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CONTENTS

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 (<i>continued</i>)	747
Assistance to Africa (<i>continued</i>):	
(a) A United Nations programme for independence	

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

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

1. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): Needless to say, the present session of the General Assembly is characterized by the fact that it embraces a great number of problems, challenges and anxieties. Our world community can hardly find problems of such magnitude in its long history of international relationships; and one cannot but express dismay and disappointment, coupled with alarm and apprehension, for the present unsolved problems which are the legacy of colonialism wherever it has existed.

2. Tensions between the two camps of the cold war, their different alliances and their rivalry, are now to a certain degree freezing important colonial problems in various regions and are thus causing much unrest in all those areas. Small States would like to see this cold war come to an end, because its continuation serves no purpose and contributes nothing to the general welfare of the human race. The present world tension causes much pressure, and this pressure of circumstances may lead to a miscalculation or a mistake which may, in turn, lead to dangerous consequences.

3. The world has become smaller, on account of two factors—improved means of communication and transport on the one hand and the spread of enlightenment, ideals and advanced principles on the other. The mind which discovered the secrets of atomic energy and invaded outer space should concentrate on its creative capacity, trust, confidence and ingenuity. With international co-operation, in a world of inter-dependence, this Organization can work effectively and can produce wonders, can be strengthened and can become competent to put an end to colonialism and exploitation.

4. With this new spirit we can have adequate, proper and complete implementation of last session's reso-

lution [1514 (XV)] on colonialism. And with such implementation we can have the heroes of Algeria celebrating the admission of their independent State to the United Nations. Through this spirit, we can have Oman and other new Members joining the family of nations. These and other problems concern every one of us.

5. We small Powers have our responsibilities in this shrunken world. We are in duty bound not to stand indifferent. It is our duty to take all steps necessary to prevent further deterioration of the world situation, because the continued colonialism and oppression in many parts of the world contributes to the further deterioration of the world situation and increases the burden of those wishing our present world to be a better place to live in.

6. There are many areas which continue to be the seat of divide-and-rule policies, in utter disregard of the right of self-determination. Jordan has always been a firm believer in the right of self-determination. We have never failed to uphold this principle. We have worked with many other friends to defend this God-given right. Today many of those peoples, who were struggling for independence, are with us equal Members of this Organization. The other day we welcomed the admission of new Members to our Organization and extended to their Governments and peoples our warmest congratulations. When the Charter of the United Nations was framed and the Organization was created, the number of Members of this world body was fifty-one. Today, thanks to the liberation movements and to the promotion of those basic human rights in the United Nations, we have over a hundred Members. Unfortunately, however, many others are not yet with us, although their membership is long overdue. Two of those peoples are the people of Palestine and the people of Algeria.

7. For a long time the people of Palestine have been struggling to acquire their proper place in the family of nations. But expediency and power politics compelled this very Organization to betray—and I emphasize the word "betray"—a basic principle embodied in its very Charter, the principle of self-determination. It partitioned Palestine against the will of the majority of its people. This was in 1947, at a time when the big Powers were able to put on pressure and get the required majority. The present new Members were not with us, to witness how at that time both the Eastern and Western Power blocs could not fail to demonstrate their ability to deprive the Arabs of Palestine of their God-given right to live in their own home protected by the very principle consecrated in the United Nations Charter. The big Powers make no reference to this form of colonialism, simply because it serves their aggressive designs. Their attitude, and their unique silence, is most significant. It is a healthy thing for every big Power to ponder the behaviour and complete silence of the others on a problem of grave importance.

8. Luckily, the United Nations today is no more the exclusive club of the big Powers. Today the picture has changed. Thanks to the States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, none of the big Powers can stop the adoption of any decision calling for an implementation of the right of self-determination, simply today because small Powers have their say.

9. No attempt to solve the problem of Palestine will ever succeed unless it goes to the colonial roots of the problem. Piecemeal solutions are completely unacceptable. We shall reject them, our people will reject them; our children will reject them. Injustice was never part of our values, and we will never permit it to be practised on us. Unless this colonial invasion is dealt with and the full rights of the Arabs of Palestine are restored, the Middle East will continue to be an arena of instability and conflicts.

10. Our problem is not a refugee problem; it is a political problem. It is a colonial issue; it involves a question of home and homeland. This should be the starting point in the thinking of all those who are entrusted with the task of solving the problem. This is the will and determination of the people of Palestine. And with the people of Palestine stands the whole Arab family of nations. The Arab Governments cannot but respond to the legitimate wishes of those peoples. Otherwise they risk their very existence.

11. In The New York Times of 7 November 1961 we read that:

"The Knesset (Parliament) voted overwhelming approval ... of the Government's stand that Arab refugees who fled should not be repatriated to the territory, which has since become the state of Israel."

It approved

"the Premier's stand that the only solution of the problem of the refugees is to resettle them in Arab countries ...".

12. And we also read that in the same motion, the Knesset gave its approval to a statement by Mr. Ben-Gurion in which he rejected a proposal offered in the United Nations to give the refugees the choice between repatriation or resettlement.

13. It was only the other day that the Conciliation Commission for Palestine appointed Dr. Johnson to study ways and means of implementing the United Nations resolution [194 (IV)] calling for the repatriation or compensation of the refugees. The present Zionist attitude explains clearly that no peaceful solution can be foreseen. To us, this attitude is understandable because peace does not work in the interest of the Zionist State. It was only through world tension and wars that Zionism achieved its aims. History shows that as a result of the First World War a promise of a "homeland" was given to Zionism in the Balfour Declaration; as a result of the Second World War a promise of a "Jewish State" was given to Zionism; and very recently, as a result of the Algerian-French war, the Hungarian-Soviet conflict and British-Egyptian conflict, Zionism tried to gain further support for further Zionist expansion in the Gaza area and the Sinai Peninsula. Thus, all the gains of Zionism have been the results of major wars and acts of aggression, and it is this colonial-Zionist movement which poses a challenge in the Arab homeland today.

14. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people has indeed inspired many liberation movements. The war in Algeria has entered its eighth year. The whole world has recognized the right of Algeria to independence. We hope that France will realize that the nineteenth-century spirit of colonialism, domination and exploitation is gone and that the French must accept the realities of the situation before the fire reaches the very heart of France. We shall have more to say on this when the specific item on the question of Algeria comes before the Assembly for discussion.

15. The question of Oman is another colonial question. It stems from the same Arab aspirations inspired by the Arab awakening. Arabs will continue to work for the natural and adequate settlement of this colonial issue, and until a settlement is reached the struggle will have to go on.

16. The sovereignty of Morocco over all its territory is a legitimate right. Certain parts of Morocco continue to be subjected to different forms of foreign domination and exploitation. We are confident that Morocco will achieve the complete unity of its territory.

17. This likewise applies to Tunisia. The continued occupation by force of Bizerta violates the sovereignty of Tunisia. The General Assembly and the Security Council have recognized the right of Tunisia to achieve the evacuation of French armed forces from all its territory, but France continues to defy the General Assembly resolution [1622 (S-III)]. The matter should come to this body for further measures.

18. I now turn to the question of West Irian. We have carefully considered this question and it appears to us, from the historical background and from the relevant documents, that West Irian is one of the twenty-three provinces of Indonesia and is, therefore, an integral part of the Indonesian homeland. We have no reason to doubt that the national movement for independence from the Netherlands aimed at attaining the sovereignty of the whole area of what used to be called the Dutch East Indies. This fact was admitted by the Netherlands in many documents. One of them is the last report^{1/} submitted to the United Nations, which was quoted by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia the other day [1057th meeting] and which I need not repeat.

19. Nothing could be more precise, definite and clear than that West Irian was always treated as part and parcel of the national territory which became the independent State of Indonesia. There is no dispute over the fact that the exercise of sovereignty over Indonesia was transferred to it completely and unconditionally in 1949; nor is it denied that it was agreed that the political status of West Irian, within Indonesia, would be negotiated within one year of the independence agreement of 1949—and at that time there was no question that the Dutch considered this province as part of Indonesia.

20. After its well-known history of colonial rule in West Irian, after granting Indonesia its hard-won sovereignty, after attempting and failing formally to annex the Indonesian province of West Irian, the Netherlands, in a draft resolution [A/L.354], have brought the question, its most embarrassing problem,

^{1/} See Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analyses of Information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1948 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 49.VLB.1) p. 141.

to the United Nations, using all the current language of "suppression", "ethnic group sovereignty", "self-determination", and the like, to cover its real desire: which is that, if it cannot openly annex West Irian, it would like that Territory to be independent of Indonesia so that it can "educate" the people there to its way of thinking and eventually maintain a puppet régime in fact, if not in name.

