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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before I call upon the representatives who are down to speak at this meeting, I should like to inform the General Assembly that twenty-nine speakers in addition to the six for this afternoon are down to speak on items 88 and 22 (a) of our agenda. In order to conclude our work as early as possible we shall have to hold night meetings next week and, if necessary, also one or two meetings on Saturday. In the days immediately ahead we shall continue the debate on agenda items 88 and 22 (a), take up the draft resolutions relating to them and, if necessary, proceed to a vote. I hope that in this way we shall be able to dispose of these two questions by the end of next week, which would enable us to begin the debate on the next item during the following week.

2. During next week's meetings which will be devoted to the two items under consideration the speakers will be called in the order in which they are entered on the list. I should be most grateful to them if they would make arrangements to be able to take the floor when they are called.

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

3. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): The fifteenth session of the General Assembly was an epoch-making one, not merely because of the admission of no less than seventeen newly independent States to this Organization, or the presence here for the first time of a galaxy of Heads of State and Governments. The epoch-making character of that session stemmed from the introduction of two important items, touch-

ing on the aspirations of all Africa, by the two great Powers on earth, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States.

4. The Russian item, of course, led to the adoption of the famous resolution 1514 (XV)—containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples—which was drafted by the African-Asian group and finalized as a result of long discussions and consultations outside that group. In the opinion of my delegation, this Declaration shares the same position of prominence in relation to Africa as the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

5. Discussion of the item entitled "Assistance to Africa: a United Nations programme for independence", proposed by the United States at the fifteenth session, was deferred until this session, and the item has now been taken up jointly with a follow-up item entitled "The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

6. That both the United States and the Soviet Union should have initiated a move at the United Nations for the final abolition of colonial rule and imperialism in Africa and in other parts of the world is rather propitious. There is now a tacit agreement that colonialism is an anachronism; that it produces hostility between nation and nation and between people and people and militates against the peace of the world. Posing as champions of anti-colonial forces in the world, the United States and the Soviet Union seem to be revealing a certain basic philosophy known in Revolutionary America and in modern Russia. To be sure, the principles of the American Revolution have often been invoked by freedom-fighters in Africa and elsewhere in their political struggles to free their countries from the colonialist yoke. There is a complete acceptance by all African nationalists of the Jeffersonian dictum that:

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

7. Other American political theorists, like Thomas Paine, have furnished much political ammunition for agitation. On the other hand, the revolutionary character and tactics of Marxism have had a strong appeal to African nationalists. Inspiration is, therefore, required from the two great Powers who have not traditionally colonized Africa. To the United States, particularly, which maintains close ties with European colonial Powers, we make a definite appeal

that it should dissociate itself completely from the colonial policies of their allies, especially as it has passed through the same mill as Africa. In its greatness, the United States should not, because of European preoccupation, forget the great anti-colonialist tradition which should be its heritage, and it should lend every support to African efforts to put an immediate end to colonialism.

8. For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to have initiated this move is a particularly happy and felicitous combination of desirable elements; our work thus involves the formulation of a programme: a United Nations programme, a programme for the implementation of the Declaration, in relation to Africa and in relation to dependent territories everywhere. What could be more fitting than that this world Organization should give, in explicit terms, its legal and moral sanction to the legitimate aspirations of peoples struggling for their independence? What could be more felicitous than that this Organization should formally assume and discharge the responsibility of ensuring that its epoch-making Declaration on the subject of colonialism be fully and immediately implemented?

9. My delegation notes with satisfaction that since the Declaration was adopted Sierra Leone has become independent and has attained membership in the international community; in a matter of weeks, Tanganyika will have completed its transition from trusteeship to independence; Western Samoa will shortly attain its independence, and the independence of Uganda is in the offing. To the Administering Authorities concerned some tribute must be paid, not merely for taking account of the realities of life and for adjusting their sails to the winds of change, but also for the foresight and wisdom with which they have facilitated the fulfilment of the aspirations of these peoples.

10. However, having paid this tribute, my delegation cannot help remarking that the process of decolonization has become painfully and stubbornly slow and that there still remain some seventy Non-Self-Governing Territories with a combined population of over 50 million, and several other territories which have not yet achieved complete independence. All the peoples of those territories, numbering over 70 million, are still experiencing the horrors and suffering of imperialism: they continue to be excluded from the effective administration of their homelands, they are often subject to iniquitous systems of racial discrimination and most of them are still denied the most elementary democratic freedom and rights based on the principle of "one man, one vote". Nor can we help insisting that, in terms of the Declaration, no distinction can be drawn between "good" or "benevolent" colonialism and "bad" or "repressive" imperialism.

11. There seems to be an air of complacency hovering in certain circles. Certainly, the United Kingdom as a colonial Power cannot be graded in the same category as Portugal, which is stubbornly fighting a colonial war to maintain its stranglehold on Angola and other Portuguese territories; but while we commend the United Kingdom for progress made in the right direction, the awful truth is that the majority of colonial territories remaining in Africa are under British colonial rule. It is this system of colonial domination which must be abolished for good. It is our strong belief that African territories do not have

to be ruled by European Powers in order to receive the benefits of modern civilization. Progress in education, economic development, social welfare and health facilities—all these can take place under a proper system of assistance, bilateral or multilateral, without subjection to colonial rule. Europeans, we submit, did not, and do not, rule Africa for altruistic motives.

12. For what is the essence of colonialism but the imposition and maintenance by foreign Powers of a political and economic system on the national territory of another people, in deliberate flouting of its right to self-determination? Its chief characteristic is the arbitrary imposition, without the consent of the peoples concerned, of a foreign system designed primarily to serve the interests of the colonizing Power. Whether such a system is maintained by brute force or, more subtly, by coercion disguised as paternalism makes no difference to its essence. It necessarily implies the subordination of the interests and the development of the colonial peoples to those of the colonizing Power. It is, therefore, a force basically opposed to the progress and advancement of the subject people, except where such development is essential to produce such conditions of peace and stability, or rather stagnation, as would safeguard and further the interests of the colonizing Powers.

13. In its recent development, colonialism has become a highly complicated and ramified system of political and economic domination; direct control and force are judiciously tempered by indirect control, through the maintenance of a ruling class which can be relied upon to defend the colonial interests against the subject people. In order to perpetuate themselves and to maintain and increase their exploitation, the colonial régimes have not hesitated to resort to such means as racial discrimination, segregation and other practices designed to strip the subject peoples of their dignity, identity and very will to self-determination.

14. But whatever refinement the colonizing Powers have adopted from territory to territory, the system has inevitably resulted in the freezing of political, economic and social development at the primitive or near-primitive stage and in the distortion of the dynamic forces of change. Hence, we see the backwardness of the dependent countries in relation to the general rate of progress elsewhere in the world and the tragic difference in development and advancement between the subject countries and the industrialized countries.

15. It must, of course, be admitted that inherent in the system itself were some marginally useful aspects: the exploiters were obliged, for the success of their efforts, to create a certain economic and social infrastructure; obviously they had to have ports, roads, schools and hospitals if exploitation was to be productive of maximum profit and if indigenous labour was to be efficiently organized and used. But, by the same token, these benefits, seen in their historical setting, were purely secondary and almost incidental consequences. Ironically, however, these consequences, in turn, created in the indigenous people a self-awareness and a consciousness of their rights and their dignity; the very people who had been educated by the colonizing Powers for purposes of their exploitation thereby became conscious of their human as well as national identity and strength and refused to be instruments of their own ruin.

