—according to the law of political gravity, Cuba must inevitably fall into the lap of the Union; and likewise from Adams, who imitated the Englishman Canning while thwarting his cunning, came the Monroe doctrine, which may be summed up in the motto: "Rest of the world, hands off America; free hand for the United States." This unilateral doctrine, ostensibly directed against hypothetical reconquests by the Holy Alliance, and in fact applied to prevent Cuba from liberating itself from Spain if it was not acquired or annexed by the United States, converted the whole of Latin America, without its consent and to the detriment of its unity, development and emancipation, into a sphere of North American influence, thanks to the use, as a political weapon with an obvious purpose, of dollar diplomacy, hemispheric isolation, and international intimidation. Under the protection of this colonialist doctrine and its imperialist corollaries the Government of the United States, with the close co-operation of Latin-American dictators and oligarchies, opened the way for its merchants, bankers and corporations in their economic exploitation of our under-developed, unarmed and dismembered peoples.

110. Among these corollaries may be mentioned in connexion with Cuba the Platt Amendment, the Treaty defining the relations between the United States and Cuba, the compulsory lease of the Guantánamo Naval Base, treaties of reciprocal aid, the sugar agreement, public service monopolies and mining concessions; and in connexion with Latin America the occupation of Puerto Rico, the control of the Panama Canal zone and the exploitation of natural resources, the control of markets, loans and investments of the colonial type, throughout Latin America.

111. So far as Cuba is concerned, Prime Minister Fidel Castro made a very acute and shrewd analysis of the devastating consequences of the political domination and economic exploitation of the country by the United States up to the time of the triumph of our Revolution, and there is nothing to add. I do propose, however, to make a few comments on the Guantánamo Naval Base. It is true that the territory on which the Base is situated was leased to the United States for the incredible sum of two thousand dollars a year, under article VIII of the Platt Amendment, the Treaty of Relations and the agreements signed in 1903. It is equally true, however, that no civil contract or international treaty is complete unless the parties thereto negotiate on an equal footing and are allowed free expression of their wishes. The Platt Amendment was a law approved by the United States Congress and imposed on the Cuban Constituent Convention in a territory under its occupation. The lease so granted under article VIII of that Amendment is therefore null and void under international law. The Naval Base, the outcome of the most outrageous chicanery, undermines the territorial integrity of the Cuban State and constitutes a threat to the security of the island, placing it at the mercy of the warlike adventures and disputes of the United States. Furthermore, it is today a focus of conspiracy, provocation and subversion against the Government and people of Cuba.

112. It should not surprise us that the United States Government considers as its own property a territory which it usurped fraudulently and which therefore does not belong to it. Imperialist countries think that wherever they set foot the soil belongs to them. They believe, too, that they can utilize the air space of other nations as though it were their own preserve without exposing the inhabitants of their own country to the danger and destruction that might result from the explosion of their erratic missiles over the territory of others, as has just happened in the eastern region of Cuba. Nor is it surprising that President Eisenhower finally threw off the mask before world public opinion, and from the "bag of stinging Adders" kept by the United States Government to combat democracy, anti-colonialism and socialism produced $1 million to subsidize the subversive activities of Cuban war criminals and counter-revolutionaries, in defiance and disregard of the United Nations Charter and of international juridical order in the Americas.

113. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba solemnly repeats to the United Nations General Assembly that it has not intended and does not intend to reclaim by force that part of its national territory occupied by the Guantánamo Naval Base. It also repeats, however, with equal solemnity that it intends to ask for the return of the Base, when it deems the time appropriate, under the rules of international law. Consequently and for the time being it considers that claim to be covered by the declaration proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4502] and by the draft resolution submitted by a number of African-Asian countries (A/L.323 and Add.1-5).

114. For four centuries Puerto Rico was under the Spanish yoke. For more than half a century it has been under United States domination. Puerto Rico, the smallest island of the Greater Antilles, a stable country with a cultural tradition, a history, a seasoned personality and a national consciousness all its own, has not yet been able to take its place among the American States. Endowed with all the attributes of a nation, the people whom José Martí helped to gain their freedom together with ours are the only American people of Spanish origin who, in spite of their unsalvageable will for independence, have never been free. That is there
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "Men must allow for the "irrational" which the man for the..." under the United States territory before does not have a right of self-government and the exercise of their sovereignty. They needed a prolonged paternalistic education, to forget their past, to deny their culture, to debase their humanity. It had to be so, since they were dealing with "a racially inferior" people, of different culture, providing cheap labour and able to produce sugar plentifully at low cost. To be a colony of plantations and the black market of imperialism was the manifest destiny of Puerto Rico. As Beveridge said as much when he stated: "The Puerto Ricans, as in earlier times the Indians, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Sudanese, the Nigerians, the Ghanaians, the Burmese, the Ceylonese, the Indonesians, the Guineans and the Congolese, were not yet ready for self-government and the exercise of their sovereignty. They needed a prolonged paternalistic education, to forget their past, to deny their culture, to debase their humanity. It had to be so, since they were dealing with a "racially inferior" people, of different culture, providing cheap labour and able to produce sugar plentifully at low cost. To be a colony of plantations and the black market of imperialism was the manifest destiny of Puerto Rico."