21. No such arguments and no amount of emotionally-charged phrases can change the fact that West Irian is an integral part of Indonesia. We shall have more to say on this matter when we speak on the draft resolutions.

22. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to state that it has sponsored another draft resolution [A/L.366 and Add.1-3], which contains adequate measures leading to the speedy implementation of the objectives and principles embodied in the Declaration adopted by this Assembly last year in resolution 1514 (XV). We stand for the complete liberation and independence of all peoples in all lands and we are confident that those who are now struggling for independence will soon be with us as equal Members of the United Nations.

23. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The examination of the question of the liquidation of colonialism, undertaken on the Soviet Union's initiative^{2/} at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] adopted as the outline of the discussion on 14 December 1960, constitute a major success for the anti-colonialist forces and will mark an epoch in the annals of the United Nations. Colonialism, that relic which puts our human society to shame, is indeed one of the most distressing problems of our times. Not only is it a most brutal and most shameless denial of elementary human rights, which flouts the generally accepted rules of international law and the lofty principles set forth in the Chapter of the United Nations; not only does it represent, in a ferocious form, the exploitation of man by his neighbour, the most barbarous subjugation of one nation by another and of the weaker by the stronger; it is at the same time an intolerable obstacle to the political, economic and cultural development of peoples, and consequently a crime against mankind and human civilization.

24. Age-long experience has shown that colonialism has been and continues to be a source of terrible wars against peoples fighting for the recognition of their inalienable rights, for freedom and independence; it is also a source of continuous threats to international peace and security.

25. Everyone—except the colonialists—appreciated the value and historical significance of the Declaration. All freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples warmly welcomed this decision by the General Assembly, and in particular a spark of legitimate hope was kindled in the hearts of the subjugated peoples struggling to cast off the chains of colonialism; for they took it that, under the pressure of the position taken on the one hand by the United Nations and on the other hand by the peaceful States and peoples, and above all under the direct blows meted out in the struggle for national liberation in the various colonies,

the colonialists—despite their nature, and despite their policy based entirely on the domination and exploitation of peoples—would find themselves obliged to comply with the Declaration and to take the necessary measures to implement it.

26. Have the ardent hopes and wishes of the peoples been fulfilled? Have the colonial Powers acted on their obligation, as Members of the United Nations, to implement the provisions of the Declaration, provisions which are consistent with purposes and principles of the Charter? Unfortunately this is by no means the case.

27. The fact is that the colonial Powers have endeavoured, just as in the past and indeed more strenuously, to maintain and strengthen the colonial system where necessary in new forms, and by every means at their disposal including armed force—in the territories under their administration.

28. As other representatives have already pointed out during this discussion, approximately a year has already passed since the Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly, yet so far only a single country, namely Sierra Leone, a former British colony, has attained independence—in April 1961—and, to our great pleasure, been admitted—just lately—to membership in the United Nations. In addition Tanganyika and Western Samoa are soon to become independent. Such a state of affairs is undoubtedly most unsatisfactory and by no means in keeping with the express requirement of the Declaration that immediate steps should be taken to enable the Trust Territories and other Non-Self-Governing Territories to enjoy complete independence and freedom. At the end of 1961, eighty-eight territories with a total population of more than 70 million will still be in colonial bondage.

29. In the face of such a situation, it is the duty of the United Nations to take appropriate measures to put the Declaration of 14 December 1960 into effect without delay. The value of this Declaration lies in its declared aim—namely, the liberation of the colonial countries and peoples and the attainment of their independence—and it will grow in historical importance proportionately as it contributes to the achievement of that aim.

30. A glance at the provisions of the Declaration and the measures it prescribes will show us how matters stand with respect to its application. Let us examine in particular operative paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of this resolution. Under these paragraphs, the colonial Powers were required to take "immediate steps", in the Trust Territories and other Non-Self-Governing Territories, "to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations . . . in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom". It was expressly stated that:

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

31. It is further provided that:

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

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4501.

32. In order to put a stop to the traditional pretexts and well-known 'delaying tactics of the imperialists and colonialists, who never release their prey of their own free will, operative paragraph 3 expressly provides that:

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

33. What attitude have the colonial Powers in fact taken towards these objective and unequivocal provisions of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly?

34. Several of the representatives who have preceded me to this rostrum have cited irrefutable facts to prove that those Powers have trampled the Declaration underfoot. Not only have they failed to act on its provisions, but they have redoubled their efforts to hang on, by every possible means, to the territories under their domination.

35. The whole world is aware of Portugal's cruel war against the heroic people of Angola, who are fighting for freedom. Figures have been quoted here. According to the most conservative estimates, more than 50,000 Angolans have been killed in the first four months of this bloody conflict alone. Some 20,000 Portuguese soldiers, equipped with the armaments of the aggressive NATO bloc, are pursuing the war of extermination in that African country. Aircraft are the principal weapon used, and the Portuguese aggressors do not hesitate to use napalm bombs even against the civilian population. The atrocities and wholesale massacres have reached such a pitch that this butchery has been rightly described as genocide and, as the representative of Guinea has told us [1058th meeting], the peoples of Africa have branded the Portuguese colonialists as war criminals.

36. The reign of terror and oppression systematically imposed by the Salazar Government is also raging in the other Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Goa.

37. For an insight into the Salazar Government's attitude to the General Assembly resolution, and its conception of the peoples under its domination, it is sufficient to quote the terms in which its Minister for Defence addressed the Portuguese soldiers as they left for Angola this summer: "You are going to fight, not against human beings," he told them, "but against savages and wild animals." This, of course, speaks for itself. But one cannot help wondering how these words used by the Portuguese Defence Minister, who does not regard Africans as human beings, can be reconciled with the Portuguese Government's claim that it treats the African peoples as though they were Portuguese, with equal rights.

38. The case of Algeria affords another example of the chain of calamity, massacre and devastation visited on the peoples by the colonial system, the shame of the twentieth century; it also shows to what extent the colonial Powers are taking account of the General Assembly resolution. The French colonialists are clinging to their policy of colonial domination. They are waging a criminal war against the martyred Algerian people, who have now been fighting for seven years and sparing no sacrifice in order to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to recover the independence they lost over a century ago, when the French imperialists overran the country by force of arms. Each succeeding day adds to the losses in human

life and to the damage done. We shall have an opportunity to examine the Algerian question in detail when we discuss the relevant item on the agenda of the Assembly's sixteenth session; but we wish to stress here and now that the Algerian problem will never be settled by force of arms, for no force can overcome the unshakable will of the Algerian people to fight to the death for their freedom and independence. The only solution is for the French Government to comply strictly with the Declaration, to recognize the Algerian people's right to independence, and to abandon all plans for dismembering Algeria and wresting from it some parts of its territory which are richest in natural resources, including the Algerian Sahara.

39. The United Kingdom, the world's principal colonial Power, completely ignores the Declaration and continues, as in the past, to resort to all possible means of keeping tens of millions of people under the colonial yoke. The British colonialists continue to repress the liberation movement among the subjugated peoples. They trample underfoot the legitimate rights of the peoples of Rhodesia. They slaughter those who are fighting for freedom in Nyasaland, Kenya, the Arabian peninsula and other territories. In the area from Aden to Oman, they are waging a war of destruction and devastation in which aerial bombardment is prominently featured, bringing open towns and defenceless villages down in ruins. For five years now the United Kingdom has been pursuing this criminal war against the heroic people of Oman.

40. The present situation in the Congo and the tragic events that have taken place there provide us with a striking example of the consequences of colonialism, of the intrigues of all kinds and of the acts, including the use of armed force, to which the colonialist Powers resort in order to preserve their stranglehold on the countries that are becoming independent. The situation in the Congo is made up of the Congolese people's struggle to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of the country on the one hand, and the inter-related interests of the Belgian, American, British and other colonialists on the other. Relying on such puppets as Tshombé and his ilk, the imperialists are doing everything in their power to avoid giving up the country and, in particular, to wrest from it the province of Katanga, which is known throughout the world for its vast wealth.

41. Similarly the Belgian Government, pursuing its colonialist policy in Ruanda-Urundi, is doing its utmost, resorting to the most criminal measures, in order to prevent the people of that territory from attaining independence in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly.

42. As to South Africa, everyone knows that, in addition to its systematic violation of the Declaration of 14 December 1960, the Government of that country has always rejected the numerous appeals and resolutions in which the United Nations has asked it to put an end to the policy of apartheid and of racial discrimination and to recognize the right of the people of South West Africa to freedom and independence. The situation in South Africa is dreadful and intolerable; South West Africa is beset by persecution and terror.