16. Thus began the great African and Asian awakening, which developed into an anticolonial force of such power and scope that it sometimes surprised even the protagonists of the movement. In this situation, those colonizing Powers who had some practical vision and awareness of the realities saw the wisdom of adapting their thinking to the new conditions and of achieving the balance necessary to maintain their precarious positions.

17. It was in adaptation to the changing conditions of the times that the United Kingdom, our own friend, embarked on its process of decolonization; and it was in response to the same winds of change that France saw fit to apply to most of its African empire the great principles born of the French Revolution. Thus, of nearly 800 million people under foreign rule in 1946, nine-tenths have since achieved freedom and independence.

18. The freedom of my country, Ghana, was an outcome of this process. Our attainment of independence was the first of a series of emancipations of the so-called colonial peoples of Africa South of the Sahara, a series which still continues and which we earnestly and passionately desire to see continue until the last human being in bondage is set free. It is only then that our own independence will become meaningful, our sacrifices hallowed and our history illumined. For how can the African personality be fully and effectively projected except in the wider context of African freedom and independence? Africa, we have said, cannot be half-free and half-slave. It is only a manner of speaking to refer to any African or Ghanaian or Nigerian or Congolese, because when we are seen in the streets of London, New York, Paris or Moscow, fingers point at us as Africans, with all kinds of associations conjured up in the minds of Europeans—of course, in America, we are Negroes. The great point is that we as Africans cannot tolerate the fact that any part of Africa should be under any form of colonial rule for long. Ghana's independence, we have repeated, is meaningless except in the wider context of the total liberation and independence of Africa.

19. But formal independence is not enough. Colonialism is turning to new strategies. Instead of sailing against, it sails with the wind of change, in order to maintain its last stronghold—economic and technological supremacy. In its last throes, it is almost resigned to death, but is at the same time preparing to rise, like a phoenix, from the ashes of its funeral pyre, and to rise, with renewed youth and vigour, to live through a more cunning and, therefore, far more dangerous cycle of neo-colonialism.

20. By neo-colonialism, of course, we mean the practice of granting formal independence with the concealed intention of making the liberated country a client-state and controlling it or rather tele-guiding it, effectively by means other than political ones. It is in effect the maintenance of a hegemony through the agency of an interposed government and by means of a complex of economic, ideological and other weapons including the imposition of dubious military agreements. It is out to defend the same interests over the corpse of old-style colonialism; the nature and purpose of both are the same, only the methods have been adjusted to modern conditions.

21. In these circumstances, the struggle against colonialism should be extended to all its forms whe-

ther economic or political, so that independence should be achieved quickly, and not merely in a formal sense, but in a true, complete sense. Colonialism must be finally liquidated with the least possible delay; independence is an urgent necessity, but it must not be purely nominal; it must not be a screen behind which the same foreign influences which had been known to be overtly colonialist can covertly continue to operate.

22. It is these considerations that form the framework, so to say, of my delegation's approach to the problem of the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, especially in Africa.

23. It will be recalled that the Declaration proclaims that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It further states that all peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

24. Nevertheless, what do we find, one year after the passing of this Declaration? There are still eighty-eight territories that are not yet completely independent, including, as mentioned earlier, some seventy which are usually referred to as "Non-Self-Governing Territories", with a total population of about 70 million people. In Africa alone, there are twenty-seven such Territories with a population of about 50 million. As I have mentioned earlier, within the past year only Sierra Leone has actually achieved independence, though there are a few more which will follow suit within the immediate future.

25. This is clearly not the rate of the progress envisaged when the Assembly solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. This is not what was contemplated when the Assembly asked that immediate steps be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of territories which had not yet attained independence.

26. Let me make clear the position of the delegation of Ghana. The Assembly itself has declared that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. This implies that all that remains to be done is to settle the modalities and procedures of the transfer of powers to dependent peoples, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely-expressed will and desire, and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour.

27. We do not believe, as has been suggested, that this formulation necessarily entails the handing of power to existing minority governments or groups. What it says is that power should be handed over in accordance with the freely expressed wishes and desires of the people, without distinction as to race, creed or colour. Nor does it mean that people should be deprived of access to independence because they lack training, or because they do not possess economic potentialities. Independence, to our mind, is a spiritual value, a right; it is hardly in keeping with the dignity of a human being to say that a people cannot accede to independence because they lack the

material resources to maintain themselves, or because they do not have enough officials qualified to make up an organic administration, or indeed because they do not have enough technicians to establish an industry. My delegation does not believe that there is any question of "ripeness" for independence. We believe that the present problems facing the Congolese, for example, are due to imperialist subversion and not to the lack of any capacity in the Congolese to rule themselves.

28. We do not suggest that problems disappear as soon as countries attain their independence, and that they will not be faced with even bigger and more intractable problems; on the contrary, their inability to meet their needs, the gulf between their legitimate aspirations and the inadequacy of their resources, be it material or human, qualitative or quantitative, necessarily constitutes a problem. One possible solution to this problem, of course, is the cultivation of links with richer, more powerful, more developed powers; the danger here is that the price for reliance on, and for assistance from, such powers may well be that of incorporation in their sphere of influence; such a solution, needless to say, constitutes the basic ingredient of neo-colonialism, which I spoke about, and has obviously nothing to recommend it.

29. The only viable solution, the only solution in keeping with the ideals expressed in the Declaration, is that of collective assistance to such emerging States through the United Nations or through regional institutions for the purpose. We in Ghana do not condemn friendly and honest co-operation between the former Administering Powers and the new countries, nor do we deny the right of each State to enter as it sees fit into bilateral agreements or arrangements for assistance. But if, as the Declaration urges, inadequacy of political, economic, social, or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence, then co-operation and assistance under international auspices is the only way to avoid making the beneficiaries client-states, or incorporating them in one of the camps involved in the cold war.

30. This is where the question of "assistance to Africa: a United Nations programme for independence" becomes particularly relevant. My delegation is not opposed to the achievement of independence by orderly and peaceful means, but this should not serve as a pretext for delay. If, as I have said before, there are deficiencies, material or human, which would become a problem or handicap in the attainment of independence, this can and should be remedied by means of the formulation now of an imaginatively conceived and vigorous programme of assistance. This is not, and cannot be, a prerequisite to independence; it should proceed along with, and beyond, the attainment of independence.

31. The Declaration also proclaims that all armed action or repressive measures directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and truly their right to complete independence. Relate this to the situation in Angola, and the picture is one of horror. For the second year in succession, massive reprisals are being carried out in order to stifle the national liberation movement, ruthless measures of extermination amounting to genocide are still being taken, and tens of thousands of Angolans have already lost their lives. The situation in the other Portuguese

territories in Africa is no better; forced labour akin to slavery still exists, along with racism of the worst sort, alien to the historic Portuguese character, and the lot of the ordinary man is worse even than it is in South Africa.

32. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that this is a flagrant violation of the Declaration, and the friends and allies of Portugal have a particular responsibility to bear in this matter. My delegation will speak more extensively about this in the discussion of the items dealing with Angola and Portugal's refusal to comply with the requirements of the Charter. I would only repeat, at this stage—in the words of the President of Ghana when he addressed the Assembly at the fifteenth session—that:

"... the wind blowing in Africa is not an ordinary wind. It is a raging hurricane, and it is impossible for Portugal, or, for that matter, any other colonial Power, to prevent the raging hurricane of African nationalism from blowing through oppressed and down-trodden colonies." [869th Plenary Meeting, para. 48.]

33. At this stage, the delegation of Ghana appeals to Portugal not to persist in its blind determination to resist the legitimate demands of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea for independence. Let Portugal desist from opposing the whole of Africa on the issue of independence for Angola and the other Portuguese colonial territories and start initiating policies in Angola, Mozambique and the other Portuguese colonies in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) of the Assembly and Chapter XI of the Charter.

34. Further south, in South West Africa, the appalling character of the South African administration has been recently clearly disclosed and documented in the recent special report of the Committee on South West Africa [A/4926]. The intolerable indignities inflicted upon the African population and the pervasive nature of apartheid policies—all these have been described in detail. How can we be expected merely to make declarations, when in a Territory such as this the indigenous populations are completely deprived of all political and civic rights, are only treated as a source of cheap labour, have no share in the profits of trade, industry or agriculture and in their own land are treated as outcasts, denied even the solace of an education?

35. In a subsequent report [A/4957] the Committee has also concluded that "the whole line of policy, method and action pursued in the Territory has been in contradiction to the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations and the enlightened conscience of mankind". All appeals for change and reform have gone unheeded, and South Africa continues flagrantly to disregard world opinion and defy the authority of the United Nations to deal with its administration. South Africa's complete unfitness to administer this Territory of South West Africa surely needs no further proof; the only possible solution is the effective transfer of power to the inhabitants of the Territory and the institution of assistance through the United Nations on a scale sufficient to help them maintain their independence. The delegation of Ghana will continue to maintain its pressure on South Africa in both the legal and political fields, until the legitimate aspirations of the people of South West Africa are fully realized.

36. Algeria is another territory where repressive action is being carried out to smother the just and necessary struggle of the Algerian people for freedom, self-determination and independence, as well as the integrity of the national territory. This purposeless war, which has for eight years been waged in Algeria by France, is a threat to world peace and security and has rightly been condemned by the whole civilized world. My Government cannot but regard any assistance given to France directly or indirectly through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as an act of hostility against Africa. The United Nations has repeatedly called for an end to the tragic war, and at its fifteenth session this Organization in a resolution [1573 (XV)] not only recognized the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination on the basis of the unity and territorial integrity of their country, but also accepted the responsibility to contribute to the implementation of this sacred right.

37. However, the situation is rapidly deteriorating, causing tremendous suffering and loss of life. Almost daily, Press reports inform us of brutal violence and acts of barbarism perpetrated against unarmed Algerians. It is therefore more urgent than ever that no effort be spared to seek a rapid and peaceful solution to the problem. Happily, France, too, now admits that Algeria must necessarily be independent; happily also, there are indications that France no longer regards Algerian self-determination as a desperate solution excluding co-operation, but rather as a reasonable solution on which new and fruitful relations can be built. France also recognizes that no Algerian will cease to claim Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara and that the inhabitants of the Sahara are determined to be Algerians. Within this context, the least the Assembly can do, in keeping with its continuing responsibilities as defined at the fifteenth session, is to urge the reopening of frank and positive negotiations for the purpose of concluding an agreement on the principal modalities and timing of independence, as well as on the conclusion of a ceasefire. Subsequently, negotiations can also be held on the definition of relationships between France and Algeria, on guarantees for the French population there.

38. News about the Algerian situation is bad. My delegation is strongly of the opinion that Mr. Ben Bella, the Vice-Premier of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, and other prisoners should be released in order to clear the atmosphere for proper and effective negotiations leading to the final and unequivocal solution in terms of independence for the Algerian people. The immolation of the youth of France and Algeria must cease. Ghana calls upon France to respect and comply with the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

39. The situation in the so-called High Commission territories of Southern Africa also continues to cause great dissatisfaction. The principle of universal suffrage has not been applied in any of these territories. In Swaziland, about half of the new legislature is to be elected by the white settlers, who number only 10,000 out of a total population of 250,000. In Basutoland, the elected members are still in a minority, and in Bechuanaland the 380,000 Africans have ten representatives in the Legislative Council, the 3,000 Europeans having ten representatives, while the balance is held by a group of European civil servants and Government-nominated members. If this is all the

United Kingdom can show in terms of constitutional progress for its seventy years' presence, then clearly this Organization should sit up and take notice. My delegation is of the opinion that positive steps should be taken immediately to implement, in regard to these High Commission territories, the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), in particular paragraph 5, which says:

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

40. It is not my intention to embark on a country-by-country survey of territories in Africa which are not yet completely independent. If I have dwelt at some length on African territories, it is because it is in Africa that the main stronghold of imperialism and colonialism still subsists. With your permission, therefore, I shall make a few observations about the situation in Central Africa.

41. Recent constitutional developments in the Rhodesias look as though a determined effort is being made to turn the area into another South Africa. The expressed opposition of the African leaders of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias to the maintenance of the Federation in its present form has been shelved until such time as the constitutional changes proposed in the individual territories have been finalized. However, these changes are nowhere near finalization. In Northern Rhodesia, there is no sign of the fulfilment of the promise held out by the Monckton Commission Report of 1960,^{1/} which recommended African majority rule as soon as possible, although the United Kingdom Government has committed itself to pursuing the main recommendations of the Commission. Instead, there have been attempts to work out compromise plans, including the McLeod plan and the Hone recommendations, which have been rejected by the African leaders. Furthermore, endless complications have been introduced with regard to the franchise, which appear designed to subvert rather than express democratic principles, to the disadvantage of the African majority.

42. In Southern Rhodesia also the new constitutional proposals have been rejected by the African leaders as "completely unacceptable", as being "drawn up by white men for white men" and as a "shocking denial of basic human rights and an insult to the principle of democracy". The validity of the referendum that was held on these proposals is open to question, not merely because the basis of the vote was biased in favour of the settler element, but also because reports and complaints made by responsible leaders suggest that, in the absence of what *The Times* of London called "a squalid campaign", the results would probably have been different. Thus, these new arrangements have been described as a farce, in which a minority are permitted to continue to exercise a prerogative that belongs to the majority or to the whole.

^{1/} Report of the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), Cmd. 1148.

43. Nyasaland presents a less discouraging picture, but it is to be hoped that a revised constitution on the lines desired by the majority African party will be introduced soon. In Kenya, also, we welcome the announcement of a constitutional conference early next year, or sooner, as suggested by the African nationalists, for full self-government and independence; we would hope, of course, that elections, when these arrangements are settled, will be on the basis of universal suffrage. Furthermore, we strongly urge that every effort be made by the administering Power to encourage rapprochement and agreement between the major parties on the basic principles of the constitution. We make this plea because of the widespread suspicion, which we do not necessarily share, that the administering Power is using one of these parties to delay agreement and thereby independence. We do not share that view, but it is being spread about. We also insist that the maintenance of the United Kingdom military base in the Territory should not be used as a bargaining counter in the negotiations for independence; we would, of course, prefer to see it liquidated forthwith, but equally we admit the right of the Territory itself to take its own necessary decisions on its attainment of independence, but certainly not as part of a package deal concerning independence.