118. Seventy-two years after the United States Government undertook, in article IX of the Peace Treaty between Spain and the United States, signed in Paris on 10 December 1898, to settle the problem of its acquisition of Puerto Rico, a freely associated State on paper, is still a dependent territory, placed outside the jurisdiction of the United States by a clever stratagem. In 1953 the United States Government sent a note [A/AC.25/L.121] to the Secretary-General informing him that from that date no further information on the dependent territory of Puerto Rico would be transmitted since it had ceased to be a dependent territory by virtue of provisions in the constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico approved by the United States Congress. When the matter was brought before the Fourth Committee decided by 22 votes to 18, with 19 abstentions to refer it to the General Assembly. When the item was before the General Assembly the United States representative made an official declaration guaranteeing that if at any time the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution in favour of independence the Executive would immediately thereafter recommend to Congress that such independence be granted. The General Assembly was favourably impressed by that declaration and agreed [resolution 748 (VIII)] to relieve the United States of the obligation to submit annual information in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter. The undertaking was violated, in connivance with the United States Government, by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico and, against the sovereign will of its people, the smallest of the Great Antilles is today a dependent territory.

119. Mr. Jawad (Iraq): This is indeed a historic and momentous occasion. At long last, the General Assembly has been given the opportunity to consider and pronounce its opinion clearly and unequivocally on the most important issue of our time: that of freedom from colonial rule and domination. The present debate on colonialism is, therefore, one of the most historic and far-reaching ever held by this General Assembly or any other international body. We are most grateful, therefore, for the initiative of the Soviet Union in bringing this urgent and important problem to the attention of the United Nations at a moment when the future of civilization is in danger and when colonialism still keeps in bondage many millions of people all over the world. The draft declaration presented by the Soviet Union [A/48202] represents a true appraisal of world feeling towards colonialism and its adoption would...
provide the world with a basis for positive action in dealing with the problem.

121. The fight against colonialism has become one of the most decisive factors shaping the present age. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, after centuries of alien domination, have reached a highly advanced stage in their heroic struggle against foreign rule and exploitation. Motivated by their strong desire to live freely, they have followed the example of many peoples in America, and in Europe itself who, during the last two centuries, were able to throw off the shackles of foreign domination. The movements of national liberation have spread all over Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and the struggle against imperialism in its various forms has become a major factor in the development of these countries and the establishment of their national and international status.

122. The struggle for freedom is as old as civilization itself. In fact, it has always been the propelling force for the progress and development of human society. Ever since human society was organized, man has been endeavouring to achieve higher levels of liberty and justice in order to free himself from the despotism of his fellow men and gain control over social and national forces.

123. Man has experienced many types of despotism, but one of the worst and most shameful was that produced under the colonial system in its modern form, involving the alien subjugation and oppression of nations, the exploitation of their human and material resources for the benefit of others, and the denial of their right to lead a free and decent life.

124. With the extension of European domination over large areas of Asia and Africa, another evil was added to the many evils of colonialism: the evil of racial discrimination which is still practised on a large scale toward some of the people of Africa. It is hardly necessary to cite in detail the evils of the colonial system and the immeasurable suffering and hardship it has inflicted upon the people who have fallen under its domination. Neither is it necessary to explain the way in which the colonial system has restricted the development of the people colonized. These evils are well known, although they are too many to enumerate. I must mention, however, some of the examples that we in the Arab world have experienced.

125. I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that few nations in the world have suffered as much as the Arab nation under colonial rule. Out first experience of European imperialism in modern times was the French conquest of Algeria in 1830. This was followed by the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the Sudan in 1898; the Italian conquest of Libya in 1911 and the French occupation of Morocco in 1912. Then came the turn of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Iraq, which fell under French and British rule during and after the First World War. If we add the gradual extension of British influence and rule in large parts of Southern and South-Eastern Arabia, we will have the complete colonial picture in the Arab world. With a few exceptions, almost the entire Arab homeland was thus occupied by foreign invaders during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. This imposed upon our people the duty to wage a relentless struggle to achieve their freedom and independence. It took Egypt more than seventy years to liberate itself from British occupation, only to be subjected shortly thereafter to invasion and war by certain colonial powers in an effort to reimpose once again their colonial domination. Libya's struggle against the Italian invaders took over thirty years, marked by recurrent rebellions and severe repressions. Only recently Morocco and Tunisia were able to achieve their freedom and independence, at the cost of considerable suffering and sacrifice.