43. As regards West Irian, we are confronted with new tactics by the Netherlands. That colonialist Power has laid before the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/L.354] behind which it hopes to hide its

well-known designs. The proposal made in that document shows clearly that the Netherlands Government has not yet abandoned its colonialist policy towards West Irian, and that its sole aim is to perpetuate the colonial régime there, if necessary in a new form. In a sense, the manoeuvre is an interesting one, for it shows us the lengths to which the colonial Powers can go in evading the resolutions of the United Nations; it shows us how, in a given case, the Netherlands Government is using the General Assembly Declaration on the suppression of colonialism for the very purpose of maintaining that system of enslavement.

44. Of course, no one has any illusions about the motives behind such tactics. West Irian is an integral part of Indonesia just as, for instance, Katanga is part of the Congo. In both cases there is a flagrant attempt by the imperialists to dismember countries which have become independent, and to deprive them of their richest provinces in order to perpetuate the system of colonial exploitation there. The Netherlands draft resolution stands in bold contradiction with the Declaration in whose name it is submitted, and whose operative paragraph 6, in particular, it would violate. The only valid solution to the problem of West Irian consists in uniting it with the motherland, and the question must be settled through negotiation between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

45. When the United Nations examines the burning problem of eliminating colonialism, and strives for an objective definition of the colonial Powers' position on that problem, in order to determine exactly how matters stand and to see what measures are needed to rectify the existing situation and to end the régime of colonial domination once and for all, it cannot but recognize that it is extremely important to put the United States of America first among the imperialist Powers responsible for maintaining colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

46. Despite the efforts of its representatives to make us believe the opposite, is not the United States of America in fact the main bastion of present-day colonialism, and consequently the most resolute and dangerous adversary of the movement of national liberation which is rising against colonialism? It is no secret that, without the United States, the other colonialist Powers would have been unable to withstand the powerful movement of the peoples toward independence, and that colonial domination would have disappeared from the world scene long ago.

47. Who is unaware that the Portuguese, Belgian, British, French, Spanish and other colonialists support their colonies and wage colonial wars thanks to the assistance given them by the United States either directly, or in the form of military aid, or through the aggressive NATO bloc which the United States leads? It seems unnecessary to remind you—for it is common knowledge—that United States arms are being used to equip the armies of the colonialist Powers that are waging bloody wars in Angola, Algeria, Aden, Oman and wherever the peoples' blood is being shed in their struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke. Are not the bombs dropped on Angola, Algeria, Bizerta and elsewhere, and the aeroplanes used in these bombardments, known to be of United States manufacture?

48. The United States is thus implicated in the tragedy of the colonial wars now being waged by the other colonial Powers and in the maintenance of this

abhorrent system of exploiting peoples, a system in which the United States monopolies are co-partners and from which they draw enormous profits. The United States is itself a colonialist Power, despite the efforts it makes to mislead public opinion on that score. As a colonialist Power, not only has it done nothing to apply the Declaration to its own colonies, such as Puerto Rico and the numerous Pacific Islands; on the contrary, adopting new forms of oppression, it is striving to extend its colonial rule to other territories.

49. It is characteristic that the imperialists, compelled by the existing balance of power in the world, and under direct pressure from the struggle of the subjugated peoples, to renounce colonialism in the outmoded and unmasked form which has been whimsically termed traditional, are now seeking to hedge about with agreements of all kinds the territories from which they have to withdraw; in other words, they are attempting to replace colonialism by a neo-colonialism which will secure the continuance of their colonial exploitation and which at the same time, they think, stands a chance of deceiving the exploited peoples. The United States and West German imperialists are particularly active in that connexion. New-colonialism, as a dangerous new form of exploitation, must be condemned and castigated in the same way as colonialism.

50. One method by which the imperialist Powers secure their dominion over other peoples and promote their war plans is that of concluding military assistance agreements with newly independent countries and establishing military bases in their territory. Recent events have adequately demonstrated the danger created by military bases in foreign territory. Such bases represent a constant threat to the security and independence of the countries in whose territory they are set up; they are used against the peoples' liberation movement; and at the same time they constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

51. The powerful movement by the peoples to free themselves from colonial slavery and consolidate their national independence has gathered momentum at an unprecedented rate in recent years. The present membership of the United Nations, and the active and positive part taken in our discussions by the representatives of the newly independent countries, testify to the successes already achieved by the peoples and to the importance and scope of the transformation through which human society is passing.

52. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, the peoples are fighting resolutely against imperialism and colonialism, against the colonialist system old and new. All the peoples of the world are profoundly in sympathy with them and firmly support those who are fighting for freedom in Angola, Algeria, the Congo, Cuba, Indonesia, Tunisia, Oman, French Somaliland and any other dependent territory. The liquidation of colonialism, its total elimination from human society, is inescapable despite the desperate efforts of imperialism to maintain this slave system. That is the irreversible course of the history of human society.

53. But one of the supreme tasks of the United Nations is to make an effective contribution, in accordance with the lofty principles proclaimed in the Charter, to this general movement by the peoples towards freedom, towards prompt and final deliverance from the colonialist yoke. This contribution can

be made only through the adoption and implementation of specific measures. If the General Assembly Declaration of 14 December 1960 is to keep its full value, it must be advanced further into the phase of practical measures, and must be translated into action.

54. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation [A/L.355] meets this purpose fully. It is necessary, in particular, to put a stop to all the delaying tactics of the colonialist Powers and to set a time for the total elimination of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. We would point out that the setting of a time-limit of one year in no way implies that the colonialist Powers must wait for this time-limit to expire before liberating the peoples and countries still under their rule. We are against giving the colonialist system any reprieve which would merely prolong the sufferings of the subjugated peoples. The colonial Powers must allow all the enslaved peoples to become independent immediately; the one-year time-limit is only a maximum, as the words "not later than" in operative paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution clearly indicate. We accordingly consider that the one-year time-limit will benefit the dependent peoples and impede the delaying tactics of the colonialist Powers.

55. Moreover the establishment of a special Commission, as proposed in the same document, is an essential measure. The Commission will be the responsible body that will give substance to the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism.

56. The Albanian Government has always supported the peoples' struggle for national liberation. This position is in accord with the profound aspirations of our people and with the fundamental principles of our socialist State. My delegation welcomed the fresh initiative taken by the Soviet Union to secure consideration, at the present session of the Assembly, for the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the elimination of colonialism.

57. We wholeheartedly support the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, and are convinced that the General Assembly will adopt the decisive measures needed to carry out the historic Declaration of 14 December 1960 and thus, without further delay, to put an end once and for all to the hated system of colonialism and its dire consequences.

Mr. Schurmann (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

58. Dato' KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): Last year the fifteenth session of the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority an Asian-African sponsored draft resolution, which became resolution 1514 (XV), on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The delegation of the Federation of Malaya had the honour of being one of the sponsors of that resolution, and during the General Assembly debate had the occasion to state in clear terms its general views on the problem of decolonization.

59. My delegation continues to maintain its unshakable stand for the speedy and orderly abolition of colonialism and all forms of subjugation and tutelage, and, in making this intervention in the debate on this matter at the present session, would like at the very outset to renew its pledge of support for the early attainment of this objective.

60. Colonialism in all its forms and guises is contrary to the basic law of human justice as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, which is respect for fundamental human rights, for the dignity and worth of the human person, for the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. On the basis of this consideration alone, colonialism is an immoral institution which must be speedily removed and totally eliminated.

61. But more than this: colonialism is an impediment to the attainment of one of the basic purposes of the Charter—namely, the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. It is also a constant source of friction between peoples and nations and, as such, its stubborn resistance to the passionate yearning of subject peoples for freedom and independence constitutes a potential threat to the harmony of international relations and to world peace. Thus, in the view of my delegation, the recognition by the Charter of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination is not merely an expression of a noble and lofty ideal. Rather it is an acknowledgment of a basic reality, which is that a lasting and durable peace in the world cannot be secured otherwise than within the framework of freedom and equality for all peoples and nations. Colonialism in all its forms and guises is thus an anachronism of our day which must be removed as a matter of urgency.

62. My delegation therefore views the problem of decolonization as falling within the context of the over-all United Nations objective of securing a durable and lasting world order founded on the basic law of human justice in accordance with which all peoples and nations are entitled to freedom and equality and to the right to determine their own destiny and way of life.

63. The historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples represents, in the view of my delegation, more than any other resolution, a significant landmark in the progress of the United Nations towards achieving this objective of a peaceful world order based on respect for the freedom and equality of all peoples. The very adoption of the Declaration itself reflects changed circumstances on the world scene. The Declaration would not have been thought out or adopted by the General Assembly had it not been for the tremendous progress already made in the process of decolonization in the last two decades, as evidenced by the presence among the Members of the United Nations of so many countries which only a few years ago were subject to Western colonial tutelage.