44. As I said in my statement to the First Committee last year:

"It is important"—in relation to Central and East Africa—"to underline this point of majority rights. We are often accused of black nationalism or of racialism in reverse, and sometimes even of communism. This, of course, is a complete misunderstanding. We Africans are more concerned with fundamental human rights than with any particular colour of skin or ideology and we feel ourselves part of the general human community in which man as such, and not his pigmentation or his ideology, is the decisive factor."^{2/}

45. However, we are not unmindful of the difficulties. There is, of course, the general problem that minorities drawn from a different race, speech, colour or religion tend to fear majority rule. But the answer to these fears is the provision of constitutional safeguards and legal guarantees acceptable to the representatives duly elected on a universal franchise. The bigger but not incurable problem is the fact that, owing to the European monopoly in education, skill and capital, European activity does, in fact, sustain the economic life of such areas as Kenya and the so-called Central African Federation. The answer here lies in equal opportunities for all races in education and the acquisition of skills and other sinews of life.

46. We, at the various African conferences, have pressed for a phased political transfer of power, that is to say, the fixing of a definite date for early independence, and we have called upon the administering Powers to take rapid steps to implement the provisions of the Charter and the political aspirations of the people, namely, self-determination and independence.

47. These steps should, in the view of the delegation of Ghana, include a greatly accelerated and enlarged programme of education and technical training, the

opening up systematically of new opportunities for Africans in agriculture and industry, and a rapid growth of African participation in the country's political life. If these steps were taken, they would restore what we believe is most lacking in Africa's plural societies, and that is the element of confidence and hope on the part of the African majority.

48. May I be permitted now to make a few observations with reference to paragraph 6 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which states 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."

49. The Katanga problem is a case in point. Regrettable and vicious attempts continue to be made by vested interests to bolster up the puppet régime of Mr. Tshombé, who is being used to break up the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) through secessionist activity. The Republic of the Congo is, to my delegation, one and indivisible, and the United Nations must do its utmost to stop the injuries being inflicted upon it by these imperialist-inspired intrigues. During the specific discussion of this item, my delegation will have an opportunity to express its views *in extenso*, but we insist that the United Nations must give every assistance to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo in its endeavours to maintain the territorial integrity of the entire Congo.

50. This assistance will be in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 14 July 1960,^{3/} adopted when the first Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), the late Patrice Lumumba, who was murdered in cold blood, launched an appeal to the United Nations for assistance in order to preserve the peace, order and sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo. Second, the delegation of Ghana insists that the Security Council resolutions on the situation in the Republic of the Congo must be fully implemented and that all foreign mercenaries must be ejected from Katanga. Third, we call upon all States to desist from maintaining commercial, financial and consular relations with Katanga, because such relations prejudice and undermine the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo if they are had without any consultation with the Central Government or the President of the Republic.

51. The dispute over West Irian or "Netherlands New Guinea" can also be regarded as a manifestation of the problems covered by paragraph 6 of the Declaration. My delegation regrets that previous negotiations between the Governments of the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands have failed to resolve the dispute.

52. The Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty, included in the Round-Table Conference Agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia^{4/} and transferring to the Republic of Indonesia sovereignty over what used to be called the Netherlands East Indies, definitely stated, in article 1, that:

"The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States

^{2/} This statement was made at the 1142nd meeting of the First Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4387.

^{4/} United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 69 (1950), I, No. 894.

of Indonesia and thereby recognizes said Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent and sovereign State."

53. But what was the Indonesia over which sovereignty was transferred to the independent Republic of the United States of Indonesia? It is well known that the Netherlands administered what is now the Republic of Indonesia and West Irian as a single colony called the "Netherlands East Indies". It is even stated that after the Second World War the Netherlands Government officially called the whole of the Netherlands East Indies "Indonesia". This is borne out by the fact that in its last annual report on Indonesia to the United Nations in 1949, the Netherlands described Indonesia as consisting:

"... of a series of island groups in the region of the equator, extending from the mainland of Asia to Australia. The principal groups are the Greater Sunda Islands ... the Lesser Sunda Islands ... the Moluccas, and New Guinea west of 141 degrees east longitude." 5/

54. This geographical analysis by the Netherlands Government leaves no doubt that West Irian, or New Guinea, forms part of a particular geographical expression called the "Netherlands East Indies", and now called "Indonesia".

55. In spite of statements made by Netherlands spokesmen like Dr. Royen that all parties agree that what used to be the Netherlands East Indies should become an independent State as soon as possible, the Netherlands maintains its presence in West Irian because of an escape clause in article 2 of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty. Here is the kernel of the problem. This article, which dealt with the "residency of New Guinea" stated, in part, that:

"in view of the fact that it has not yet been possible to reconcile the views of the parties on New Guinea, which remain, therefore, in dispute", and "in view of the dedication of the parties to the principle of resolving by peaceful and reasonable means any differences that may hereafter exist or arise between them", both parties decided that "the status quo of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands."

56. The point of departure, therefore, is the agreement reached by both Indonesia and the Netherlands that there should be negotiations on the status of West Irian or New Guinea at a certain time. Apart from these legal considerations, however, my Government believes that this dispute contains a number of political elements, in relation to which the United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities squarely, so that a peaceful settlement may be reached.

57. My Government has carefully studied the proposals in the draft resolution [A/L.354], presented by the delegation of the Netherlands. In other circumstances, the draft resolution would be regarded as bold and imaginative and far-reaching enough as a

necessary first step towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories. But the circumstances are different. While we fully support the intervention of the United Nations in this dispute, my delegation considers that the whole basis of the solution proposed by the Netherlands prejudices the major question at issue in view of article 2 of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty, agreed to by both Indonesia and the Netherlands. Is the Territory, on legal or political grounds, available for disposition in the manner proposed? If the Territory is not so available, then the solution proposed, admirably related as it is to the principle of self-determination, is not germane to the issue.

58. It is the wish of my delegation that there should be no war fought on this issue, that a peaceful solution may be found through peaceful negotiation; it is equally our hope that a mutually acceptable basis for such negotiation will be found, within or outside this Assembly. The delegation of Ghana proposes that a good offices committee of five should be appointed by the President of the Assembly, with the agreement of the two Parties concerned, to initiate negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands on the disputed Territory of West Irian. The committee, if appointed, would evolve its own procedures to enable it to achieve a solution satisfactory to all concerned. The good offices committee would report to the General Assembly, either next year or as soon as possible before the seventeenth session, on the progress made in settling the dispute.

59. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that the draft resolution will not be pressed to a vote, in order to avoid any further stiffening of respective positions. In fact, my delegation appeals to the delegation of the Netherlands to withdraw its resolution so that a draft resolution acceptable to both sides may be prepared and introduced. If, however, the Netherlands draft resolution is put to the vote, my delegation will be forced to vote against it.

