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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly will first hear this morning an address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, after which it will continue the debate on the item under discussion.

2. I shall ask the Chief of Protocol to be good enough to escort the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania into the Assembly hall.

3. It is a great honour for me to welcome to this hall Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, who has expressed a wish to address the Assembly on the important questions of the day.

4. I take this opportunity of expressing to the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, whose country has recently been admitted to membership of the United Nations, my warmest congratulations on the occasion of its entry into the great international family.

5. I now invite the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the rostrum to address the Assembly.

6. Mr. MOKTAR OULD DADDAH (President of Mauritania) (translated from French): After a year of waiting at the gate of the United Nations, my country has just taken its place among the nations which, at present, constitute our Organization.

7. It was almost a year ago, in the first week of December 1960, that we, like so many other nations before us, should have taken our seats somewhere in the rows of this hall, without attracting any special attention from world public opinion. Fate, however, decreed that we should make a more solemn entry, after the ideological struggle between the two power blocs had polarized about our modest selves. Indeed, we ought to thank those who helped to arouse so much interest in us.

8. We would like to thank all our friends who demonstrated, by their favourable vote on that occasion, their interest in and esteem for our country as well as their attachment to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter.

9. Our special gratitude goes to those sister nations and friends—Tunisia, Liberia and France—which sponsored our candidacy, as well as to the members of the Union of African and Malagasy States and the Monrovia group whose admirable solidarity and constant support finally brought about the triumph of justice and reason.

10. We feel no bitterness towards those who, impelled by subjective considerations, sought to keep the door of the United Nations closed to us. Today as yesterday, my country is determined to maintain friendly relations with all who are inspired by the same ideal of peaceful and mutually fruitful co-operation.

11. The United Nations is not only an Organization entrusted with the prevention of disputes and their peaceful settlements, but also an instrument for the promotion of international co-operation, particularly between the developed countries and those of the third world.

12. This was the task that engaged the efforts of Dag Hammarskjöld—one of the most outstanding figures of contemporary life, now tragically lost to us, whom history will always regard as a valiant defender of the rights of the third world.

13. Today, distinguished representatives of this third world occupy the highest posts in our Organization: the presidency of the General Assembly and the office of Secretary-General.

14. Mr. President, I should like first to repeat my sincere congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. The heavy responsibilities which have fallen to you mean much more to us than the expression of a symbol. I see in this a culmination of the outstanding career of one who has always fought for his country's freedom and independence. Through you, not only Tunisia in particular, but the whole of Africa, is honoured and makes its solemn entry on the international scene.

15. The election of U Thant to the office of Acting Secretary-General is another victory for the nations of the third world and an affirmation of its new responsibility in world affairs. I am sure that U Thant will take up his heavy duties with zeal, and I congratulate him wholeheartedly.

16. The reason why I wished to address this Assembly even at such a late stage of its proceedings was to express my country's attachment to the Organization and the hopes which it has placed in it. For myself, I am convinced of the need for all peace and justice-loving nations to lend it their support.

17. International co-operation can only be promoted on a sound and constructive basis. Only in that way shall we be able to take the necessary steps to maintain the peace and security of the small nations.

18. It is very true that the United Nations is not perfect. It could not be so, for it is a human creation and was, moreover, from the outset, the result of a compromise. In fact, it is because the great Powers were forced to make concessions to each other and because the spirit of compromise, especially at the San Francisco Conference, ¹/prevailed that the United Nations is still faced with serious crises. I shall thus be saying nothing new if I stress the urgent need for reform.

19. As far as the Security Council is concerned, apart from the need to increase the number of members, the chief defect lies in the existence, and above all in the exercise, of the right of veto.

20. There can be no doubt that the veto seriously impedes the progress of the Organization and is a dangerous manifestation of the omnipotence of the great Powers. The exercise of the veto, in the particular case of the admission of new Members, is a permanent threat to the universality of the Organization. It can only be hoped that a wise solution, perhaps the requirement of a two-thirds majority, will eventually triumph.

21. For the time being, the question of the Secretariat has been solved, and for this we cannot but be grateful. Without, however, wishing to appear pessimistic, I believe that more will have to be done if future crises are to be avoided. A definitive solution must be found for the future whereby the Secretary-General can be protected from the hostility of any great Power which might consider that its interests have been harmed.

22. I have no need to dwell on the necessity of giving representatives of the African States and Madagascar wider access to the various organs of the United Nations: the Secretariat, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

23. Even while speaking of this great Organization for which I feel so much respect, I must confess that my country and my people have not been absent for an instant from my thoughts.

24. I have indeed thought of them deeply and warmly, for the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has succeeded in one of the noblest of experiments and one that will always be a source of pride to us. A few weeks ago, Ambassador Souleymane Ould Cheikh Sidya, the chairman of our delegation to this Assembly, spoke here [1043rd Meeting] of the friendly mingling of several races on our territory. He described to you the enthusiasm of Arab, Berber and Negro, all working together to build the Mauritanian nation and sharing the same sorrows and the same joys. This is indeed a legitimate source of pride in these times when so many catastrophes are the sole result of hatred and racism.

25. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is in every sense a link between the States of the African continent. Geographically, it forms a link between white Africa and black Africa. From north to south it extends from the Algerian border to the shores of Sene-

gal, and from east to west, from the frontiers of Mali and Algeria to the Atlantic Ocean. Here, in this land of 1.1 million square kilometers live about 1 million inhabitants belonging to two main ethnic groups—the Negro-African element and the Arab-Berber element. Mauritania has been a meeting place for all the African civilizations that have encountered each other over the centuries and offers a rare example of the synthesis of the most authentically African values. Moreover, for more than fifty years, from 1904 to 1956, Mauritania shared the political and administrative life of seven other African States as part of the former French West Africa. It then became independent at the same time and on the same conditions as most of the others in the course of the year 1960. By the life which it shared with black Africa on the one hand, and by its Arab culture and Islamic traditions on the other, my country still forms a link.

26. Our firm determination to live together without racial and religious prejudice encourages us to have faith in the future of African unity, the sole source of salvation for our weak and threatened continent. We Mauritians, who have achieved our own unity on the same basis as those upon which the greater African unity must be constructed, proclaim this as a historical necessity, provided that its meaning is not distorted. We say this because, as we see it, African unity does not mean the establishment of a single political unit which would rob States of their individuality and thus impair their right to freedom. African unity is a concept signifying a dynamic solidarity based upon a common will to build a better future together. This is why the mystique of unity, interpreted in this way, is undeniably one of the most striking characteristics of the African resolution.

27. Some disgruntled spirits have sought to emphasize the transitory divisions between African brothers by trying to distort the meaning of certain political regroupings on our continent. The future will show whether or not they are right. The Brazzaville and Monrovia groups or the Casablanca group, white Africa or black Africa, are only distinctions of the mind which are sometimes useful. The substance is the same; it is only the form of the anti-imperialist struggle which differs. My fondest hope is that in the months ahead, we African leaders will be able to overcome our personal differences or struggles for influence, so that all roads can lead to Lagos, making it a decisive stage in building a united Africa.

28. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania intends to follow a policy independent of all blocs and based on the principle of peaceful coexistence with all countries, regardless of their ideology. I do not believe that we need to prove our sincerity in this regard. I personally proclaimed, in Paris in June 1961, the Algerian character of the Sahara, at a time when Algerian sovereignty over that region seemed to be disputed by certain countries.

29. The Algerian war is in fact the main reason why my country has kept aloof from any schemes of co-operation on the Sahara and why it has refused to join the Common Organization for the Saharan Regions and has thus forfeited a considerable flow of capital investment despite pressure from our friends. We are anxious to respect and secure respect for the present frontiers in Africa, which in themselves are a heritage of colonization. In pursuance of that principle, we have always regarded the Algerian Sahara

¹/United Nations Conference on International Organization, which met from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

as an integral part of Algeria. We have no intention of rejecting any scheme for the exploitation of natural wealth that would involve geographical areas under different sovereignties, but we do hold that no lasting solution in this regard can be found until peace has been restored in the territories of all the parties concerned or until those parties have given their free consent. Even more recently, the Mauritanian Government was one of the first to recognize the legitimate grievance of the Tunisian Government and to demonstrate its sympathy with it at the time of the Bizerta incidents.