64. It was largely the laborious efforts of these newly independent countries, of which my country is one, motivated by their genuine and sincere desire to bring a speedy and orderly end to the institution and practice of colonialism, the evils of which they and they alone are in a position to speak about with authority and conviction, that led to the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV).

65. The admission of so many new Member States to the United Nations during the last two years is indeed a manifestation of the irreversible course of history in the direction of freedom and emancipation from foreign domination. While, no doubt, the process of history that was to usher in this new world order of equal and independent States had taken shape in the first half of this century, or even earlier, it must

be said of the United Nations that the pronouncements in the Charter on the equal rights of men and women and the dignity of the human person must have constituted a source of inspiration and confidence to the millions of subject peoples the world over encouraging them to step up their struggle for liberation. Furthermore, the Charter has made the promotion of the welfare and well-being of subject peoples a matter of international concern, and in this connexion has placed specific obligations upon those Member States possessing colonies to take steps to prepare their subject peoples for a position of responsibility for self-government.

66. The fact remains, however, that neither the Charter nor the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), has created a historical process. Rather their aim is to assist and accelerate, in an orderly fashion and having in mind the importance of a peaceful transformation, the historical process already set in motion by the irrepressible urge of subject peoples for emancipation from bondage and for freedom and liberty. Since the process of decolonization has thus been placed on an organized basis and under the constant review and scrutiny of the United Nations and world public opinion, it is to be hoped that the complete transformation of the old world order into a new era of free and equal sovereign States can be achieved with the minimum of friction and violence and under conditions in which the new independent States will be sufficiently prepared to assume the full responsibility of maintaining their sovereignty and national and territorial integrity.

67. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation would examine the question of the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which is the subject of our debate today. We are satisfied that the terms of the resolution are wholly in accord with the general approach of my delegation to the problem of decolonization. The resolution does not seek to condemn the colonial Powers, for condemnation, however justified in some cases, does not serve the interest of the colonial peoples, nor does it serve the cause of peaceful and orderly transformation. But—and rightly so—the resolution focusses attention on the evils and dangers inherent in the institution and practice of colonialism. It brings to light the anachronism of colonialism in the present-day world, in which the ideals of liberty and equality have become an irresistible and ever-powerful driving force of the course of history. And it points out that the continuation of colonial domination is not only opposed to the Charter of the United Nations, but constitutes an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

68. On the more practical aspects, the draft resolution calls for the ending of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and it enjoins the authorities concerned to take immediate steps in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples concerned. Consistent, however, with the need for orderly transition and for the handover of power in the most auspicious circumstances possible, it is the considered opinion of my delegation that the Declaration does not envisage that all powers shall be transferred immediately and forthwith. What is called for is the taking of immediate steps necessary for the final transfer

of power. All too often colonial Powers have delayed independence on the fabricated grounds of unpreparedness on the part of the subject peoples, while nothing is done towards this preparation, if indeed the peoples concerned are as yet unprepared. Thus alleged inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness has all too often been used as a pretext for delaying independence. This is a deplorable attitude on the part of the colonial Powers, and one which is directly opposed to their obligations under the Charter to prepare their subject peoples for the full assumption of responsibility for independence in the shortest possible time. My delegation deems it most essential that all Administering Authorities of dependent territories carry out faithfully their obligations under the Charter and in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), so that the neglect of their responsibilities will not be the lamentable cause of indefinite delays for the fulfilment of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence. The unhappy consequences of such neglect have been so familiar to us all in the past year that it is not really necessary for me to use the valuable time of the Assembly in discussing them at any length at this juncture.

69. On the question of preparation, which in our view is the meat of the decolonization problem, my delegation takes note with some satisfaction of the assurances given by some colonial Powers of their undertaking to prepare their colonial peoples and territories for the exercise of full sovereignty without undue delay. It is only within this framework of the sensible and sympathetic handling of the decolonization problem that it will be possible to attain a cordial and harmonious transfer of power which, instead of abruptly breaking the ties between the colonial Power and its dependent peoples in hate and vengeance, would open a new vista of happy relations and co-operation between them as equal partners in the world community of sovereign nations. The truth of this has been proven in many cases during the past two decades. The Commonwealth of Nations which grew out of the British Empire is a good example.

70. This Commonwealth is a growing and living community. It grows as the British Empire shrinks. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Sierra Leone has achieved its independence and is now a Commonwealth member. Another British administered territory in Africa, Tanganyika, is scheduled for independence on 9 December 1961—only a few days from now—and it can be hoped that the United Nations will again welcome a new Member during this session. The representative of the United Kingdom has told the Assembly of the agreement reached on the final stages of Uganda's constitutional advance and that this Territory is scheduled for independence in October of next year. We have also been told by the representative of the United Kingdom of the constitutional progress that has been made in Kenya, Zanzibar, Gambia, Nyasaland, as well as in British Guiana, the West Indies and other territories. We are satisfied with the assurances of the United Kingdom that it will undertake further preparations in these dependent territories for the early assumption by the peoples concerned of full sovereignty.

71. In certain other areas, however, some colonial Powers continue to resist and repress the yearning of their subject peoples to be free. Various measures are resorted to, including the use of force, to deny

these peoples their right of self-determination and independence. This is a matter of grave concern to my delegation. Such an obstinacy on the part of the colonial Powers will inevitably lead to further violence and international frictions and threaten world harmony and peace. My delegation would strongly urge these Powers, in the interest of the world community and in their own, to take full cognizance of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence, and accordingly take the necessary steps to facilitate the early fulfilment of these aspirations. Only in this way can the danger of hate and violence be averted and independence achieved in a friendly and harmonious atmosphere.

72. My delegation has not hesitated to stress the need for adequate preparations. I must make it amply clear, however, that it is not our wish that independence be delayed. Nor is it our intention, as I have stated earlier, to tolerate the delaying of independence on the pretext of inadequacy of preparedness. I am stressing the need for preparation because this apparently has become a controversial issue. There are some delegations here who have demanded the immediate liquidation of colonialism. In this regard the Soviet delegation, for instance, has submitted a draft resolution [A/L.355] in which the Assembly:

"Declares that the final and unconditional liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations must be implemented not later than the end of 1962".

73. Representing a country which for nearly a century had been under the yoke of foreign domination and which only four years ago recovered its independence, my delegation can honestly say that it yields to none in wishing for the speedy abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. But we wish to approach the problem in a more serious and realistic manner. We are not against target dates as such, but any unrealistic and unreasonably early target date, such as that proposed by the Soviet draft resolution, to be applied to all—I say, all—dependent territories, without regard to the level of advancement and degree of preparation in the respective territories, is fraught with dangers. A number of territories are indeed ready for independence even before the end of 1962, but many others may require more time. If independence is granted to all territories not yet independent by the end of 1962 or 1963 or 1964, without a thorough prior examination of the particular circumstances obtaining in each individual territory, my delegation fears that not a few of these territories will be exposed to various difficulties and dangers which might even jeopardize their newly won independence and sovereignty.

74. Target dates may be acceptable, but only if they are fixed exclusively for one particular territory or group of territories with a common background and problem, and after a thorough examination of the special circumstances obtaining there, having due regard to the need for preparations and the wishes of the people concerned. The necessity for preparation is nowhere better stressed than in the Nigerian draft resolution [A/L.357] which, while proclaiming that all colonial, dependent and Non-Self-Governing Territories and peoples in Africa shall attain independence by, before, and not later than 1 December 1970, proclaims that immediate and urgent steps should be taken in these territories to prepare, and I repeat, to prepare the peoples of those territories for the

complete management of their affairs between now and 1970.

75. Preparation is a central factor of extreme importance in the proper and orderly process of decolonization. Equally important is the thorough examination of the circumstances prevailing in each territory and of the special needs in regard to preparation, in order that specific lines of action as well as time-tables for the various stages of constitutional development, including independence itself, may be recommended regarding each individual territory.

76. The idea of a special committee, which is contained in the thirty-seven Power draft resolution [A/L.366 and Add.1-3] is a sound one in the view of my delegation, and is exactly the machinery required to undertake the task of examination and recommendation that I outlined a while earlier. My delegation is therefore extremely happy to associate itself fully with the draft resolution and to sponsor it together with thirty-six other Asian-African delegations. The proposal contained in that draft resolution is a step in the right direction and I have no doubt that it will meet with approval of the Assembly.