60. There are, of course, a few territories which themselves are diffident about the benefits of independence and their ability to sustain it. Some of them, like the High Commission territories in southern Africa, which I have referred to, are really small in size, with rather small populations, and non-viable economies; but they do not by that token, in the view of my delegation, fall outside the scope of the Declaration. The Declaration in relation to such territories must, in our view, be read in conjunction with General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) the annex to which postulates, in principle VI, that a full measure of self-government may be reached not only through sovereign independence, but also through free association or integration with an independent State. Therefore, so long as such association or integration is attained as a result of free, voluntary, democratically expressed choice, and on the basis of complete equality, preferably under United Nations auspices, the implementation of the Declaration need not prejudice or preclude these alternatives to sovereign independence.

61. It is these considerations that have guided my delegation in our examination of the items now under discussion by the Assembly. From these considerations it follows that whatever approach the Assembly decides to adopt on the problem of the implementation of the Declaration, there is a clear need for an ad hoc

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

committee to examine, report and submit recommendations on the progress of such implementation in all Non-Self-Governing, Trust and other Territories which are not yet completely independent. With respect to Africa, it is our considered view that the Committee should, with the co-operation of the Administering Authorities, nationalist leaders and elected representatives, work out precise details of the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), having full regard to the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants. The process of handing over cannot take more than a year or so, if the Administering Authorities are in earnest and if the African leaders so desire.

62. Ghana believes that all non-independent African territories must become independent without delay and we call upon all States and Powers to approach the question of the implementation of the famous Declaration without any partisan rancour. The Declaration which this Assembly adopted last year is overriding and peremptory. It does not allow for any delays. It expresses faith in the ability of every people, whether in Africa or elsewhere, to manage their own affairs. It redresses an injustice done to Africa in the past. If, indeed, Africa was a forgotten continent at the time of the promulgation of the Charter of the United Nations in 1946, the Declaration calling for an immediate end to colonial rule in all territories that are not yet independent has redressed the balance. That is why this Declaration must be fully and immediately implemented. That is why non-independent territories in Africa cannot wait for long to attain their independence, and that is why no attempt should be made to confuse the issue of a United Nations programme for independence of Africa with irrelevant wranglings and condescending attitudes.

63. We call upon the Assembly to adopt resolutions setting up adequate machinery for the immediate implementation of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation will not support any draft resolution, in regard to the independence of Africa, which does not conform with that Declaration adopted last year. The objectives are clear. Let us apply ourselves to the task of the immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Mr. Nosek (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

64. Mr. FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I should like first to pay a tribute to the distinguished representative who preceded me at this rostrum; his magnificent speech contains a complete survey of the problem of colonialism and a perfect guide for the decisions of this Assembly. My purpose in speaking here now is merely to sum up, to express an opinion and to reaffirm a hope.

65. Agenda items 22 and 88 which we are now discussing are based on General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and are undeniably very significant for the maintenance of peace. The essence of these items is nothing less than the liberation of millions of human beings. The Ghanaian representative, who preceded me at this rostrum, said that for the Continent of Africa that resolution was as important as the United Nations Charter, and to a great extent he is right. Only yesterday [1052nd meeting] the Burmese representative called it a "clarion call ... to which my delegation has fervently hoped all ... Powers would respond with a corresponding sense of urgency". The

Guatemalan delegation, true to its long tradition of anti-colonialism, has responded by coming to this rostrum.

66. In the statement of the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs in this Assembly on 28 September 1961 [1019th session], Guatemala's very vigorous condemnation of colonialism and racial discrimination was made categorically clear. May I also recall the statement of General Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, President of the Republic of Guatemala, which was brought to the attention of the permanent representatives to the United Nations, condemning the policy of apartheid. In that statement he said: "Racial discrimination is but slavery in disguise".

67. The truth is that to speak of colonialism and racial discrimination is to speak of slavery. If communities of men cannot freely express their opinions, cannot unite in political parties to comment on problems of government, cannot pass judgement on the conduct of their officials in office, cannot use the franchise to elect their leaders and governments in accordance with their aspirations and customs and cannot freely exploit the natural resources of their territories for their own benefit, and if, moreover, they are subjected to cruel labour systems and are paid most miserable wages, then those men are communities of slaves.

68. It is unbelievable that in this day and age many countries and millions of human beings are still deprived of their fundamental freedoms. There is no doubt that the crisis which confronts and threatens to undermine our civilization is a crisis of human values. This crisis may be the logical consequence of the preponderance of political power and the tremendous advance of science, applied with contempt for the spiritual destiny of man to subjugate nations. In short, it is the denial of freedom and the absence of justice.

69. The historical process of colonialism is but the historical process of nations. The sociological phenomenon of growth and the amassing of elements of power made it possible, in ancient times, for some peoples to subjugate others, giving rise to what were known as the "wars of conquest", with the natural corollary of colonization.

70. It would be tiresome to recount this historical process in detail, even in steps of a thousand years; and in any event distinguished speakers have already described it magnificently from this rostrum. We can but say that, while there might have been some justification for the colonial system in ancient times when applied to the rudimentary resources of a primitive social organization without spiritual values, which resulted in the predominance of those who cultivated those values, improved that organization and amassed elements of labour and power, at the present time, at the advanced stage which we have reached in this epoch, in the light of the law, as the masters of science and technology which advance like wildfire, we can no longer conceive of colonial systems. I can affirm from this rostrum that the colonial system has been universally repudiated and that there is a keen desire to put an end to it promptly.

71. The American continent also experienced wars of conquest and endured the cruel process of colonization. The balance sheet has been drawn up, however, and the balance is favourable. The balance is favourable because the colonizing Power, immortal

Spain, scattered the seed of its race over the American continent and contributed the turbulent stream of its blood.

72. The ineffaceable colonial period, with its bold captains, intrepid seamen, learned geographers, renowned chroniclers, skilful clerks and saintly preachers, had one far-reaching consequence—the establishment of a new breed, the Indo-Hispanic stock, which throughout the long process of colonialism and the struggle for independence always held aloft the standard of human dignity and of man's freedom. And this Indo-Hispanic stock today embraces 200 million human beings in twenty nations and by its culture, progress and organization wields an influence over the destinies of the world.

73. How can we fail to be gratified at the admission of new independent States to this Assembly? How can we fail to desire for the African continent a future such as that of our own America?

74. Nevertheless, we must point out that colonialism has not been eliminated in our continent. Extra-continental Powers unlawfully hold American territory; that situation has been brought about and maintained by the rule of force, the abuse of power and the flouting of law. And if the United Nations Charter continues in force, America has every reason to hope that soon colonialism will be eliminated from its territory too. The Organization of American States, at the Ninth International American Conference at Bogotá in 1948, declared that the process of the emancipation of America would not be complete so long as there remained on the continent regions subject to a colonial régime. With a view to arriving at immediate solutions and accelerating the process of decolonization, it created the American Committee on Dependent Territories, which was entrusted with the task of seeking adequate machinery for restoring the territories unlawfully held to their legitimate owners and ridding our continent of the anachronistic and unlawful colonial system.