30. In keeping with our tradition, we have consistently held out the hand of friendship to all peoples, including those who felt bound to oppose our admission to the United Nations.

31. We do not belong to any military alliance which might involve our country in any conflict between East and West. That, however, does not mean that if necessary for the protection of our territorial integrity, we will not conclude military agreements with those who can help us, as is the practice of most States confronted with that necessity.

32. Having lived for a long time under foreign rule, we fully appreciate the right to self-determination and independence. I should like to take this opportunity to say that my country will always be on the side of the peoples struggling for freedom. Without demagogy, but with all the resources at its disposal, it will support all liberation movements. My country believes that decolonization should be accelerated wherever there are still peoples under foreign rule.

33. In order to create and foster the co-operation which we should like to build among nations, it is essential to restore to the peoples still subject to foreign laws their alienated sovereignty. That is an essential condition for the re-ordering of relations among nations. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] that was adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly must not remain a dead letter.

34. In this connexion, we cannot but turn our thoughts to our sister nation, Algeria, where blood is still being shed!

35. As soon as my country was able—on the basis of the reforms instituted by the "loi-cadre" concerning the internal self-government of our States—to make its voice heard, it took a stand in support of Algerian nationalism and advocated that the conflict between our brethren and our friends should be settled by negotiation. Because we are the true friends of France, we exhort it from this rostrum to resume negotiations forthwith with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

36. It would be paradoxical if that country, with its great liberal tradition, after granting independence to fifteen African States in two years, were to fail to recognize the legitimate aspirations of an African people which, in the underground and in the prisons and by dint of suffering and privation, has been tirelessly waging a heroic fight for its freedom for the past seven years.

37. The history of decolonization and, to begin with, that chapter of it which relates more specifically to the relations between the French Republic and its former colonies, provides an example of intelligent

and courageous realism. How many famous fighters for freedom there have been who have been released from prison in order to lead their countries, liberated at long last. We sincerely hope that in the days to come, that example, taken from its own history, will inspire the French Government with regard to Mr. Ben Bella and his companions. It is because we are not the false friends of the French people that we wholeheartedly plead for an end to the fratricidal conflict in Algeria. We hope that France will not fail in its traditional role and will soon complete the decolonization it undertook boldly and successfully in the rest of Africa.

38. And what shall we say about Portugal, which continues to believe that colonial empires will go on forever and refuses to accept the demands of the world of today. On no grounds can Portugal hope for a gentle and understanding reaction from international society. Nothing can justify the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Portuguese forces against the valiant Angolan people. The state of dreadful terror prevailing in its colonies, particularly in Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, has the net effect of creating a climate of war.

39. It is not because of any systematic opposition to Portugal that we proclaim the unequivocal rights of these countries to independence, but because our foreign policy is based on this principle and because this question will determine future relations between Portugal and the African States.

40. Also in the heart of Africa, in the Congo (Leopoldville), the continued presence of foreign mercenaries is encouraging and sustaining the secession of Katanga. The unity of the Congo must be preserved notwithstanding all the forces and all the plots against its territorial integrity.

41. My conscience would trouble me if I failed to mention the indescribable policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa. After all the political progress made in Africa, it is an abnormal thing for that Government to take delight in continuing to preach an anachronistic philosophy. Apartheid, a hybrid or offshoot of colonialism and racism, will, unless we are careful, give rise to one of the most dreadful conflicts of the colonial era. It is the responsibility of an organization like this one to do everything possible to put an end to a situation which seriously threatens international peace and security.

42. Finally, it would be unfair not to recall the tragic plight of the Palestinian refugees. I deeply regret that in the name of religious segregation over a million human beings have been driven out of their homeland and refused to a life of misery and suffering. My country will support any step taken under the aegis of the United Nations to restore the rights that have been usurped and to ensure the return to their homes of those who have been forced to live in exile.

43. Distinguished heads of State have spoken from this rostrum before me, and the echo of their voices has reached me. For my part, before concluding this statement, I should simply like to convey to the Assembly, the message of the Mauritania people. It is, to be sure, a message of anguish and terrible uncertainty resulting from the strange behaviour of the States known as the great Powers.

44. Yesterday, the world conscience condemned the Soviet Union for having defied the General Assembly's

decision on the suspension of nuclear testing, and now, today, the United States is expected to resume testing at any moment. Do these two giants poised for battle really want to destroy the whole world?

45. It is strange to observe that those who have made tremendous strides in so many fields, especially as regards economic progress and social welfare, now seem to want to undo everything. Whether they are Americans or Russians, they have managed to arouse our admiration by their achievements, and particularly because they have rid their peoples of uncertain tomorrows, of the uncertainty which we all experience in our age-old struggle for existence in the most fundamental sense of the word. And now they seem to be trying to plunge us into doubt, anguish and the fear of a global catastrophe.

46. I personally feel that the only reasonable course for the two opposing camps is to stop nuclear tests of all kinds everywhere. There is talk about a moratorium, a treaty and general disarmament, but all of it is empty talk if both sides refuse to abide by decisions and carry out agreements in good faith. Moreover, general disarmament, if it is to be effective, should be accompanied by permanent controls. Each of the great Powers possessing the ultimate weapon seized upon the guilt of the other to justify resumption or acceleration of its nuclear testing programme; thus, the great Powers are deliberately trapping themselves in a vicious circle which could very well result in war and the annihilation of mankind.

47. Is that the special gift and mission of those countries? Whatever the merits or drawbacks of their ideologies, whatever their objectives, the fact remains that everything should be done in the interests of the well-being and prosperity of mankind. That is the fundamental truth on which their own welfare and that of the world depends. It is not within the power of the small countries to alter the present course of the cold war between the great Powers; it is even less in their power to compel the latter to listen to reason, because they are the stronger. Once again, those Powers show that evil lies not in the physical world but in the mind.

48. That is what I had to say. My apparent pessimism actually conceals a great hope, for I believe in the United Nations, and I am convinced that it is the only instrument capable of finding successful solutions to our problems in an atmosphere of candor; it is the only body capable of promoting constructive co-operation among all nations, of strengthening security and world peace and of defending the rights of small States—but none of these objectives can be attained without the concerted efforts of the "third world", which represents the moral force of the United Nations.

49. In conclusion, I would appeal to those who now face each other in a futile competition and who would, at the same time, be the guides of this tortured world, to think of the two-thirds of mankind that is still suffering from poverty, hunger and disease, while they are squandering the best of their economic potential in producing instruments of mass destruction. May they, instead, help us to bring peace to all men and to preserve our common heritage.

50. The PRESIDENT: (translated from French) I thank the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania for the admirable statement he has just made to our Assembly; I am sure that we shall all give careful thought to his words.

AGENDA ITEMS 88 AND 22

The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (*continued*)*

Assistance to Africa (*continued*)*

(a) A United Nations programme for independence

51. Mr. KIZYA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On 14 December 1960 the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was adopted [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It was with emotion and gladness that the world welcomed the appearance of a declaration which proclaimed freedom, human rights and social and national renewal for enslaved peoples.

52. In approving the Declaration, the General Assembly passed sentence of death on the shameful system of colonialism. On that occasion, only nine hands were not raised along with the others. Only nine delegations did not share in the general feeling of solemn triumph. Eight of the nine represented Powers which still exercise colonial domination over eighty-eight enslaved countries.

53. There is an African proverb which says that the world rests on three pillars: the first pillar is yesterday, the second is today and the third is tomorrow. Today mankind is leaving the past and heading into the future. People are learning lessons from the past in order to build a better tomorrow—the long-looked-for future where no man is oppressed by another and no peoples are dominated by others. But those few who, for tens and hundreds of years, have been accustomed to erect their prosperity upon the exploitation of other countries and peoples prefer to live in the past. They dislike today, and look with terror on tomorrow.