77. In conclusion, I would like to say a few words on the draft resolution [A/L.354] submitted by the Netherlands delegation, concerning the question of West Irian or West New Guinea. My delegation has carefully listened to the statements made by both the Netherlands and the Indonesian delegations and has pondered over these statements in the light of our knowledge of the facts about the problem. It is a matter for deep regret as well as concern that this problem has continued to persist and has torn apart the two countries concerned, both of which have friendly ties with the Federation of Malaya. Being an immediate and friendly neighbour of Indonesia, the Federation of Malaya is naturally anxious to see an early settlement of this problem. We are anxious in the true sense of the word, because the continuation of the problem not only impedes the restoration of relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia, but more than that, it means the continued threat of armed conflict in the area, a conflict which might pose a serious threat to peace in South East Asia as well as in the whole world. My delegation therefore views the West Irian question as an urgent problem which requires a speedy solution.

78. After examining all the facts relating to this question and the statements made in this Assembly, my delegation is fully convinced that attempts at the solution of this problem will be neither realistic nor fruitful unless they are made in full recognition of the fact that the West Irian question is a source of dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia, and that the solution must entail an agreement between the two countries concerned. This Assembly cannot impose a solution which, while favoured by one side, is categorically opposed by the other. In his statements to the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of Indonesia strongly opposed the line of action proposed by the Netherlands Government in the draft resolution. In view of this, my delegation does not see how this draft resolution, even if it is adopted by the Assembly, can solve the problem. If anything, it would only worsen the situation and would render even more difficult the attainment of a true and mutually acceptable solution. Such a solution is urgently required and, in our view, can be obtained

only through willing and earnest negotiations between the parties concerned. The position of my delegation on the Netherlands draft resolution will be governed by the considerations which I have just outlined.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

79. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The Republic of Cuba, with its 114,500 square kilometres and a population of 6,600,000, has had experiences which are relevant to the topic of our discussion. There, scarcely sixty-three years ago, the last stronghold in this hemisphere of the once-powerful Spanish colonial empire was wiped out. There, on 1 January 1959, with the triumph of our revolution, the North American imperialist colossus suffered a major reverse.

80. In other words, Cuba witnessed the death struggle of one powerful empire, and Cuba has set in motion the process of the decline of another. It was in our country that the colonialism of the old European Powers was defeated, and there too the North American neo-colonialism which succeeded it met with defeat. All this has happened in sixty-three years of history, during which the heroic bravery of our people has inflicted crushing defeats on two powerful empires.

81. Four centuries of Spanish colonialist rule and eighty years of struggle to overthrow it, sixty-one years of Yankee neo-colonialist rule and sixty-one years of struggle against it, have given our people the motivation and the determination which enabled them to triumph on 1 January 1959 and 19 April 1961 and which will enable them victoriously to repeat those glorious actions whenever the tentacles of North American colonialist imperialism threaten the independence of our country.

82. The struggles of peoples for their independence have always been heroic, and they will have our sympathy and the support of our people wherever they occur. In paragraph 7 of the Declaration of Havana, the National General Assembly of the people of Cuba proclaimed, and I quote:

"The duty of oppressed and exploited nations to fight for their liberation; the duty of every people to support all those peoples who are the victims of oppression, colonization, exploitation or aggression, in whatever part of the world they may be and whatever the geographical distance separating them. All the peoples of the world are brothers!"

Paragraph 6 of the same Declaration reads as follows:

"The National General Assembly of the people of Cuba, in short, condemns the exploitation of man by man and the exploitation of the under-developed countries by imperialist financial capital".

83. Our people, like other sister peoples of Latin America, have known a freedom fitted out with a national anthem and a flag but saddled with a puppet government and control by foreign imperialist monopolies of all natural resources and of trade. We are familiar with "technical assistance" and "loans" intended not for the development of our wealth in the interests of our people but for the advancement of foreign financial exploitation and the firmer riveting of our chains. When the imperialists invested money in a road, a railway or a power line, they did so for the sole purpose of ensuring the easier exploitation of our natural resources for their own benefit. It was no accident that they converted the

majority of our nations into sources of cheap raw materials and importers of all the consumer goods produced in the empire. A people which is not the master of its own economy or of its own national resources cannot be said to be fully independent. We say this because although political independence is an important step, it is illusory if the new State does not have control over its own natural resources and its economy.

84. It must be stated here that the colonialists have resorted to subtle methods of exploitation, methods whose subtlety makes them all the more dangerous. Thus, the old-fashioned, traditional colonialism has been succeeded by neo-colonialism. Forming a new Holy Alliance, the great international financial interests are unleashing war in Algeria, in Angola, in the Congo; they murder or imprison the ablest leaders; they launch campaigns of defamation against the independent Governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America through their so-called international news agencies, which might well be called international lie agencies. When any of those companies see their shadowy interests threatened, they provoke a coup d'état or a civil war, and if the mercenaries which they have in their service throughout the world are not sufficient, they have recourse to the regular armed forces of their own Government. They substitute one servant for another, sending the naval units of their own country to other shores to impose there a curious form of self-determination, or rather their own idea of self-determination.

85. No wonder that a member of the Government of one of those colonialist Powers declared on one occasion, "What is good for General Motors is good for the United States". Of course, what is good for General Motors, United Fruit and Union Minière is not so good for the peoples whom those companies enslave and rob. Furthermore, what power do the Governments of the colonial Powers have to restrain the aggression set in motion by those interests. Unfortunately they have no such power, for those Governments are where they are with the consent of the companies, of the financial interests in question, and they are very careful not to interfere with the interests of those to whom they owe their existence. That is why certain conflicts become insoluble; that is why murders are committed and genocide is perpetrated against the peoples who are struggling for their independence in America, in Africa and in Asia; that is why the killing is callously allowed to continue; that is why all the countries which have colonies belong to the same military alliance.

86. Colonialism, then, in its various disguises, will always be condemned by us. It is an archaic form of exploitation of man by man incompatible with the economic, technical and social development which has been and is taking place in some societies where the people have won power and with it control over their sources of wealth and their own destiny.

87. Although the peoples have made important advances in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, there are many territories and countless human beings still subject to those evils.

88. The dramatic struggle of the people of Algeria, their will to be free or die, is a challenge to civilization. How long are we going to stand with arms folded while genocide is being committed against a people fighting for self-determination at the price of the blood of its own sons? Can the waging of such

an unjust war do honour to any Government? Is it necessary to give better reasons for independence than those which the people of Algeria are giving with their courage, their heroism and their firm determination to be free?

89. In Angola a war of extermination is being waged against a people whose only crime is that they too love independence and are willing to pay for it with their lives.

90. In the Congo a mining enterprise with great international influence maintains a well-equipped army of mercenaries and wages war in an effort to preserve for the neo-colonialism which it represents an important area rich in natural resources belonging to the new State. Neo-colonialism will try at all costs, even at the price of the peace and unity of the State, to hold on to areas which have tempting natural resources. A war which is caused by the presence of a powerful army of mercenaries with major resources at its disposal cannot properly be called a civil war; it is naked colonialist aggression. The great international financial interests which instigated the murder of the patriot Patrice Lumumba are thus the same interests which are again unleashing violence in the Congo.

91. We recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia over West Irian. It is a trick to try to disrupt the territorial integrity of newly independent States by retaining colonial or neo-colonial dominion over important parts of their territory. There is a demand for self-determination for an integral part of the territory of Indonesia, but did not all the people of Indonesia, including West Irian, achieve self-determination when they won their independence? The independence of Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and other African territories must also be guaranteed, and the aggression against the people of Oman, who are attaining their independence, must be stopped.

92. It is essential to terminate the evil administration exercised by a racist Government over South West Africa, to prepare for that country's independence and to stop the intolerable policy of apartheid practised in that country and in the administering State.

93. There must be an end to the imperialist aggression against the People's Republic of China and to United States military intervention in Formosa and South Viet-Nam.

94. In Latin America, the colonialism of the old European Powers and the neo-colonialism of the United States must be halted. We hope that the dreams of the founders of Latin America will very soon become a reality, and that from Tierra del Fuego to the Rio Bravo no flags will fly but those of independent States. Independence must be granted to the remaining colonies in our hemisphere; the territories illegally snatched away from the sovereignty of the Latin American republics must be evacuated.

95. The threat of a landing of United States regular forces on the territory of the Dominican Republic constitutes aggression against the Dominican people and an attempt by the United States to maintain intact the Trujillo dictatorship. Trujillo was the product of United States military occupation and was an effective collaborator of "democracy"; he was, in fact, a true American-style "democrat". Balaguer was imposed on the Dominican people by Trujillo, and the United States, though claiming not to have friendly

relations with his régime, argued that Balaguer had to be defended against those who put him in power and accordingly dispatched aircraft, warships and aircraft carriers. Balaguer threatened his people with foreign intervention, and thus, with the help of the United States marines, another "democracy" is to be saved for Western civilization.