75. From the time when the present colonial Powers, with the support of their economic and even their military resources, imposed their systems, they have maintained an insulting distinction between nationals and colonial peoples, denying to the latter the rights and opportunities which they grant to the former; and in the face of universal condemnation of this reprehensible conduct, those Powers boast of educating the colonies to exercise freedom and democracy, and they issue floods of propaganda about the money spent and the results achieved in raising the level of living and culture of their colonies.

76. The Guatemalan delegation contends, however, that the exercise of freedom cannot be learnt under a repressive system which outrages the dignity of man and limits the enjoyment of the basic gifts of life. The fruitful tree of freedom cannot flourish in this sort of climate.

77. The delegation which I represent has accordingly listened most sympathetically to the interesting ideas expressed by all the speakers who have dealt with the item from this rostrum, and particularly those ideas relating to the search for a modus operandi that would bring about the prompt elimination of colonialism without intervention, danger or harmful delay.

78. The progress made thus far holds promise for the future. There is already a store of experience in this world body concerning the soundest form of

directing action to achieve positive results. We must have faith that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) will have immediate and favourable consequences, for with this store of experience one year may be better than the next and lay the foundation for magnificent successes in the following year, until the day arrives when colonialism is liquidated. On that day the United Nations will have written an unfading page in its history, because then the sun will shine equally on all the members of the human race. If hope is the running of time, we may be confident that very soon the United Nations will have written that magnificent page in its history.

79. Reference has also been made here to neo-colonialism. The Ghanaian representative, who was at this rostrum a short time ago, wanted—as I understood it—to represent the events in Katanga as the very embodiment of neo-colonialism. If a person was asked to give a concrete definition of neo-colonialism, it is possible that he could not do so, but here we are given an example which can illustrate a criterion by which to judge this very interesting problem.

80. There is, however, another form of colonialism, which the United Kingdom representative discussed extensively in his statement yesterday. He said that people had been subjugated. He named specific cases, explained the procedure that had been followed, indicated how many millions of human beings and how many millions of square kilometres had been subjugated, and also pointed out the empire which has shown a fondness for colonialism since the time of the Czars—he was referring to the Soviet Union. That distinguished representative also said that where soldiers guard people to keep them from escaping rather than to protect the frontiers, there was subjugation—not freedom. That, too, might be an example of neo-colonialism.

81. A representative who is under a duty to tell the truth must also say these things. I do not do so with the aim of bitterly criticizing the Soviet Union, but when I walk to work in the mornings and see the rainbow of flags adorning the entrance of this building in the United Nations Plaza. I sometimes think that the wind making them flutter is the beating of the world's heart, and then, when I turn to the left to enter the Assembly hall, I see other flags at half-mast, inert, motionless, lifeless. To whom do these flags belong? They are the flags of peoples who have also been subjugated. We hope that this situation will disappear and that an effort will be made to find an honourable solution to these problems, because otherwise, even though Africa shall have been liberated, other peoples will still groan under the yoke of neo-colonialism.

82. I should like also to associate myself with the opinions expressed by the Ceylonese representative [1048th meeting] in his brilliant and constructive statement, in which he appealed to all nations that colonialism should not be treated as part of the big-Power conflict, because to do so would simply make it another cold war issue. For that reason I believe that the Soviet Union is not in a position to castigate colonialism in the Assembly as long as it has not solved the problem to which I referred.

83. The statements of Guatemala from this rostrum have always followed the path of freedom marked out by its great men. The eagerness for freedom has been traditional in Latin America. To prove this, it would suffice to cite an historical fact, for I have spoken on this subject with sincerity and feeling.

84. It happened in the capital of my country. The Constituent Assembly in 1824 was about to discuss the emancipation of the slaves. The renowned José Simeón Cañas, who although a native of El Salvador was a delegate or deputy for the Chimaltenango district in the Republic of Guatemala—because those were the shining days of the Central American Federation—was seriously ill. Nevertheless, he summoned up all the physical and moral strength at his command, went to the Assembly and took a seat. Then rising, he uttered these immortal words: "I have dragged myself here, and if I were dying, I would still have come to demand freedom for the slaves".

85. Needless to say, the members of the Assembly stood up and applauded that initiative; and Cañas, aided by the famous Guatemalan Pedro Molina, drew up the document which decreed the emancipation of the slaves in Central America. Thus, the Central American Federation was one of the first countries to pass legislation freeing the slaves.

86. Following the glorious path of Guatemala's great men, I hereby associate myself with the motions which have been submitted for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and for the emancipation of millions of human beings who suffer under slavery. Guatemala takes this stand, because justice and freedom have always been basic to the life of Central America.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

87. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Nearly a year ago we unanimously adopted a resolution [1514 (XV)] which was solemnly proclaimed to be the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

88. I hope that in speaking of unanimity I am not doing too much violence to the General Assembly's rules for counting votes. There were abstentions, it is true, but I should like to believe that the delegations which abstained merely had formal reservations and did not harbour objections so infamous that they had to disguise their true feelings in this manner or repeat Pontius Pilate's act of cowardice.

89. It was in this way that the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, crowned the admission to membership of numerous countries emerging from the colonial era by proclaiming the need for the early ending of colonialism wherever it prevailed.

90. This declaration—which was the result of a proposal by the delegation of the Soviet Union^{6/}—was immediately destined to find more or less concrete embodiment thanks to a proposal submitted by the United States delegation^{7/} for the study of a United Nations programme for the independence and development of Africa. These initiatives gave added emphasis to the Year of Africa and we were glad to pay a tribute to their sponsors at the time. The length of the debates at the fifteenth session unfortunately made it impossible to conclude the discussion of the second proposal with the result that it had been considered by the First Committee alone.

91. It was therefore left to the Assembly at the current session to concern itself with the fate of these two initiatives: firstly, to study the situation with re-

gard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; secondly, to continue the consideration of the programme for Africa.

92. In this connexion my delegation welcomes the fact that the discussion of the political aspects of the latter item has been deemed to be within the competence of the General Assembly in plenary meeting. We also welcome the fact that the two items are being discussed simultaneously, since the second provides the best possible example or illustration for a useful discussion of the first.

93. The unfortunate fact is that Africa offers many grounds for concern. Everywhere there is bloodshed as the result of an incomprehensible political and moral blindness which still prevents certain countries from facing reality, despite the fact that it looms larger every day, and not only from anticipating the course of history—which might perhaps be expecting too much of them—but from reconciling themselves to it and going with the current.

94. The subject with which we are dealing is so clear that there is no need for me to give a lengthy description of developments, which would amount merely to a reiteration—in a less eloquent form—of the statements made by my distinguished colleagues who have preceded me on this rostrum.

95. I shall therefore endeavour to give a brief account of my Government's views and, to do so, I shall rapidly sketch the situation as it is today, at the end of 1961, one year after the adoption of the Declaration on 14 December 1960. The conclusions I shall venture to draw will lead me to put forward a few suggestions. In this way I think that I shall be able to combine usefully the two agenda items with which we are now concerned.

96. A few days ago the Algerian people entered the eighth year of its war of liberation. Two weeks earlier in Paris, a peaceful demonstration against discriminatory treatment was turned into a "rat hunt", a horrible hue and cry after brown skins which—to its honour—disgusted French public opinion. On 1 November several thousand Algerians imprisoned in France went on a hunger strike to obtain the treatment that befits their position as patriots—treatment as political prisoners—and to protest against the abuses of a penitentiary system which even the French parliamentarians could not but condemn.