54. It is impossible to conceal the deplorable fact that for many long years the United Nations in effect stood aside from the national-liberation struggle going forward in Africa, Oceania and Latin America.

55. Our United Nations ship lay at anchor alongside the East River, afraid to sail out on to the stormy waters of the national-liberation movements. It was only at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [869th meeting] that the United Nations, on the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, took a new line and proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

56. The initiative taken by the Soviet Union in proposing that the General Assembly adopt the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was evidence of the policy of consistent collaboration and assistance offered by the socialist countries to the peoples that are defending their right to freedom. This collaboration, this brotherly aid given to people fighting for emancipation and justice has always been, still is and will continue to be one of the main features of the foreign policy of all the socialist countries.

57. The new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the programme of the whole Soviet people and was approved by the twenty-second

*Resumed from the 1055th meeting.

Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently concluded,^{2/} states:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers the brotherly union with peoples that have discarded the colonial and semi-colonial yoke as one of the corner-stones of its international policy. This union is based on the unity, in their vital interests, of world socialism and of the world-wide national-liberation movement. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it its international duty to assist peoples that have embarked on the road of winning and strengthening national independence, to assist all peoples fighting for the complete destruction of the colonial system."

58. The map of the world has radically changed and is still changing. On the eve of the Second World War there were, altogether, sixty-three independent States. After it ended, more than fifty countries were freed from colonial and semi-colonial dependence. The liberation movement against colonialism has spread much faster and much more radically than was expected by the most sophisticated theoreticians of colonialism, the most experienced Governors and experts of Colonial Ministries. Even since the adoption of the resolution [1514 (XV)] embodying the Declaration, Sierra Leone has been given independence, the trusteeship over the British Cameroons has been terminated and Western Samoa and Tanganyika are on the brink of independence.

59. We congratulate the peoples of these countries on their long-awaited freedom. At the same time, we ask: When will an end be put to the colonial oppression of the fifty million Africans and the many millions of people who are living in colonial possessions in other parts of the world? It is common knowledge that, in response to the demands of the populations of many colonies for freedom and national independence, the colonial Powers reply with the most brutal terrorism, writing the last chapter of colonial history with the peoples' blood.

60. This is what we are witnessing today in Algeria. The brutal war of extermination waged against the Algerian people is now in its eighth year. More than 800,000 Algerians have given their lives in order to extract a grudgingly-conceded admission of their right to self-determination. How many more sacrifices will this heroic people still have to make in order to achieve freedom and national independence?

61. Let us take a mental glance at the map of Africa south of the Equator. In Angola the fires of colonial warfare are raging. During 1961 the Portuguese colonizers, with the moral and material support of their brethren in NATO and in colonial pillage, have exterminated more than 50,000 Angolans.

62. Go two floors down, gentlemen, to the Fourth Committee room and take a look at the photographs exhibited there—you will be stricken with horror. You will see the white barbarians from Portugal aiming their weapons—obtained from the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany—at the breasts of their helpless victims; you will see Angolans tortured and scalped, and the pleased expressions of their murderers posing before the camera alongside the decapitated heads spiked on stakes.

63. That is Portugal's answer to the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on the abolition of

colonialism and the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries.

64. The British military are conducting punitive military operations against Arab tribes in Hadhramaut, waging war against the people of Oman, and supplying arms to their brother colonialists who are shedding rivers of peoples' blood. That is the United Kingdom's reply to the Declaration.

65. In South West Africa, in a dense network of goals and concentration camps established throughout the territory, the colonizers are annihilating the African population, convincing them that they are not ready for freedom and independence. That is how the South African Government has replied to the United Nations Declaration.

66. The bloodshed in Algeria, the Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Angola and other territories testifies to the fact that still greater efforts will have to be exerted in the fight for liberation from the colonial yoke. In any colony or trust territory, we see, if not open warfare, at least shootings, terrorism, imprisonment and concentration camps; such is the training for independence which the colonizers offer to the population of their possessions.

67. The colonial Powers' attitude of *de facto* obstruction towards the Declaration is, of course, not externalized merely in methods of direct aggression against the struggling peoples. Present-day colonialism is a defeated colonialism which is beating a retreat before the national-liberation movements; it is therefore hungrily seeking to find fresh ways and methods of enslavement, seeking to grab some new positions in place of those it has already lost. It is endeavouring by every possible means to maintain its decisive influence by ruling indirectly through puppets of the Tshombé type, and is resorting in ever greater measure to methods of collective colonialism and close co-operation between new-style and old-style colonizers—Americans and Belgians in the Congo, Portuguese, Americans and British in Angola, etc., etc.

68. In sabotaging the requirement of the Declaration for the immediate abolition of all colonial régimes, the colonial Powers hurriedly produce all kinds of pseudo-theories about the so-called "unpreparedness" of the colonial peoples for self-government, and allege that the economic dependence of these peoples constitutes a hindrance to the departure of the colonizers.

69. The truth, however, is that poverty and backwardness can be overcome only by following the path of the independent and sovereign development of the peoples and their complete and unconditional liberation from colonial fetters.

70. The whole shameful story of colonialism, including its most recent history, shows that it is precisely the colonizers who always try to preserve in the colonies, and exploit for their own purposes, everything that is decadent and out-of-date: the tribal system, inter-tribal faction, prejudice, mass ignorance, etc. They exploit the hostile feelings they have themselves engendered between the various peoples and tribes; they hinder the growth of national self-awareness, and preserve the archaic tribal system—all in order to prove the "unpreparedness" of the dependent peoples for independence, and to secure for themselves the possibility of continuing to despoil the peoples with impunity.

^{2/} Held in Moscow, 17-31 October 1961.

71. The countries of Asia and Africa which have freed themselves from colonialism have given the whole world proof of the untenability of the colonizers' "arguments". The successful development of India, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and many other countries is showing to all the peoples who are groaning under the colonial heel the real path towards self-regeneration. The history of our own times fully corroborates the penetrating truth of the words spoken by the President of Guinea, Mr. Sékou Touré, when at the fifteenth session of this Assembly he said:

"...all peoples, at all times, are capable of governing themselves and...the only peoples incapable of administering their own affairs are colonized peoples, as long as that colonial status lasts". [896th meeting, paragraph 120].

72. There can be no doubt that the liberated peoples are facing difficult and complicated problems, and one of the most complicated is the economic problem. Colonialism is leaving them a weak, one-sided economy which makes it possible for the colonialists—when they grant the colonies independence—to effect various kinds of political combination, to despoil the newly-created States or to set up new associations of States.

73. A very significant example of this is the artificial Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, set up by the United Kingdom. In creating this Federation, the United Kingdom had the aim of strengthening the dominant position of the European minority in Central Africa. Its device might well be the words of the Prime Minister of this artificial form of State, Sir Roy Welensky, contained in the shockingly cynical remark: "Equal rights for white and black? Certainly, but only in 200 years' time". And really, could anyone sincerely believe that the modern colonizers were capable of displaying a humanitarian attitude and going half-way to meet the demands of the unhappy peoples who have been exploited and oppressed since the days of Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the "great British Empire" in Africa? The British colonizers are contending to the effect that everything should be left so far as possible as it is, so that the settlers in Southern Rhodesia, whose numbers are only 10 per cent those of the African population, should continue to keep a grip on more than half of the whole land area—48 million acres and more—so that they can go on, as before, using the cheap labour of immigrants from Nyasaland and the copper of Northern Rhodesia to expand and strengthen the economy of Southern Rhodesia, where the bulk of the Europeans are concentrated. In creating an artificial federation contrary to the interests of its inhabitants, the British colonizers' only concern is to strengthen the power of the European minority, to retain the possibility of engaging in the unpunished spoliation of African wealth, and to continue to block the African's advance towards real independence.

74. Or take the history of the formation of the independent State of the Congo. Is this not a typical example of colonizers' intrigues aimed at the national and economic dismemberment of a former colony in the interests of the colonizers?