96. It is infuriating that after the murder of thousands of Latin Americans by the marines over fifty years of continual intervention, and at the very time when the General Assembly is studying the means of abolishing colonialism, United States ships should be sailing the Caribbean, threatening the people of the region. The Dominican people and all the peoples of Latin America condemn this new aggression.

97. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, following in the tradition of Simón Bolívar, José Martí and Benito Juárez, has requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to take up the question of the Yankee intervention at Santo Domingo. The Security Council must condemn and halt this intervention, which is, moreover, in defence of the Trujillo tyranny and in opposition to the national liberation movement in the Dominican Republic. The firmness with which the Security Council acts at this time will determine whether or not this intervention, which we denounce as a preliminary step to the action being prepared against Cuba, will turn into a grave international conflict.

98. Puerto Rico is an outpost of Yankee colonialism in Latin America. The struggles of the Puerto Rican people for independence have a historical parallel with the struggles of the Cuban people. The year 1868 marked the beginning in Puerto Rico and in Cuba of the wars of independence. The Cuban Revolutionary Party, founded by José Martí, called for the independence of both Cuba and Puerto Rico.

99. The United States made Puerto Rico a so-called Commonwealth in order to obviate the status of Non-Self-Governing Territory and thus avoid the need to submit information as an administering State, and even more the need to prepare Puerto Rico for independence. One does not have to be a student of international law to know that this pompous title disguises the most shameless colonialism. Full sovereignty is the sine qua non of independent statehood, and there is not the slightest shade of sovereignty in Puerto Rico. Not only is there a foreign army of occupation—the United States Army, which has more than ten military bases, including an atomic base, in this small territory—but the colonialist imperialism of the United States goes further and with its powerful resources subjects the country to an inhuman process of denationalization. Puerto Rico, like Cuba and other Latin American countries, was enriched by the contributions of two cultures—the Spanish and Negro cultures. Our peoples are proud of this mixture.

100. No distinctions are made by our peoples between persons of different races. With us there are only human beings, whatever the colour of their skin. "A man is more than black or white", said José Martí. But how fairly can an empire which practices apartheid within its own borders govern a nation like Puerto Rico? The answer is clear. Even here in New York we see where the Puerto Ricans live, under what conditions they work, and what opportunities they have. In Puerto Rico, the denationalization process has even included the imposition of a language alien to Spanish. Only its patriotism and national traditions

have saved this sister nation, which resists and repudiates this process.

101. The assertions by the United States colonialists about self-determination in Puerto Rico are certainly some kind of a joke, for how can there possibly be elections in a country occupied by foreign military forces to ascertain whether the forces are there legally or not? Why is Pedro Albizu Campos—a patriot, a nationalist, a lawyer graduated from Harvard—still a prisoner incommunicado despite the fact that he is more than seventy years old? Why are his wife and his lawyer not allowed to communicate with him? Pedro Albizu Campos, an old man, is—as the Yankees know—a Latin American symbol, and by his very presence he tells us Latin Americans and the world, "Yankees, hands off Puerto Rico".

102. United States imperialism is not only turning Puerto Rico into a colony but is also exporting colonialism from Puerto Rico to the rest of Latin America. It recently appointed Mr. Moscoso, a traitor to the country of his birth, to direct the Alliance for Progress. No greater disregard for Latin American sensibilities could be shown than by channelling economic assistance through a colonialist. There is evidence that the United States is trying to extend its Puerto Rican experiments to other Latin American countries. Mr. Muñoz, who is the Governor thanks to the foreign intervention in his country, embodies the collaborationist spirit of our continent's puppet politicians. The Cuban delegation calls for the application of resolution 1514 (XV) to Puerto Rico, a country which has not yet attained its independence.

103. We do not share the misgivings of some that the question of colonialism may become a cold war issue, because that is one of the very excuses the colonialists will offer for delaying the independence of the territories under their rule.

104. There can be only two positions on the question of colonialism: the position of being for or the position of being against the independence and sovereignty of peoples. The cold war has nothing to do with a struggle that is between the people and those who enslave them, and if the colonial Powers at any time find that cold war problems arise, let them quickly give up their colonial power and not put these problems forward as arguments.

105. We likewise do not share the view that there must be an apprenticeship for independence. The colonial Powers have always made excuses for holding their colonies in slavery by saying that the colonies are not ready for independence. Full independence is the starting point for development in any society, and it is inadmissible that some societies should be independent and others not. We do not believe that there are any semi-independent societies, whatever pompous phraseology may be used, for independence has no middle way: it either is or is not. We also disapprove of long-term procedures for the granting of independence. The existence of colonialism is incompatible with the United Nations Charter and constitutes a serious threat to peace.

106. Lastly, we believe that the eradication of colonialism must also entail the abolition of military bases on foreign territory. Most of these bases are the result of colonialist or neo-colonialist imposition, particularly the bases of the great Powers established in small States. The presence of military forces of the great Powers in small States compromises and

threatens the independence of those States. These are not bases for the defence of the metropolitan country but for offence against the States in which they have been established and against the small neighbouring nations. The existence of foreign military bases is a sign of colonial power. Our country suffers from and repudiates the presence of United States troops at the Guantánamo naval base, and we shall voice this repudiation through all legal means and at every opportunity. We do so once again now.

107. It is with satisfaction that we note the recognition which our people's rights were given by the countries represented at Belgrade:^{3/}

"They also acknowledge that the North American military base at Guantánamo, Cuba, to the permanence of which the Government and the people of Cuba have expressed their opposition, affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country."

108. The Guantánamo base is a threat to the independence of Cuba and to the independence of the Latin American countries generally. At this base the mercenary forces secretly maintained by the United States and its agents in the Caribbean are concentrated and drilled. It is from here that the aircraft, aircraft carriers and warships are dispatched when pressure is to be exerted on some country in the hemisphere. It is here that saboteurs and assassins serving imperialism are trained, and here too that human beings have been harassed, tortured and murdered. The resolution which we adopt on this subject should refer clearly to the eradication of all military bases on foreign territory.

109. Before concluding, we wish to state before this Assembly our complaint concerning the aggressive plans of United States colonialism against our country, the preparations for which are being carried out at this very moment in the various United States bases in the Caribbean and in the bases situated in territories of United States neo-colonialism in the region.

110. As a small country with a long tradition of anti-colonialist struggle, as a country which is ever on guard against the grave threats of United States imperialism, as a country which is not compromised by military pacts and which is devoted to peace and the progress of nations, we sincerely hope that resolution 1514 (XV) and the resolutions adopted to ensure its application will achieve the aim for which they were adopted and that colonialism will very soon become an evil of the past which history will record only in tribute to those who fought and died for its abolition. If this is brought about, we shall by virtue of this achievement alone have justified the existence of our Organization in the eyes of future generations.

111. Mr. COMAY (Israel): The most thrilling event of our age is that the great colonial empires built up over five centuries are being liquidated within two or three decades. It is true that this process is still incomplete, and that fierce battles for freedom engage the attention of our Organization, particularly in Africa. But it remains a fact that since the Second World War hundreds of millions of subject people have attained political independence, our flags now flutter in front of this building amongst those of other

^{3/} Belgrade Conference, 1961 (published by the Review of International Affairs, Belgrade) No. 5, p. 22.

sovereign Member States, and our spokesmen sit here on equal terms with those of older countries.

112. There is no need for us at this stage to recount the long history of suffering caused by the colonial system. The pages of that era are stained with oppression and with exploitation. But in our own lifetime a revolution has taken place in human thought, and much that was taken for granted before has become intolerable today. As a result, foreign rule has in many cases ended without bloodshed or chaos, and the transfer of power has taken place in an agreed and orderly manner, as we hope will happen very soon with all the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is only fair to note that the contemporary policies of the two major colonial Powers, the United Kingdom and France, are based on a desire to bring their dependent territories to self-rule. It is indeed both sides that gain their freedom from colonialism, a system not only morally wrong but also out of date. Through withdrawal by consent, a colonial Power sheds the burdens, the vexations and the odium which in the world of today attend the rule of one people by another; and by the manner of its departure, it may hope to retain as its friends those who have been its subjects. After they are independent, it is the prerogative of new States to maintain of their own free will an association with the former metropolitan country, on a basis of equality, respect and mutual advantage.