97. Very fortunately, the General Assembly took an initiative in this particular matter [resolution 1650 (XVI)]. At the same time, however, we have heard the President of the French Republic speak of the imminence of negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. Is this the atmosphere in which fruitful talks can take place? In repeated statements the French Government appears to adopt a line close to that laid down by our Declaration on independence. Unfortunately, we have not yet seen any factual corroboration of these declared intentions.

98. Further south in Africa, the Congo continues to be a cause of grief and anxiety owing to the criminal obduracy of those who hold certain interests and have managed to find and retain—God knows at what a price—a band of hirelings whom they are using as a cover to set up an "independent" Katanga. The logic of their policy could only lead them to create such an army, which has in its ranks mercenaries recruited

^{6/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4501.

^{7/} *Ibid.*, agenda item 88, documents A/4515 and Add.1.

from wherever this species is to be found, and particularly of course from among the former colonials, such as veterans of the Indo-China war, deserters from the Algerian war, and so on.

99. Demonstrably a definite solidarity has been established among those following the same policy, whether it is north or south of the Sahara and whether the adventurers are French, Belgian, Portuguese or South African. The advent of these bands of marauders, that have done so much harm in the Congo, imposes an even heavier burden of responsibility on those who supply them with weapons and equipment. It is no longer a question of private interests or fantastic dreams: it takes at least a certain amount of connivance on the part of the authorities for jet aircraft to be sold and smuggled.

100. Since our Declaration on independence, a new fire has flared up, one which had been smouldering and had been expected for a long time: the blood-bath in which the Portuguese authorities concerned are attempting to drown Angolan aspirations to dignity. As in other cases, Lisbon is indignant at the interference in the domestic affairs of Angola, Mozambique and other territories because they have been decreed, by virtue of a legal myth, "an integral part of the metropolitan country". I believe it will be enough for me to recall a previous formula inspired by the same spirit: a few years ago we heard the slogan "France united from Dunkirk to Tamanrasset".

101. South Africa, for its part, not content with having been virtually expelled from the Commonwealth, is persevering in its error and still ignoring reality. Its policy of apartheid, which repudiates even the conventional hypocrisy, would merit at least a certificate for frankness and cynicism if it were not digging the grave of the very society it is attempting to build. South Africa also still refuses to implement the United Nations resolutions concerning South West Africa. One does not have to be a Cassandra to prophesy that these madmen will reap tears and blood.

102. In the Middle East, another kind of colonial enterprise is still troubling the conscience of mankind. The expulsion of most of the indigenous population of Palestine was the condition which made possible the creation and survival of an artificial State whose very philosophy is an affront to the rules of international ethics. This state of affairs still exists; only a few days ago, the Israel Parliament passed a law precluding consideration of even the possibility of the return of some or all of the 1,200,000 Arab refugees, and that despite the principles which the Members of the United Nations undertook to respect when they were admitted to membership.

103. The Indonesian archipelago is also suffering from the after-effects of the colonial era. The Netherlands Government decided, in order to justify partial military reoccupation after the declaration of the independence of Indonesia, that West Irian, inhabited by barely 1 per cent of the population of the former Netherlands East Indies, was no longer part of Indonesia. A few days ago [1049th meeting] we heard the representative of the Netherlands outlining a plan which his Government proposed to carry out in order to implement the resolution [1514 (XV)] adopted during the fifteenth session. That generous plan would deserve the Assembly's warm approval if it did not contain a fatal weakness which, in my delegation's view, shows that it is merely a manoeuvre for the purpose of retaining and keeping part of the

former empire. In fact, under the pretext of applying the principle of self-determination the Netherlands Government is simply trying to amputate one of Indonesia's provinces. Even if we think that self-determination is the best criterion of evolution towards the status of an emancipated State, the exercise of that principle must be limited by a proviso, or rather a precaution against intrigue, namely the principle that the territory of a newly independent State must be that which was formerly under colonial administration. It is by virtue of the application of that very principle that, in North Africa, there is no longer any question of the Sahara being anything but Algerian. Can you imagine the result of the blind automatic application of self-determination? How many nations throughout the world which have separatist movements would break up!

104. Lastly, I should like to recapitulate briefly the dangers of the aftermath of colonialism, not only for the harmonious development of those countries which are still dependent, but also for the independent countries and even some Members of the United Nations. I am thinking of last summer, and the way in which the French Government flouted all the obligations imposed on it by ethics and by international law to respect the integrity of my country and to comply with its explicit wish to see its territory completely evacuated. I shall not dwell on the dreadful massacre which placed Bizerta among the cities martyred by human barbarity. I shall simply say that so far, although the forces of aggression have withdrawn to their former positions, the French Government has not yet made the slightest gesture of response to our demonstrations of good will. It is still ignoring reality, and yet it cannot but realize that this attitude of procrastination can only give rise to further difficulties.

105. The picture is very bleak. Unfortunately, the way in which the colonial Powers are abusing the Atlantic alliance is not likely to assist the Western world to restore a reputation already tarnished by the fact that nearly all liberation movements are directed against the members of that alliance, to which history granted the privilege of having colonies.

106. It is not my intention to make an indictment; thus I shall not dwell on other cases where the Declaration on independence has unfortunately remained a dead letter.

107. Are we reduced to declaring a default?

108. Tunisia refuses to do so, although during the year 1961 it had to endure so many ordeals that it became bitter and suspicious; yet it can see in certain events some reasons for not giving way to despair. A few weeks ago, our Assembly became enriched by the addition of a new member: Sierra Leone. In a few days Tanganyika will become independent; in a few months it will be Western Samoa's turn. In another area our Organization made some important decisions on problems of principle which arose; I would only recall the unanimous vote which concluded the General Assembly's debate at its third special session, held as a result of the aggression suffered by my country last summer. Furthermore, a few weeks ago, our Assembly administered a reprimand to the delegation of South Africa.

109. Thus, at crucial moments, sudden changes occur, fortunately, to upset that kind of balance which tends to set in between two opposing movements: on

the one hand, the great upsurge in the world towards freedom, and particularly the ever-growing impatience of the subjugated peoples to break free from their bondage; on the other hand, the reluctance of the colonialist countries, their bad faith, or simply their inability to adjust themselves to the general trend. This time lag has inevitably led to clashes, all too often involving bloodshed, which have not only slowed down the wheel of history but have reduced the likelihood of future co-operation and friendship among the peoples. It was to meet that situation that our General Assembly in 1960 solemnly proclaimed certain principles; in order to give more substance to its Declaration it is incumbent upon us, at the conclusion of our discussion, to put flesh and blood into that proclamation so that it shall become a living reality. That result can only be obtained by stating practical measures whose principles must be based on past experience, whether pleasant or unpleasant.