75. It is a well-known fact that the NATO Powers place the interests of the Belgian and other foreign monopolies, which have grabbed for themselves the riches of Katanga, above the interests of the freedom, integrity and independence of the Congo Republic. The so-called Tshombé "movement" for the independence of Katanga is nothing more than an attempt by the

capitalist monopolies to secure for themselves the exploitation of this extremely rich storehouse of Africa, regardless of the will of the Congolese people and State. In Katanga the colonizers are giving all the peoples of Africa an eloquent lesson, and in that sense we cannot but warn the Africans to be vigilant.

76. Still another instance of the colonizers' resourcefulness in operating a policy of "Katangization" is the well-known plan of the Netherlands for the granting of independence to West Irian. The Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs has proposed both a plan and a draft resolution [A/L.354] and has personally adjured us to adopt them. But we all realize that in this resolution there is concealed a knife which they are trying to thrust into the hands of the United Nations with a view to forcing it to commit a barbarous vivisection of the body of the Indonesian Republic in the interests of colonialism and imperialism.

77. The speech [1050th meeting] made by the Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Subandrio, described in vivid terms the Netherlands colonizers' unceasing work of subversion against the national independence and integrity of the Indonesian Republic. Finding themselves unable any longer to resist the strength and solidarity of the Indonesian people in its fight for the complete liberation and unification of its country, the Netherlands colonizers are now appealing for help from the United Nations. We consider that the General Assembly is in duty bound to aid the Indonesian people—not the colonizers, who are so belatedly trying to play here the dubious role of "good uncle" to the people of West Irian.

78. In discussing the question about the immediate eradication of all traces of colonialism, we cannot overlook the demand for the abolition of foreign bases on the territory of many Asian, African and Latin American countries. As the facts show, military bases are an important bastion of present-day colonialism and are in fact used by the imperialists of the United States and other countries of the aggressive military NATO bloc for throttling popular national-liberation movements, as well as for unleashing military operations.

79. As a stronghold of imperialism and colonialism, the United States is the real force controlling such military-political aggressive blocs as NATO, SEATO, CENTO and ANZUS—creating in all possible places, as a "bastion against communism", military bases and so bringing many countries under American domination or putting them in the position of being occupied.

80. Furthermore, the United States not only continues to regard former and existing colonial countries as a source of the raw materials needed for modern warfare; it also includes them in its military plans as a jumping-off ground for the preparing and executing of aggression. Take, for instance, the continent of Africa. In a report on United States policy in Africa, made to President Kennedy by a group of specialists, it was stated: "Africa plays a decisive part in the defence of the West; it protects the southern flank of NATO. Strategic materials of nearly twenty kinds have been found in Africa". In the military staff offices of NATO, plans are being made not only for the conducting of nuclear tests in Africa but also for the employment of nuclear weapons in that continent in the event of war. And that is precisely why the Western Powers, members of NATO, recently in the First Committee dissociated themselves from the appeal, made by a number of African States, "to con-

sider and respect the African continent as a de-nuclearized zone" [see A/4942/Add. 3, paragraphs 6 and 9]. The United States and France went even further; they voted against the simple and extremely sensible proposal of those States that the territory and land and air space of Africa should not be used for the testing, storing or transporting of nuclear weapons.

81. All NATO's activities are very closely associated with international colonial robbery: NATO gives direct support to France in that country's colonial fight against the Algerian people; with the knowledge and assistance of NATO France is using her "Atlantic" divisions in Algeria. We may recall that in the NATO communiqué of 27 March 1956 the following statement was made:

"The Council of NATO is keeping itself constantly informed on the reduction by France of its armed forces placed at the disposal of NATO. The Council has studied the situation in Europe resulting from these actions. It notes that France considers it necessary to increase, in the interests of its own security, the French armed forces in Algeria" (I stress the reference to Algeria) "...which is part of the area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council recognizes the importance of the security of this region for NATO".

82. In the days of the Congolese tragedy the Atlantic Powers showed exceptional cynicism in supporting their Belgian brethren who were scheming to restore, by every possible means, their positions in the colony that they had lost. Today, bombs manufactured in the United States and other NATO countries are exploding on the soil of Angola.

83. As recently as last Monday, 13 November, the United States representative in the Special Political Committee, along with the representatives of South Africa, Belgium, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France, voted against the Soviet Union's amendment to the eight-nation resolution providing for a ban on the sale to the Government of South Africa of weapons for repressing Africans [see A/4968 paragraphs 8 and 11]. Obviously, if the United States votes against this proper and justifiable measure, it means that they intend to go on supplying arms to the South African racialists. These are arms which will be used by the supporters of apartheid to shoot down peaceful African demonstrators—arms to be used for colonial terrorism and reprisal.

84. Nevertheless, all the efforts of the imperialists to save the colonial system from further collapse will be of no avail.

85. The representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and other colonial countries have said here that the socialist countries are attacking and condemning colonialism in the interests, allegedly, of the "cold war". Such cheap demagoguery is hardly likely to convince anyone. We have no need for either the "cold war" or its "interests". Everyone knows, NATO representatives, that the "cold war" is your baby. The socialist countries condemn colonialism, and always will condemn it, because it is a system of oppression and exploitation which is thoroughly alien to our social structure, way of life and general outlook. The ignoble expectations of the colonizers and their supporters—who would like to deprive the peoples resisting colonial oppression of the support of other freedom-loving peoples, in order the more

easily to quell the national-liberation movement in their possessions—are doomed to wither. The socialist countries have marched, and will continue to march, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with all fighting members of the anti-colonial front in the great and just struggle for the complete eradication of colonial systems.

86. The head of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Podgorny, speaking at the 885th plenary meeting of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, stated:

"... all honest people extend a helping hand to the oppressed peoples fighting for their independence . . . There is no doubt that this assistance will steadily grow until not a single colonial and dependent country is left on our planet . . . The Ukrainian people . . . has helped and will continue to help peoples in their struggle against colonialism and for full independence." [885th meeting, paragraph 27.]

87. The Ukrainian people feel a deep sympathy for and desire to help those peoples which are today fighting against colonialism and for their freedom and independence. Our hearts and our aid are on the side of these peoples. We hold out to them the hand of brotherhood, and we say: May the devilish system of colonialism, the satanic spawn of neo-colonialism, perish for ever, and may the clear sunshine of truth and freedom cast its bright rays on all oppressed and enslaved peoples!

88. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before giving the floor to the next speaker, I call upon the representative of Niger on a point of order.

89. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): When the resolution concerning the status of Algerians imprisoned in France [resolution 1650 (XVI)] was adopted yesterday, my delegation, a co-sponsor of the draft resolution was unable to be present . . .

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I would remind the representative of Niger that he is speaking on a point of order, and I would ask him to explain what it concerns.

91. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): It concerns the correction of a mistake made here yesterday evening during a vote . . .

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I point out to the representative of Niger that, in the circumstances, no point of order arises. He can have the mistake corrected by letter addressed to the President or to the Secretariat. We are considering items 88 and 22 and have already concluded the debate, the voting and the explanations of vote on the resolution concerning the status of Algerians imprisoned in France [resolution 1650 (XVI)].

93. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): My point of order also concerns my vote on the draft resolution now being considered by the General Assembly.

94. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We are not now discussing the voting on the draft resolutions before the General Assembly.

95. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): Since that is the case, I propose, at the time of the voting, to ask for the floor to explain my vote.

96. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I am most grateful to the representative of Niger.

97. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): We have just had the opportunity and privilege of listening to the most distinguished President of Mauritania, and I would like here to pay my tribute of thanks to him for his speech, which contained many aspects of wisdom which, I am sure, we shall all wish to ponder and to consider most carefully.

98. Since then we have had a speech by the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I am afraid I cannot pay the same compliment with regard to that speech. I shall seek to deal with certain aspects of it during the course of my remarks. I can only regret that we are subjected here so often to distortions in regard to the record of my own country as well as of others in the colonial sphere. I think it is necessary to cover a very substantial field today in the light of what has been said not only in this immediate speech, but also in other statements to which we have listened during the last few days.