113. In this connexion, the Netherlands proposal regarding New Guinea appears to my delegation to be entirely within the letter and spirit of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV) adopted at the last session of the Assembly. How can one fail to commend a plan to transfer sovereignty to the inhabitants of a territory with the direct help of the United Nations, leaving it to the people concerned to decide their own future after they have become independent?

114. In the Memorandum [A/4954] circulated by the Netherlands delegation on 4 November 1961, we were struck by the statement that "the Netherlands wishes irrevocably to terminate its history as a colonial Power". Several centuries ago their sea captains and merchants spread Dutch influence across the seas to distant lands, and their small country in the north-western corner of Europe became a centre of wealth, power and culture. Writing the last sentence in this imperial chapter will only enhance the true greatness of a people whose creative genius, whose energy and skill, and whose love of liberty and tolerance have earned general admiration.

115. The principle of national independence is one which touches the deepest sentiments and the most venerable memories of the people of Israel. Thousands of years ago we were struggling for our independence against the great colonial empires of the ancient world. Time after time their marching armies trampled our freedom into the dust. Time after time the standard of revolt was raised again, for a people can never be finally conquered as long as the love of freedom remains alive in their hearts. The events recorded in the Old Testament were the historic background to Israel's renewed independence in 1948, after a bitter and painful struggle against the Mandatory Power and against invading Arab armies.

116. To our regret certain Arab spokesmen have tried to exploit this debate for anti-Israel propaganda purposes. In order to save the time of the Assembly,

my delegation has refrained from exercising a right of reply in each case, and I shall confine myself here to a few general comments. The main theme in this attack is that Israel is in some way associated with colonialism. This is a stale and frivolous assertion, used in the mistaken belief that it may influence Israel's friends in Asia and Africa. I would repeat the reaction of the Foreign Minister of Israel when the same charges were made in the general debate at the fifteenth session of the Assembly. She said:

"We know that this is nonsense. The Arabs know that it is nonsense and, what is more important, the Africans themselves know that it is nonsense. The leaders of African countries are not to be frightened by meaningless slogans. They can be relied upon to judge their relations with other countries by the behaviour of those other countries towards them, and not by propaganda speeches in New York." [907th meeting, para. 87.]

117. One of the speeches we have heard this evening was that of the representative of Jordan, who, in the course of a very curious historical lecture, discovered that the rise of the State of Israel was connected with two world wars. I do not recollect that there were any independent Arab States on the map before the Ottoman Empire was defeated by the Allied Powers in the First World War, and more Arab States came to birth in the wake of the Second World War. I am not aware that anyone has questioned the legitimacy of any of these States because of that. At any rate, I am a little surprised to hear such arguments from the representative of a Kingdom set up by the United Kingdom as part of a post-war settlement. Israel was truly born on the battlefield. That was in 1948, when the armies of the surrounding countries tried to crush our State by military aggression.

118. Zionism sprang up as the national liberation movement, in modern times, of a small people who have re-established their independence in their ancient homeland, where their ancestors dwelt as free men two thousand years before the first Arab invasion of the country. We are ready to live with our neighbours in peaceful co-operation, and to build up our region together for the good of all its peoples. That is the sum total of what we seek from any other State, near or far.

119. My delegation regards with profound emotion the call in resolution 1514 (XV) to end "all practices of segregation and discrimination". Down the centuries, our people have been classic victims of these practices and we have survived many dark and bloody episodes, reaching their climax in our own lifetime in the Nazi design to procure what they called a "final solution" to the Jewish problem—a solution by genocide and the extermination of a whole people. We passionately reject all concepts of superior or inferior races, of determining a man's status in society by the shape of his features or the colour of his skin. We note with satisfaction that the Economic and Social Council has submitted to the Assembly a draft resolution on this matter [see A/4886] and that another draft resolution has been put before the Fourth Committee [A/C.4/L.709] roundly condemning racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

120. While no nation can easily forget the tragedies of the past, the important thing is to build the future. Like all the other newly-emergent States, Israel too has found that the proclamation of independence is only a beginning and not an end. We hope that, in the

spirit of the draft resolution [A/L.357] submitted by Nigeria, the present decade will see the end of all remaining foreign rule in Africa. As African leaders take over the responsibility for guiding the destinies of their own countries, they ask themselves the question which all of us who already sit here as newly-liberated States have asked, and that is: "After colonialism, what?" It is indeed a perplexing world into which we are born—a world in which human genius can reach to the moon and the stars but threatens to destroy life on this planet—a world in which some peoples enjoy an abundance undreamt-of till now, while other peoples remain sunk in backwardness and poverty. While beset with pressures from without, the national leaders of our new countries must tackle the most formidable problems within our own borders. We are required at one and the same time to provide our peoples with political stability, civil liberties, an efficient administration, defence forces, agrarian reform, industrial development, technical training, health services, education, housing, transport and even drinking water. No new State has at its command the capital resources or the range of skills such a programme entails; and this applies to many older countries as well, as is evident from the imaginative Alliance for Progress which the United States and the Latin American Republics have recently endorsed.

121. There is an overwhelming and urgent need for the haves and the have-nots to share resources, in a spirit of enlightened self-interest, and with the realization that our world has become one and indivisible.

122. Though the main burden of aid must fall on the advanced industrial nations, the obligation does not rest on them alone. Smaller and poorer countries can do much to help each other. In the thirteen years of its own independence, Israel has learned that it is with a feeling of pride and satisfaction that we are able to share with others the experience in nation-building we have gained, and the skills and co-operative techniques that we have developed. We now have ties of economic and technical co-operation with many other countries. These ties find expression in many ways: joint enterprises in construction, water development and shipping, the setting up of co-operative farm villages, the improvement of health facilities, youth organizations, the labour movement and other fields in which Israel's unorthodox pioneering methods attract the attention of countries grappling with similar problems. We have many hundreds of experts who work in these countries, and about a thousand trainees a year from them. It is our firm belief that peaceful and constructive co-operation of this sort is the soundest basis for friendship between our peoples. African and Asian leaders know very well that practical on-the-spot assistance in nation-building is more important to countries emerging from colonialism, than empty verbal professions of brotherhood.

123. My Government and people wholeheartedly support the liquidation of colonialism everywhere, and in all its different forms. Our views on certain specific situations have already been clearly stated at this Assembly, and need not be repeated here. Wherever independence has not yet been attained, it must be speeded up. But political independence in itself is not enough. It will remain an empty shell unless it brings with it economic development, social progress, and a better life for the citizens of the new State.

The hunger, disease and ignorance in which most of the human race still lives, are not cured by independence alone. They constitute an historic wrong which can be remedied only by bold and massive aid, not as charity, but because we are all members of the same human family.

124. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Portugal, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

125. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): I thank the President for allowing me to speak tonight and I promise to be very brief. Once again I have to take the floor at the Assembly to set right what the Indian representative has distorted in respect of my country. The Indian representative, in his speech of yesterday, questioned the overseas policy of Portugal and wound up by saying:

"But if they are part of Portugal then they ought to have the civic rights and all the equalities that go with that status". [1058th meeting, para. 149.]

126. This is the first distortion perpetrated by the Indian representative. If he knows so little about Portuguese life, he must learn more about it. Meanwhile I may inform him that I, a Goan, and my ancestors for many generations past, have been full Portuguese citizens, enjoying full equality of status with other Portuguese citizens born in European Portugal. For the same reason, we Goans enjoy the same independence as the citizens of European Portugal.

127. But, according to Indian propaganda, independence for Goans means annexation to the Indian Union, even though the Indian Prime Minister has himself admitted that we Goans have a different culture. And be it noted that this annexation is not made to depend on the will of the Goan people, for, as we stated in this Assembly [1025th meeting] and proved with irrefutable evidence in the Fourth Committee, the Indian Prime Minister himself declared on 6 September 1955, that the Portuguese must quit Goa, even if the Goans want them there. Even if the Goans want them there—that is what the Indian Prime Minister said, and I repeat it.

128. The Indian representative said in his speech yesterday that the "representative of Portugal had challenged some of the statements made by our Prime Minister..." [1058th meeting, para. 151]. This is another inexactitude. We did not challenge any of the statements made by the Indian Prime Minister. We quoted them, only to deplore them. Who challenged us to demonstrate the authenticity of those statements? It was the Indian representative in the Fourth Committee. We took up the challenge and demonstrated their authenticity in a manner which should leave no doubt in any honest mind.