126. In our area of the Middle East, foreign European rule was perpetuated for a long time under the guise of the Mandates System, imposed on unwilling peoples by the colonial Powers after their countries had been conquered during the First World War. The people of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan never accepted the Mandates and waged a relentless struggle against this new form of colonialism. In Iraq, the Mandate which was officially terminated in 1932 was replaced by a new relationship which retained for the former Mandatory Power great influence in the affairs of the country. It took another twenty-six years and our great July Revolution of 1958 for the people of Iraq to rid the country finally of the last vestiges of foreign domination and influence.

127. Our experience of the Mandate—bitter as it was—cannot be compared with the tragedy which befell the people of Palestine. They were the victims of the worst type of colonialism, a type which has no parallel in the annals of modern history. The ostensible objective of the Mandate was to help the peoples liberated from the rule of the vanquished Powers after the First World War, to stand by themselves. Theoretically, the principle underlying the whole Mandates System was that the interests and well-being of the people themselves was a sacred trust of the world community. How was this sacred trust carried out in the case of the people of Palestine? The interests of the Arabs, who constituted over 90 per cent of the population of the country at the beginning of the Mandate in 1920, were subordinated to the interests of the Mandatory Power and, under its protection, to the Zionist immigrant invaders. In no other colony or Mandated Territory were the interests of a whole nation so ruthlessly suppressed and their basic rights so flagrantly violated. The sacred trust became a nightmare of treachery, oppression and deceit. A whole country was taken away from its people and given to the foreigners with the encouragement and connivance of the Mandatory Power. When Great Britain finally gave up her Mandate and relinquished her sacred trust, she left behind her in Palestine the shambles of a once proud nation, now destitute refugees living on the charity of the world community.

128. If we survey the Arab world today, we see that, besides Palestine, there are still areas where imperialism is waging a stubborn fight to stem the tide of national liberation. France has, for the last six years, been waging a war of murder and devastation against the Algerian people in order to keep them in bondage and slavery, and to prevent them from joining the community of free and independent nations. In this way, France is trying to deny other nations the rights and liberties which every Frenchman enjoys. We are confident that France is trying in vain, for the bitter and heroic struggle of the Algerian people will ultimately triumph. In Oman and Southern Arabia, also, the
struggle against foreign rule and domination continues unabated. While this General Assembly is expressing itself most forcefully against the colonial system and in support of a people's right to live in freedom and peace, the armed forces of Great Britain are carrying out repressive operations in Oman, Southern Arabia and the colony of Aden.

129. It can be seen from what I have just said that the Arab people have known colonialism in its worst forms and manifestations. They have experienced at first hand its oppression and treachery and have suffered from it physically, materially and spiritually as few others have. This is one of the reasons why we have such a deep sympathy and understanding for the struggle of other nations for freedom and independence and will continue to support the aspirations of the peoples of the remaining colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

130. Our experience of colonialism has been extensive. We have seen economic exploitation and the plundering of our wealth and resources by the colonialists. We have had the bitter experience of the suppression of our liberties by force and we have known the methods by which a nation can be kept in a low level of cultural and political development. These facts do not perhaps require great emphasis, but one thing really should be recalled here, that is the use of colonial people in the process of suppressing the movement towards liberation of other peoples under colonial rule. The sad story of the Indian soldiers who fell in the valleys of Mesopotamia during the First World War, or the Moroccans who lost their lives on European battlefields, or the other millions of colonial peoples who were driven to fight neither under their own banner nor for their own national cause but to defend the colonialists' interests and to suppress the rights and liberties of oppressed peoples will ever figure in the tragic annals of history. This shameful employment of the colonial peoples as cannon-fodder should remind us of the value set by the colonialists on the human lives of those whom they dominated.

131. Because of our tragic experience of colonialism, and in view of our belief in the right of all nations to live freely and in peace, we have taken a strong stand on all colonial questions in the United Nations. In the Fourth Committee, where these questions have been discussed, Iraq has spared no effort to serve the cause of freedom in Africa and elsewhere. We have tried and succeeded in breathing life into the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories contained in Chapter XI of the Charter. Through our collective efforts we have been able to make the United Nations play a significant and beneficent role in the progress of a number of dependent Territories towards freedom and independence, and thus assisted in bringing to fruition one of the most important principles of the Charter.

132. As to the draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, together with a number of Asian and African States, we present it to the Assembly in the hope that it will become a universal declaration like the one on human rights—a landmark and a great milestone in the work of this Organization. This is a charter of freedom for the dependent and oppressed peoples of the world submitted by countries many of which have emerged from colonialism in the very recent past.