99. This debate, of course, is one of very great importance to all Member States, and I have considered most carefully many of the comments and speeches that have been delivered. I would suggest that these speeches in the main fall into two fairly distinct and separate categories. On the one hand, we have those countries which do take a keen, serious and genuine interest in the problems of colonialism, and in many cases these are countries which have themselves been colonies at some time. On the other hand, we have a much smaller number of countries led by the Soviet Union, of which we have had an example today, which seek, by appearing to show an interest in colonial problems, merely to use this debate as a vehicle for denigrating the colonial and ex-colonial Powers, and to do their utmost to debase the debate on this genuine and serious problem and to drag it into the arena of the cold war. That is something which I regret.

100. I propose to devote by far the greater part of my remarks to what I am quite certain the Assembly would wish to hear from my delegation, namely, a serious and dispassionate study of the problem as it confronts the United Kingdom in regard to its remaining colonial territories and its duty to these, as I see it.

101. In view of some of the monstrous and unfounded charges, however, that have been brought against the record of my country in this field by several speakers, I shall find it necessary to place on record yet again the achievements of my country in this field, and I feel entitled, before ending my remarks, to compare this record with that of those who are so free in their own condemnation of others and so blind to their own deplorable catalogue of oppression. I shall seek, however, not to go into these aspects at length, as I am sure that all delegations that are seriously interested in this vital problem will wish to hear of the United Kingdom's carefully considered appraisal of the present position.

102. It is scarcely necessary for me to remind the Assembly that my country has in the past exercised the widest overseas power of any nation, and even today, in spite of the enormous transformation from dependent territories to free and independent territories, mostly within the Commonwealth, there still remains a number of British territories, several of which are of high importance and significance and

in all of which, whether large or small, the inhabitants, living under the British flag, receive and are entitled to receive every consideration, care and thought from my Government.

103. When my Prime Minister was speaking in the General Assembly at the fifteenth session [877th meeting] he restated the purpose which has for long been the central aim of the policy of my country towards dependent countries under British administration, the policy of bringing these countries to self-government, self-determination and independence. My Prime Minister quoted from a message which he sent in the summer of 1960 to Mr. Khrushchev in which he referred to "policies which British Governments of all parties have followed not only since the war but for many generations". In that message he went on to say:

"For more than a century it has been our purpose to guide our dependent territories towards freedom and independence. Since the Second World War India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, comprising over 510 millions of people, have reached the goal of independent life and strength. We have aided this process both by technical assistance and by financial contribution. All these States are completely independent members of our free Commonwealth association. Nor is this movement at an end." [877th meeting, para. 101.]

That was what my Prime Minister said a year ago.

104. Since then we have seen striking evidence of how successfully the march goes forward over a world-wide front. The Prime Minister's speech was soon followed by the admission to the United Nations of the great territory of Nigeria. It was indeed an historic event when the country with the largest population in Africa joined this Organization. Then we all warmly welcomed Cyprus, now a free republic, to the United Nations. Sierra Leone attained independence on 27 April 1961, and it too has now been most warmly welcomed as a further Member of the United Nations.

105. On 1 October 1961, the southern section of the former Trust Territory of the British Cameroons was united with the Cameroun Republic, the northern section of the British Cameroons having united with Nigeria earlier this year. Here I should like to pay my special tribute to the statesmanlike action of President Ahidjo and to all those who worked with him to achieve the union of the Southern Cameroons with the Republic so smoothly and so successfully. The union was carried out in a spirit of the fullest good will and the most effective co-operation, thus bringing our trusteeship over the Cameroons to an end in accordance with the freely declared wishes of the peoples concerned.

106. Then, as a result of a resolution [1642 (XVI)] adopted by the General Assembly, the date of the independence of Tanganyika was set for 9 December 1961—and we hope that the representatives of this African State will be seated with us as members of this Organization before the present session ends.

107. This by no means exhausts the catalogue of successful advances in Africa in recent months. In October 1961, agreement was reached on the final stages of Uganda's constitutional advance, and 9 October next has been set as the date for Uganda's independence.

108. Both Kenya and Zanzibar have taken a further important step on the path to independence as a result of elections held earlier this year. Already they both have a large measure of internal self-government under elected Ministers.

109. In West Africa now that the main territories formerly under British administration—Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone—are independent Members of the United Nations, the Gambia alone remains under British administration. This territory took a further step forward as a result of the conference held in London in July 1961, and a new constitution providing a wide measure of internal self-government comes into force early next year.

110. In Nyasaland the first elections under the new Constitution were held in August, and in Northern Rhodesia further discussions have taken place on proposals for a new constitution.

111. I have said enough, I hope, to show the pace of advance in all the territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible in Africa, and when Tanganyika achieves its independence next month we shall be proud to claim that peoples making up a quarter of the total population of Africa have attained independence in territories formerly administered by the United Kingdom.

112. Here I must point out that the speaker before me said at one stage that the colonial Powers have replied with cruel terror to the aspirations of the colonial territories. This catalogue that I have just given shows the falsity and the absurdity of that statement—and I reject it absolutely.

113. But the story that I have just been giving of rapid and varied advance is by no means limited to Africa. In other territories around the globe equally significant advances have been made.

114. In British Guiana elections were held in August 1961 leading to internal self-government under elected Ministers and an elected Chief Minister. In British Honduras, too, where the people have recently suffered such a grievous blow as a result of the disastrous hurricane, elections under a new constitution were also held earlier this year.

115. Following a referendum in Jamaica, we expect that Jamaica will come forward to achieve its independence in 1962.

116. Constitutional talks in London this year led to agreement on the next stage of political advance in Mauritius, and an elected Chief Minister is now in office.

117. These examples give some picture of the diversity and complexity of the constitutional advance which has taken place on the whole front of British-administered dependent countries, and when we heard the representative of the USSR speaking of "obstinate resistance", as he did the other day [1048th meeting], we can scarcely put down his astonishing statement to ignorance. How can he be ignorant of all the facts to which I have referred? How can he be ignorant of the fact that ten territories formerly administered by the United Kingdom have already joined the United Nations? How can he be ignorant of the fact which my Foreign Secretary reported when he spoke to the General Assembly on 27 September 1961 [1017th meeting] that by the end of this year all the 660 million people in the Commonwealth except for 5 per cent will be living in independent countries?

118. In fact, the charges of the Soviet Union are as false as they are sweeping. They represent a deliberate and disgraceful travesty of the facts. As we listened to the representative of the Soviet Union, it became increasingly clear, if it was not clear before, that he is not interested in the facts of the situation. Nor is he interested in the welfare of the peoples concerned. His interest is to attack the Administering Authorities as an exercise in the cold war.

119. Our interest is to press on, in consultation with the representatives of the peoples concerned, putting into full effect the policies in which we have given so much practical evidence of our belief. Of the remaining dependent territories in the world, about fifty in all, some forty are under British administration.

120. In each of these territories there are special complications and special problems. Had there not been they would have been independent already. Some are small and remote from main centres of population, and it is consequently difficult to see how they could stand alone politically or economically. For example, St. Helena has a population of only a few thousand, and even larger territories like the Seychelles with a population of forty thousand could hardly support an independent administration. In the West Indies too there is a number of territories, dependent on the United Kingdom for financial and other assistance, which could not survive alone.

121. Then there are other territories in which the position is complicated by proximity to larger and more powerful neighbours—for instance, the High Commission Territories—Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. No one can suggest that the problems of these territories could suddenly be settled by sweeping declarations.

122. Then in a number of other territories—these, I think, perhaps are the most difficult of all—there remain divisions and differences politically, racially and economically which can only be resolved by persistent, careful, delicate negotiation. For example, in Uganda, it has only recently been possible to arrive at a full measure of agreement after a period when progress was delayed by internal differences now happily resolved. In Kenya at this time there is a disagreement between the two principal African political parties. We hope that a conference early next year in London will find a solution to those difficulties.

123. What we must endeavour to ensure in these countries, and indeed in all territories for which we are responsible, is that independence when it comes is based on a wide measure of solid agreement so that each newly-independent country, in facing its new tasks and obligations, can hope to stand secure and united.

124. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland we face perhaps the most important problem of all. It is good to see the progress recently achieved in Nyasaland with the full agreement of all concerned, and we should recognize too the substantial advance which has recently been made in the constitution of Southern Rhodesia. In Northern Rhodesia after long and anxious negotiations it has been possible to narrow down the differences very greatly, and we hope that the way will soon be clear for the introduction of a new constitution. That is my reply to the representative who spoke just before me, when he said, in relation to the Rhodesias specifically, that the British colonizers say that it is better to leave every-

thing as it is. We do not; we are seeking all the time to find means of advance which will leave these territories in a state in which they can come forward to full independence with confidence in a future on which they can depend.

125. I need hardly say that in none of these widely diverse countries is there any desire whatever on the part of Her Majesty's Government to delay. Our record displays both the policy we wish to pursue and our readiness to take calculated risks in putting it into effect. As my Foreign Secretary said recently in this Assembly: "We have been faithful with the many, and . . . we shall keep faith with the few who remain" [1017th meeting, para. 122].

126. In this context may I be allowed to quote the generous testimony of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Wachuku, who is, after all, a representative of one of "the many" to whom the Foreign Secretary referred. When he spoke in this debate on 9 November, referring to the British attitude towards the granting of independence to African territories, he said:

"We have had experience with it and we believe that it is its intention to withdraw in order to retain the friendship and good will of the people in the area from which it withdraws.

"I believe that it is that Government's intention to have the inhabitants continue to be friends—lasting friends—and to build a new bond of friendship, based not on domination, but on partnership and mutual understanding. It is that type of friendship that we want to build for our whole African continent." [1050th meeting, paras. 58 and 59.]

May I take this opportunity to confirm that this is indeed our aim, and I am very glad indeed to have it stated so clearly by one of the countries which we have brought forward freely to independence. That is the best answer to the calumnies which we receive from the Soviet bloc. Perhaps I should remind this Assembly that as long ago as 1833 Macaulay, in a speech in the British House of Commons, referred prophetically to the possibility that the Indian Empire might outgrow our tutelage. He said:

"Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history..."

This eventually has come to pass not only in India but in many other former British dependencies and, like Macaulay, we consider this a case not for regret but for pride.

127. I have very briefly referred to the many advances which have recently been made and which now continue in the Commonwealth. We in the Commonwealth—and when I say "we" I mean the people of Great Britain working in full co-operation and agreement with the peoples of the Commonwealth—have enfranchised in sixteen years since the last war three times the population of the Soviet Union.

128. But it is not just a matter of extending a list or adding up figures. Nor is it merely a matter of celebrating, one after another, independence days in the territories which we have previously administered. We take pride not only in the culmination of these achievements but also in the practical steps taken to bring these achievements about. We agree with the contention that lack of preparation, whether it be

political or economic or educational, should never be used as a pretext to delay advance to self-government and independence. At the same time, it has always been our contention that there is no value, indeed there is great danger, in declaring independence without making the necessary basic preparations. Mr. Wachuku, in the thoughtful speech I have just quoted, rightly emphasized that independence, if it is to be of lasting value, must be achieved in a harmonious and orderly manner. We share his view that the overriding purpose must be to give to new nations a reasonable prospect and hope of future political and economic stability. Certainly no country can enter independence with all its problems solved in advance; there are, after all, certain inherent problems in any territory which will remain, and some of them can best be tackled by the peoples themselves through their elected representatives after independence has been achieved. We do, however, regard it as a compelling obligation to give to dependent peoples when they achieve their independence the tools by which they can turn their independence to the best effect.

129. That is why we place such great importance on the establishment of impartial courts of law independent of executive authority, giving their judgements unfettered and uninfluenced by official or any other outside interference.

130. That is why we have given the greatest care and attention to the training of public services composed of career officials who owe their allegiance and their loyalty not to a tribe or to a party but to all the people of their country.

131. Responsible police forces have been trained to maintain law and order with public consent—and here in passing I might perhaps be permitted to say how much we admire the work that has been done by the Nigerian police in the Congo. In dangerous and difficult circumstances, they have carried out their duties fearlessly and efficiently and, as they normally would in Nigeria itself, they have done so unarmed.

132. In the widely differing circumstances of our dependent territories we have established representative parliaments and taught the principles and practices of free elections. I noticed that in the speech to which we listened just before mine the representative of the Ukrainian SSR at one stage said that the colonizers have always tried to maintain in their colonies all that is out of date. If freedom is out of date, then we accept it; we have done so. But to us freedom is not out of date. Perhaps they have a different basis on which to judge things, but as far as we are concerned we have brought these people forward in the way in which we ourselves have developed our own democratic systems of government, and we are proud of it.

135. We have long recognized the overwhelming desire which exists throughout Asia and Africa for improved education and we take pride not only in the educational systems we have created, but also particularly in the many universities already well established and now rapidly expanding.

Mr. Ortiz-Martin (Costa-Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

134. We have, moreover, constantly sought to raise the standard of living of the people, and by a vast system of diverse development schemes, to which the British people contribute at the rate of well nigh a hundred million pounds a year, we have strengthened

the economies of our dependent territories. Especially have we given our attention to initiating new industry, to improving agriculture and to encouraging local enterprise and commerce.

135. No one who knows what he is talking about would seek to deny the extent of the measures, taken in full co-operation with the peoples concerned, to achieve the purposes which I have described. Certainly no newly independent country of our Commonwealth fails to recognize the value of the work undertaken in preparation for independence.

136. We have, as those here well know, co-operated to the full in the past, providing information in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter. That Article provides for the supply of information on economic, social and educational conditions. There was no requirement imposed by the Charter beyond that, but, as my Foreign Secretary announced last month, we will go beyond the requirements of the Charter. We do so in the confidence that the story we tell will carry full conviction, and I am very glad that our decision in this matter has been welcomed so widely as an act of positive co-operation with the United Nations.

137. When my Foreign Secretary made his announcement of this important decision, he made it clear at the same time that we cannot share or shift our responsibility. We are convinced that, as we proceed—submitting full information, including information on political and constitutional advance, and acting, so we hope, in complete co-operation with the United Nations—the responsibility for carrying out the policies which I have described must not be divided. Difficult and sometimes delicate negotiations with all the peoples concerned go forward apace. Interference or intervention by any third party in these negotiations, we have no doubt, would prejudice, delay or even disrupt the rapid progress which is being made. We have made it very clear, therefore, that in putting forward the offer to provide political and constitutional information, we remain fully responsible for the administration of the territories still under our administration.

138. The story which I tell—the story of the advance of dependent territories to self-government, self-determination and independence—is, I suggest to the Assembly, one of the greatest stories of this generation and of this century. No amount of ignorant abuse, no amount of destructive calumny, will take away from the achievement which has its culmination and fulfilment in the entry of one country after another into membership of the United Nations.

139. Let me turn for a moment to speak about economic relationships. The Soviet representative said the other day:

"... the imperialist Powers pursue their perennial colonial objectives to maintain under-developed countries in the position of being appendages for agricultural goods and raw materials ..." [1048th meeting, para. 62]*.

The allegation that the United Kingdom buys produce from its territories at artificially low prices and, at the same time, forces the territories to buy goods from it at inflated prices has no foundation whatever in truth.

140. Our territories are free to buy where they like. Many of them give preferences to imports from Commonwealth countries—including Britain—but in return Britain also admits the produce of the territories duty free, and this Commonwealth preference is of great importance to their economies. There is, however, no question whatever of their being compelled to sell anything to Britain, and they are free to export their produce where they wish.

141. Far from low prices being paid by Britain for such imports, the territories frequently get better prices in Britain than elsewhere because of the operation of Commonwealth preferences. For example, the 15 per cent preference in Great Britain on bananas means that producers in, for instance, the West Indies get a much better price in Britain than they would anywhere else. Again, about two-thirds of the sugar produced in Commonwealth territories is sold to Britain under a long-term agreement at an annually negotiated price, which at present stands at over 50 per cent above the world free market price. While we are on the subject of trade practices in general and sugar in particular, I might point out that the Soviet Government can teach us capitalists a great deal when it comes to making profits. The sugar which it imported from Cuba in 1960 at less than 7 American cents a kilogram was sold at over 9 roubles, or \$2.25 a kilogram, giving a ratio between buying price and selling price of 1 : 35 against ratios of 1 : 2 or 1 : 3 in the United States and Britain. Even allowing for the cost of transporting, refining and distributing the sugar, the net profit would be over 1,000 per cent—not bad going, it must be admitted, for a country which disavows the profit motive.