129. But today we need not go further than the text of the speech made yesterday by the Indian representative to corroborate the Machiavellian intentions of the Indian Union. The Indian representative said:

"And therefore if aggression continues for ever, if our people are subjected to being shot in cold blood, if there is no civil liberty and if the peace and security of our land on the one hand and of the world as a whole is being endangered by the continuance of conflicts on our territory, no one has the right—not under the Charter of the United Nations—and there is no law of morality, no law

of political ethics, no law of international behaviour, to prevent a sovereign land like ours seeking to complete the liberation of our entire country."

[*Ibid.*]

130. In this brief paragraph there are almost as many inexactitudes as there are words. What is the Indian representative trying to insinuate? That Goans are Indian people? Ethnically, perhaps; but juridically, culturally and politically, no. Or does the Indian representative wish to insinuate that tiny Goa commits aggression against the vast Indian Union and endangers the security of the Indian Union and of the world? Only an imagination running riot or an utterly irresponsible person could venture to make this suggestion. What interest and what advantage can little Goa have in inviting upon it the wrath of the mighty Indian Union? Is it not a fact that Portugal has offered and has always been ready to negotiate with the Indian Union on problems arising from geographical contiguity? But the Indian Union does not wish to negotiate, because it wishes to annex Goa, in the name of a political unity of geographical India which existed only in myth but never in history and which today is impossible, owing to the existence, in geographical India of other territories which are as sovereign and independent as the Indian Union itself.

131. The Indian representative further said:

"We have for long tried to negotiate, maintained our missions in Lisbon, negotiated with these people." [*Ibid.*, para. 153.]

Here is yet another distortion by the Indian representative. What has the Indian Union tried to negotiate? The Indian Union only insisted that Goa should be handed over to it. Is this dictation called negotiation in the Indian dictionary? When Portugal refused to bow to this dictation, the Indian Government closed down its Legation in Lisbon and eventually asked Portugal to close down its Legation in New Delhi. Portugal sought to negotiate with a view to good neighbourliness, while the Indian Union would not hear of anything except annexation of

132. After referring to the Court of the World Court, the Indian representative said: "We have always observed the Charter and the law of nations" [*ibid.*]. How well the Indian Union does this may be seen from its bloody aggression and usurpation of the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Aveli and its unilateral declaration of annexation of those enclaves, in spite of the Judgement of the International Court of Justice recognizing Portugal's sovereignty over the territories and its right of access to them.^{4/}

133. Reverting to the question of the use of force against Goa, the Indian representative said:

"But when a time comes and aggression continues in such a way"—what aggression and which way? So far, aggression has come from the Indian side—when thousands and thousands of people are subjected to this situation"—what situation? Goa lives in peace—"when our public opinion can no longer brook having their own brothers slaughtered"—obviously by terrorists who infiltrate into Goa from the Indian Union and who have already killed several Goans, now cynically called brothers by the Indian representative—"when the territory becomes also an arena of international intrigue"—this sup-

position is as vague as it is mischievous—"then, as a sovereign country, we retain our right to take whatever action we please, subject to the law of nations." [*Ibid.*, para. 154.]

134. The Indian representative has stated himself that Goa is a part of the unfinished business of the Indian Union and that the Indian people are impatient. I need not add anything more about the real nature of the so-called "case of Goa". It is a case of Indian imperialism which has already claimed several victims and has been for some years casting covetous glances at the Portuguese State in India, which has existed for 450 years as an integral part of Portugal.

135. The Indian representative talks rather glibly about using force against Goa, because Goa is small and weak. But he dare not talk of using force to recover what New Delhi claims to be Indian Territory occupied by a stronger neighbouring Power. Even today, newspapers have something to say about this.

136. I wished to speak mostly about Goa, but, with the President's permission, I shall add a few words about Angola. I need not say much since this matter is on the agenda of the Assembly.

137. The Indian representative has referred to cruelty and murder in Angola. I take it that he meant the cruelty and murder perpetrated by the terrorists. If not, I must ask him to revise his code of morals.

138. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United States, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

139. Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America): I rise to reply briefly to some of the comments made by the representative of Cuba. I regret having to do so at this late hour and to impose upon delegations because the fact is, that most of what the representative had to say had nothing to do with the subject matter before us. Nevertheless, certain of his comments call for a brief reply.

140. It is interesting that he referred to the Cuban Revolution against the Spanish Empire in 1898, without referring to the enormous role played by the United States in that Revolution. He referred to fantastic charges of armed intervention by the United States against the Dominican Republic. These charges will be dealt with tomorrow in the Security Council. At this time I may only ask the question: Who speaks for the Dominican Republic—the Government of that Republic or the Government of Cuba?

141. The representative of Cuba dealt at some length with the situation in Puerto Rico, and this, too, was not within the scope of the matter being discussed by the Assembly at this time. In 1953 the General Assembly decided, in its resolution 748 (VIII), that the people of Puerto Rico had freely chosen a Commonwealth status in free association with the United States, and that Puerto Rico was, therefore, fully self-governing. It is the case now, as it was then, that if 10 per cent of the electorate in Puerto Rico wish to request a change in that status, they are free to do so and a plebiscite will be held.

142. It might be mentioned that there is an Independence Party in Puerto Rico—not the same group for which the representative of Cuba speaks, but an Independence Party devoted to pursuing its claims within the scope of the democratic, free electoral system which prevails in Puerto Rico. And it is of interest to note that, in the last three elections, the

^{4/} Case concerning Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Merits), Judgement of 12 April 1960; I.C.J. Reports 1960, p. 6.

vote for that Independence Party in Puerto Rico has been going steadily down. In 1952 it succeeded in scoring 126,000 of the 600,000 votes cast; four years later it received 86,000 votes out of a total of 700,000 votes cast; and in 1960 it received but 21,000 out of over 700,000 votes cast and was unable to elect a single representative to the legislature.

143. The group of which the representative of Cuba speaks is a fringe group which is not interested in democratic processes, or in the wishes of the people of Puerto Rico, but only in forcing its fanatical will upon the people of Puerto Rico by violent methods. This group will not participate in the elections in Puerto Rico, because its members know that such elections are free and the results will be embarrassing to the group.

144. If any representative here doubts that the elections in Puerto Rico are totally free from any pressures, I would invite him to visit Puerto Rico the next time elections are held and to see for himself. He will be welcome. Of course, the representative of Cuba knows nothing about free elections; in his country all elections have been cancelled.

145. We are proud of Puerto Rico's progress, its progress in freedom. I should like to mention just a few examples of the progress of which we are proud. In the last two decades the gross production in Puerto Rico has been multiplied by two-and-a-half. The number of motor vehicles is up six times. Exports are up five times; imports are up eight times. And the life expectancy of the people of Puerto Rico has been increased from forty-six to sixty-eight years: this in two short decades.

146. We are proud of Teodoro Moscoso, who today heads the Alianza para el Progreso. Far from being an insult to our friends in Latin America, we are sure that his appointment is welcome to them. The fact that this imaginative and forward-looking Alianza para el Progreso programme is headed by a man who shares with them the great heritage of Hispano-American culture, and who happens also to be a citizen of the United States, and proud of it, is a source of pride to them.

147. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Jordan, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

148. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): I am sorry to intervene at this late hour, but an answer to the statement just made is really called for.

149. No matter how the representative of Israel attempts to paint the picture, one thing is clear and is very difficult to deny. It is this. The philosophy of Zionism aims at bringing in more foreign Jewish immigrants to our land, acquiring more of our land and displacing more of our people. This is Zionism. And those who wish to know the truth about Zionism will find no difference whatever between the Nazism mentioned by the Israeli representative and Zionism, because both Nazism and Zionism hold to the concept of race and both hold to the concept of Nazi supremacy or Zionist chosen people respectively. Both hold to the concept of "Lebensraum". The Zionist wants a space to be made for gathering in the exiles from all over the world to Palestine and desires expansion for that purpose.

150. Both have a fifth Column. The Nazis had a fifth column, and the Zionists have their pressure groups and organizations all over the world, a state within every State, a town within every town. The duty of these Zionist pressure groups is to exert pressure and bring about a change of the policy of the Governments concerned in favour of the Zionists—even if that change is not in the national interest of their own Governments. That is the pressure which brought about the promises of a homeland and a State to which I referred in my statement—promises from large foreign Powers which never owned the land or had any right or title which they could convey. That is the pressure which brought about the creation of the present superficial foreign State in our land.

151. No distortion whatsoever can possibly change that picture, because it is a picture of the facts—and facts are stubborn and very difficult to deny.

152. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of India, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

153. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India): It is not the policy of my delegation to take up issues with the delegation of Portugal. The record of the misdeeds of Portugal is already before this Assembly. All that I have to say is that we totally repudiate the statement—or should I say the misstatement?—which the representative of Portugal made to the Assembly a few moments ago.

The meeting rose at 11.25 p.m.