133. In this draft declaration we recall some of the basic principles and ideals of the Charter and we emphasize the dangers to international peace and security resulting from conflicts arising out of the denial of freedom to dependent peoples. The declaration proclaims certain facts and principles which are self-evident—that colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation and impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples; that alien subjugation and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights and are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and that all peoples have the right to self-determination. The declaration categorically rejects the arguments that the colonialists have consistently advanced to justify the perpetuation of their domination over dependent countries, one argument being that the peoples of the colonies are not prepared to rule themselves, that they lack political maturity, and that economically, socially and educationally they are not sufficiently developed to be fully independent. The fallacy of this argument is evident and has been discredited even by some of the colonial Powers themselves, which realize that political independence and enfranchisement should not be delayed on account of the inadequacy of political, economic and social preparedness. The world has come to recognize, too, that freedom and independence provide a very powerful stimulus for accelerating the pace of advance in all fields of human activity. It is hardly necessary to cite the examples of so many countries, including my own, which have been able to advance at a much more rapid pace after achieving their full liberation from foreign rule.

134. One of the most important articles in this declaration is the one which deals with the need for stopping all armed action and repressive measures directed against dependent peoples struggling to achieve their just aspirations for freedom and dignity. Examples of such armed action and aggression are too well known to make it necessary for me to elaborate on this theme; but it is essential that nations should not be compelled to pay the heavy price of partitioning their own homeland in order to achieve independence. We have already seen examples of this and it is a danger which the United Nations must always guard against. It is therefore imperative that the declaration should contain a paragraph condemning the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of countries.

135. Paragraph 5 of the draft declaration is of special significance. It asks that immediate steps be taken in all territories which have not yet obtained their independence to arrange the unconditional transfer of all powers to the peoples of those territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. This is a call to all those Powers that presently administer dependent territories to take immediate action with a view to enabling the peoples of those territories to achieve their independence without delay.

136. By adopting this declaration unanimously, the General Assembly would be fulfilling one of the greatest purposes of the Charter and would cause a fundamental change in the present dangerous trends of development contrary to the power relations between States and the balance of risks which have so far dominated human relationships. The final liquidation of the colonial system is bound to usher in a new era in the history of human society, an era in which relationships between nations
will evolve according to principles of justice and equity, aiming at the elimination of violence and the use of force. Above all, it will reduce international tension and pave the way for a better understanding between the advanced and the under-developed countries.

137. It is the highest duty of the United Nations to assist in the emergence of this new community of nations by helping forward the emancipation of those nations which were—and still are—under colonial rule, thus responding to the exigencies of the present era in history. In the words of Mr. Khrushchev:

"Ours is an era of swift renewal of society; an era in which more progressive and equitable ways of life are being affirmed; an era in which man is soaring upwards to unprecedented mastery over forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage." [A/4502]

The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the way certain colonial Powers are trampling on the rights of peoples and keeping them in subjugation by the most brutal methods. It cannot close its eyes to the way in which these colonial Powers are plundering the wealth of other nations, thus keeping them in great poverty and backwardness. The immediate elimination of colonialism will no doubt be in the interests of all nations. Recent experience has shown most clearly how much emancipated nations are able to contribute to world progress and prosperity. The liberation of the colonial countries has created many new conditions favouring their normal economic, political and cultural development and contributed to an appreciable rise in the standard of living everywhere.

138. Only free people can join in building up the new world order envisaged in the United Nations Charter, and the colonial system is a denial of freedom and therefore contrary to the principles of that Charter and to the spirit and rising forces of our modern age.

139. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Panama who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

140. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): A few moments ago the Foreign Minister of Cuba made a reference to the Panama Canal Zone which my delegation cannot allow to go unanswered.

141. The Panama Canal Zone, a small strip of land some ten miles wide and barely fifty miles long, is an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Panama, which exercises its sovereignty and has sovereign rights over that territory. Those rights have been recognized by the United States Government, by the President of the United States, and the flag of Panama flies over the Canal Zone.

142. I deeply deplore the fact that the Foreign Minister of Cuba should have made a reference of this kind at a time when a representative of the Republic of Panama was present in this Assembly. Just as the Cuban Foreign Minister affirmed here that his country is free and is not under the trusteeship of the United States or of the Soviet Union, so the Republic of Panama is also a free, honourable and sovereign State with its representative in the world Organization, and the Panamanian people does not wish any more than his to be under the trusteeship of any Power great or small, and obviously not under the trusteeship of Cuba either.

143. I would therefore beg the Foreign Minister of Cuba, the next time he speaks on any matter of an international nature in this Assembly, to be good enough to respect the legitimate rights of other representatives constituting this august body.

144. My delegation reserves the right to speak again on this matter if circumstances so require.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.