142. The Soviet representative also alleged that the sole motive for investment by the Administering Authorities in their territories was exploitation—he added that the motives of the Communist countries were, however, completely altruistic. His Marxist view of economics, which refuses to see any benefit arising from private investment, is perhaps not unexpected, but this is not the attitude of the dependent territories themselves nor, indeed, of the newly independent States. Under-developed countries, whether dependent or independent are by definition short of capital for development. A good deal of capital is flowing through Government channels, but it is widely recognized that this is likely to be insufficient to promote a sufficiently rapid rate of economic growth. That is why both the dependent territories and independent countries have frequently stated that they need private capital, and will do all they can to attract it. They recognize the value of trade which is not only the most conventional but also the most convenient form of assistance. When I say this I am speaking from personal experience because, it may be recalled, when we set ourselves to restore our own economy after the war we launched the slogan "Trade not aid".

143. We have heard much from the Soviet representative about "neo-colonialism" under which, he alleges, the Administering Authorities "obtain a privileged position for the monopolies, the right for these monopolies to keep their concessions. They impose obligations on the new States to co-ordinate their economic and financial policies and currencies with those of the former metropolitan Power ..." [1048th meeting, para. 87]*. This allegation certainly has

*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

no relevance so far as Britain's relationship with the Commonwealth is concerned.

144. No Commonwealth or other country engaged in association with the United Kingdom for the furtherance of its economic development has been prevented from establishing its independent national economy. No such country has suffered any interference in its social or agrarian structure. No such country has had its industrialization obstructed or has had its freedom of choice for imports and exports in any way tampered with. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, neo-colonialism is a mysterious myth propagated principally by those who know more about true neo-colonialism as practised by themselves than they care to bring to the light of day, and much more about its practice. We are proud of our record of financial and technical aid. As I had the privilege of telling the Economic and Social Council, meeting at Geneva in July,^{3/} Britain's contribution in public and private capital to under-developed countries is running at a rate of \$800 million a year. We are proud of the fact that, despite our own economic difficulties, our aid programme has not been cut. It has in fact more than doubled since 1958, and is far in excess of the aid at present being provided by the Soviet Union.

145. Now I feel that I must turn to reflect on the depressing intervention which we heard last week from the representative of the Soviet Union.

146. First, let me comment on Mr. Gromyko's letter to the President of the General Assembly on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, in which he argued eloquently that:

"At this stage there are no nations which are unprepared for freedom, but there are nations which are still being forcibly deprived of it. They must be given this freedom. It is the duty of the United Nations . . . to help them to fulfil their aspirations."
[A/4889, para. 45.]

147. Since these sentiments have now been reiterated in almost identical terms by Mr. Lapin, may I perhaps remind him that of all the great empires which existed in the nineteenth century, only one has actually expanded as a result of recent territorial aggression. The empire to which I refer has since 1939 incorporated territories with a total area of 200,000 square miles and a population of 22,500,000. In addition, by using its armed forces directly or as a threat, it has imposed régimes of its choice in seven other countries with a total population of over 90 million. The empire which I am referring to is the Soviet Empire; and I would here point out that no country, or union republic within the Soviet bloc has been allowed to negotiate its independence on amicable terms, as has been the case with so many of our former colonial territories. The Soviet representative will doubtless argue that none has wished to do so. But can we believe this? Do we know?

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

148. The fact that their frontiers are so stringently guarded to protect the population from escaping is surely eloquent testimony to the lack of popular support enjoyed by these régimes. Only one country—one country—Yugoslavia, owing to its fortunate geographical position and the strong nationalist sentiments of

its people, has been able successfully to defy Soviet hegemony, but we all remember the ruthless measures which were taken against that country, including economic sanctions, in an attempt to force submission. Others have been less fortunate. When the Hungarian people attempted to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and pursue a neutral foreign policy of friendship with all peoples without joining any blocs, I need not remind the Assembly with what ruthlessness their bid for independence was suppressed. Mr. Nagy, the Hungarian leader, had dared to suggest that the Soviet Union should apply the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in its relations with countries within the Communist camp. He and countless of his fellow countrymen died for their beliefs. The Soviet Union, it seems, is prepared to applaud independence and non-alignment in distant countries, but any such aspirations within the bloc are ruthlessly suppressed. In Romania, I am told, under a decree passed in 1958 advocates of a neutral foreign policy are actually liable to the death sentence. The East German uprising in 1953 was likewise crushed by Soviet tanks.

149. Mr. Lapin has suggested that with the liquidation of the Trusteeship System independence should be granted:

"not only to Ruanda-Urundi, but also to New Guinea, Nauru, the Pacific Islands and all other places which, under various guises, are still dependent upon imperialist States" [1048th meeting, para. 39].*

Since the representative of the Soviet Union mentioned Pacific islands, it is perhaps pertinent to ask when independence is to be granted to the Kuriles? These islands, the Assembly will recall, were part of the price exacted by the Soviet Union for its nine-days' participation in the war against Japan. Since their occupation by Soviet forces in 1945 it has been difficult for the outside world to discover what is going on there. No offer was made to place these islands under United Nations Trusteeship. No information whatsoever about them has ever been submitted to the United Nations. An ominous Soviet silence surrounds them. The islands are jealously guarded and even Japanese fishermen who might, on their lawful occasions, stray unwittingly within the territorial waters limit unilaterally imposed by the Soviet Union are thrown into prison and their vessels seized. But it seems that, as in the case of Soviet Central Asia, large-scale Russian immigration has been encouraged, so that the local population is probably now outnumbered by white settlers of Russian nationality.

150. The Russians have also established important military installations in these strategically situated islands. However, this should not be an obstacle to independence, for Mr. Lapin has expressed his Government's views in no uncertain terms on the iniquity of colonial Powers establishing such bases in their colonial territories. I should like here to point out that Soviet speakers display a curious ambivalence on the subject of military pacts and bases. Thus in his speech Mr. Lapin attacked non-communist countries, including the United Kingdom, on this score. Has he perhaps forgotten that the Soviet Union has concluded bilateral military agreements with Communist China and with North Korea, as well as adhering to the Warsaw Pact? Since this has become a standard subject of abuse by Soviet and other communist bloc representatives, may I be allowed to

^{3/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-second Session, 1160th meeting, para. 14.

*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

point out that the Soviet Union has used the Warsaw Pact and the previous bilateral treaties to develop a series of bases in its satellites. The speaker before me this morning spent a lot of time dealing with this whole question of bases. It is right that this side should be put too. Since the end of the war the USSR has, in particular, set up a wide network of air bases with the help of the communist régimes that it has established in Eastern Europe. Airfields in the satellites are available to and used by Soviet military aircraft, and, to take Hungary as an example, the four Soviet mechanized divisions there have special areas allocated to them together with supply dumps, stores and so on. The Soviet Union has complete control over these bases as a result of the military integration achieved through the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact headquarters is in Moscow and its High Command is headed by a Russian Commander-in-Chief. Many Soviet bases are situated in formerly independent countries which were annexed by the Soviet Union after the war—for example, in the Baltic States, in Kaliningrad, which was formerly Königsberg, and in Carpathian Ruthenia. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union invoked the Warsaw Pact as justification for military intervention in Hungary to suppress the 1956 uprising.

151. As I said, we have heard a lot about military pacts this morning, but it is only right that this side should be remembered too. This is not a one-sided thing at all, and that is, of course, why we all should seek and endeavour to obtain disarmament—so that these military bases can eventually be eliminated. I am only mentioning this because it has been thrown in our teeth time and time again, and it is just as well to remember the other side of the picture.

152. Mr. Lapin also attacked the colonial Powers for trying to prevent United Nations intervention in colonial affairs on the ground that such matters were "within their domestic jurisdiction". May I remind Mr. Lapin of a speech he made earlier in this session strongly upholding this very principle which he now ridicules. I hope I do not flatter him too much by this constant reference to his speeches, but it merely shows how very much we like to study the speeches he makes. On 25 September, in a speech opposing the inclusion in the agenda of the item on Tibet, he said that the sovereign actions and rights of the People's Republic of China

"cannot be the subject of discussion by the General Assembly or any other international organization. The Charter of the United Nations is based precisely on this principle, which is mandatory for all organs of the United Nations" [1014th meeting, para. 162].*

These are Mr. Lapin's words, not mine. He went on:

"It is clearly stated in the Charter that the United Nations may not intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. Thus, the efforts of some Powers to drag a discussion of the so-called question of Tibet into the General Assembly are nothing but interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter." [Ibid., paras. 162 and 163].*

153. The Malayan representative, in a moving reply, pleaded that peoples everywhere were entitled to their right to live in freedom, liberty and justice,

and I should like to quote his reply because I think it is worthy of consideration by all delegations. He stressed that:

"this right belongs to peoples everywhere, be these peoples subject to traditional colonialism or be they subject to suppression in any other form by any other Power.

"When we raise our voice against colonialism and the violation of human rights in Africa, we are not doing so simply because the victims are Africans and the oppressors are the Western colonial Powers, but basically because they are questions of the domination and suppression of man by man. If such oppression occurs elsewhere, it is the duty and obligation of the General Assembly to adopt a consistent attitude even if by so doing it will incur the displeasure of certain parties in the so-called cold war." [Ibid., paras. 177 and 178.]

154. Those are the words of the representative of Malaya, and I have quoted that passage because it conveys in words which I could not attempt to better the attitude of my delegation. We do not claim to be perfect, and although we think that there is much in our recent record of which we can be proud, we have been prepared to listen in this Organization to a great deal of criticism—some of it constructive, but some, I fear, malicious and ill-informed. We have co-operated in many ways and have even, as I have reminded the Assembly this morning, voluntarily proposed to submit political information on all our territories. All we ask is that the same keen scrutiny to which our actions are subjected should be applied also to the Soviet Empire, where the wind of freedom has yet to begin to blow.

155. It gives me no pleasure, no pleasure at all, to refer to the shortcomings of others, but when the record of my own country is so constantly vilified and abused by the Soviet bloc, when the representatives of that bloc consistently present a picture of my country's record which is a travesty of truth and an insult to the intelligence of other delegations here, then I am constrained to remind the Assembly of the record of those who seek to blacken our reputation in these matters. Self-determination is something to which white men have a right as well as others, and it would be very wrong if in this Assembly we failed to remember the plight of those who are denied freedom on the continent of Europe at least as much as anywhere else.

156. I want now, however, to turn back again for one moment—not to dwell on my own country's record; that is well known and can be vouched for from personal knowledge by many of the representatives at this Assembly. What I want to do now is to repeat the assurances that I and others representing the United Kingdom before me have given. We set ourselves a task many years ago to teach our own system of government to our dependent territories, to encourage them to believe, as we believe, in the freedom of the individual, and to bring them forward to exercise that freedom under conditions of responsibility and under conditions of self-government.

157. We started on this task long before the Soviet Union sought to interest itself in these matters. We have carried that task through to fruition, as I have reminded this Assembly, in the case of a large, impressive and evergrowing number of free nations, almost all of whom chose of their own free will to

*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

maintain that real though indefinable link with us which membership of the Commonwealth represents.

158. Others, as I have reminded you, are moving steadily forward in this same field; and we shall welcome them to full nationhood just as, I am confident, you, the members of the General Assembly, will welcome them in due course to membership in the United Nations.

159. Every one of these new developments is on record, and we can afford to treat with contempt the efforts of envious men who seek to belittle our achievements. I give the assurance that we shall not be deflected from our purpose but, on the contrary, we shall take heart from the fair-minded and sincere contributions from so many nations which have a genuine interest in this subject and are not merely activated by an attempt to treat this important and valuable subject as a mere exercise in the cold war.

160. This is something in which we believe deeply, and I have therefore taken perhaps more of the Assembly's time than I should today. But our country's record has been vilified too often, and it is only right that I should remind delegations here of what we have achieved in the past and what we are determined to continue to do in the future until we have brought all our dependent territories to the full fruition which free men everywhere desire.

161. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

162. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I should like to say a few words in connexion with the very ill-humoured speech made by the United Kingdom representative. We can understand his exasperation. Indeed, as man to man, it has to be said that at the present time it is no easy matter to be a representative of British colonialism. And although this colonialism is still "great", as the United Kingdom representative has stated, it is no easy matter to defend this colonial system.

163. With reference to the statement that the United Kingdom representative has more than once made about being proud of his country's colonial record, we shall give a detailed reply later to these declarations of pride and shall be able to quote quite a few facts which will show what this "pride" is worth and what a shameful business the whole history of British colonialism is.

164. The United Kingdom representative made insinuations about the Soviet Union's "colonial empire". It ill becomes a representative of the colonizers to engage in that sort of slander. Is it not clearly recognized by everyone that the Soviet Union is a voluntary association of socialist republics, stable, indestructible and welded together by the firm friendship, common solidarity and interests of its peoples? We realize, of course, your displeasure at seeing that these countries and these republics are strong, with stable governments enjoying the confidence of the people; that these governments are unanimously chosen at elections which, in the Soviet Union, are held on a really broad democratic basis. But what can we do, gentlemen? We have no option in these matters. And however much you may desire that the Soviet Union should totter, that does not materialize. The Soviet Union is durable, and the republics composing it work in harmonious collaboration.

165. Nor do you like the countries of the people's democracies; you do not like their governments; you think there ought to be different governments there. You support certain governments in your own countries, more especially in the United States. But what can we do about this?

166. Support those governments, finance them, if you want to. But a people has elected governments of another kind, and has confidence in these governments and in their representatives at the United Nations; they are authorized representatives of their own sovereign countries, and there is nothing to be done about it.

167. The practice of supporting governments-in-exile has never brought you success. For many years you supported even royalist governments, representatives of the Czarist Government, representatives of the Provisional Government. You supported Kerensky, and looked after him in his ripe old age; but what does it amount to? Did it really produce any effect in our country? These people are all forgotten; today no one ever mentions them.

168. You do not like the Warsaw Pact. Well, I must say that we do not like it either. We should be glad to give up the Warsaw Pact. You know that it was concluded after NATO was established. Had there been no NATO, had there been no military alliance between the Western Powers, there would have been no Warsaw Pact. Many a time we have suggested that NATO be liquidated or at least that an agreement be concluded between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Then, the situation would be different. But the Western Powers will not agree to that either. They created the NATO military alliance, they created other military blocs and alliances. Yet when, in reply, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries concluded the Warsaw Pact, they did not like it. Whatever do you want? Do you want us to forgo all armed defence or, as happened in 1918 and 1919, to open our frontiers and say: Come on, gentlemen, and intervene in our country? No, you cannot count on that. To all military measures the Soviet Union will, of course, react with its own military measures. And these military measures strengthen our country's might, to the joy and happiness of all its workers.

169. As for military bases, you know full well that the Soviet Union has no military bases on foreign territory. It has liquidated them entirely. And it would be a very good thing if you would follow its example.

170. I should like, in conclusion, to say that no success will attend any attempts to divert the General Assembly from the colonial question, from a discussion of the colonial Powers' responsibility for colonial wars, for terrorism, for arbitrary police action and for the non-implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Such attempts were made last year, at the previous session. A speech was made here by one representative whom the Head of our Government called, as you may remember, a lackey, when he tried to attack "Soviet colonialism". Now, however, speeches have been made not only by representatives of such countries as that but even by representatives of the bosses themselves. That, of course, is their affair; they can, so to speak, repeat the lackeys' unhappy efforts, but it will bring them no success.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.