110. An unkind fate, which in its unfolding has nevertheless proved useful, has seen to it that the country I have the signal honour to represent has experienced all the phases of the struggle for independence. Although its inclination is towards the methods of moderation and negotiation, it has willingly accepted trials of strength when driven to it. We have the witness of three-quarters of a century of righteous struggle, though on a small scale because Tunisia is a small country, to offer to our African brothers still undergoing their martyrdom; we have the fruit of a briefer but clear-cut experience to offer to our brothers acceding to independence; we address a solemn appeal to the colonialist countries to open their eyes not only to the realities of our tortured world, but also to their own true interests, for those nations too, despite their errors, despite their misdemeanours, ultimately belong to this mankind which is struggling at the edge of an abyss worthy of the apocalypse.

111. This mortal danger which is threatening the human race, as is shown by the instability and precariousness of relations in our world, was born in the antagonism of the two blocs, the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc, one of the most unhappy results of which has been to make the rest of the world—Africa, Asia and South America—the object of a rivalry of which it refuses to be the prize.

112. Moreover, the wheel of history is turning inexorably towards the liberation of the peoples. Colonialism is condemned, not only by our Declaration, but by history; it is almost a medical diagnosis. What is the point of obstinately endeavouring to breathe life into a body which is already decaying? How sterile are these attempts to delay the course of history!

113. In that spirit of idealism and realism combined, however, paradoxical that may seem, the President of the Republic of Tunisia proposed, on 2 March 1959, the idea of a "round table meeting" for decolonization. I quote:

"We must take mankind out of the colonial era and lead it into the path of co-operation. The operation must be carried out without precipitation. We can settle reasonable stages, and safeguard the chances of fruitful co-operation and lasting friendship. We must be able to do this. The colonized countries must not seize their independence with bloodshed at the risk, perhaps, of lapsing into anarchy which the opposing camp can exploit in order to let loose

bitterness, spread its own ideology and prepare for its domination."

114. President Bourguiba continued:

"I can easily imagine a great conference in which all the countries that still have colonies or semi-colonies would be represented.

"Having come together those countries could first of all reach an agreement among themselves. They could then invite the representatives of the peoples concerned to a round-table conference or else set up committees to study the case of each country separately and examine its particular possibilities and conditions."

115. A little further on President Bourguiba said:

"They could establish contact with the nationalist movements and in co-operation with them hold free elections which would bring to the fore the best and most clear-thinking elements, with whom negotiations could be conducted.

"In that way the evolution of the colonized peoples could be accomplished without the scourge of terrorism, violence and anarchy.

"Negotiations between colonizers and colonized should not only define the stages and methods by which emancipation was to be achieved but should also cover the study of a plan of economic aid and development. The peoples must be rescued from under-development, which is a form of servitude.

"...

"In so doing, the Western countries would simply be applying the principle which they claim to uphold, namely that of assisting peoples to liberate themselves politically and economically. Liberation achieved in the manner which I have proposed would fit into the framework of a reasonable plan that would restore power to the peoples of the countries concerned and provide for the holding of elections and the establishment of a civil service.

"Attention would then be turned to the problem of working out aid and investment plans to accelerate industrialization programmes.

"Thus the road of economic and technical progress would be opened to the liberated peoples."

116. Unfortunately that appeal, made almost three years ago by President Bourguiba, has failed to evoke from the colonialist Powers the realistic response for which we hoped. If we consider the developments which have since steeped the African continent in blood and which in fact, have unfortunately been the only discernible reaction, we see that his words were only too prophetic.

117. It is true that certain things have been accomplished, as witness the African delegations which have swelled the ranks of our great family since that time, but there has been no solution of the problem as a whole. More than ever—and it is not merely the affection of the child for his father which inspires this statement—we feel that such an idea merits the attention of the Assembly. In our view this is the only way of going to the heart of the problem and it would offer the possibility of finding solutions which would have the great virtue of not being merely partial and disparate. Thus, with the voluntary and sincere participation of the colonial Powers and the support of the United Nations, it would be possible to prevent

those violent reactions which we are witnessing among those who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing, reactions which can only be compared to the convulsions of a wounded beast at bay but which are in reality skin-deep. The United Nations should move in that direction.

118. Yet can we really work out a single rigid formula for the realization of our intentions? Our goal is clearly defined, namely total liberation. But we cannot claim that one single prescription will serve in every case. Methods, ways and procedures may differ, in fact must differ according to the particular circumstances of each country. My delegation considers, however, that we must, even if only by fixing a maximum term, avoid giving the impression that any of us are resigned to moralizing or to accepting even for an instant the thesis that a colonial régime anywhere in the world should be perpetuated.

119. Such are the reflections that I thought it would be useful to bring to the attention of my colleagues on behalf of my delegation in the course of this debate. I should like to quote a few sentences spoken by President Bourguiba at the Algrade on the eve of the sixteenth session of the Assembly in order to give you an idea of the direction, the goal and the outlook of my delegation as it engages in this discussion.

"In its essence the nationalist struggle has been for us, the formerly colonized peoples, a struggle to assert the dignity of man in all parts of the earth; a struggle against colonialism because colonialism has ridden roughshod over this fundamental attribute of the human person. This racism, now cunning and hypocritical, now insolent and cynical, is something which we have fought in the past, which we are fighting now and which we shall fight to the end. We shall spare no effort to come to the aid of its victims. But the struggle for human dignity does not come to an end when colonial rule is abolished. It must continue so that mankind may be liberated from hunger, ignorance and disease. It must be carried on in the struggle against underdevelopment and the exploitation of man by man within the same community.

"This is history's challenge to us. If we prove equal to it we shall have succeeded not only in rescuing our peoples from colonialist rule and protecting them against the onslaughts of neo-colonialism but also and above all in contributing to the preservation of peace and security throughout the world."

120. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): In adopting the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the General Assembly unequivocally condemned colonialism in all its forms. It condemned colonialism not only as a system historically outmoded, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and absolutely at variance, from the moral and political standpoint, with the requirements of our age, but also as a system whose existence constitutes an ever-present threat to peace and an obstacle to its consolidation. This historic act was at the same time a clear expression of the general opinion that the liquidation of the colonial system, i.e., of inequality and economic exploitation, is not only imperative but also constitutes a prerequisite for the establishment of the relationship of equality and co-operation which is necessary for the preservation of peace and for the well-being of the peoples of the entire world.

Finally, in adopting the Declaration the General Assembly took upon itself certain obligations towards the peoples who are still under foreign rule and at the same time shouldered a special responsibility in relation to the efforts which are being made to eliminate breeding-grounds and possible causes of conflicts the existence of which has been and in most cases still is the result of the policy of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

121. Since the adoption of the Declaration the struggle of certain colonial peoples for freedom and independence has been crowned with success. Sierra Leone, whose admission to the United Nations we greeted with satisfaction only a few days ago [1018th meeting], has actively associated itself with the efforts of the international community of sovereign States to safeguard peace and world progress.

122. On 9 December 1961 the people of Tanganyika will achieve independence, an event which will provide an opening into East Africa through which we hope the wind of change can blow freely, bringing to a rapid and successful conclusion the long struggle of the peoples of that area.

123. Uganda will achieve independence in 1962. The celebrated African leader Jomo Kenyatta is asking that on 1 February 1962 his martyred country should be permitted to occupy the place which has long been waiting for it. The people of Western Samoa are to become free on 1 January 1962.

124. These are events of exceptional importance and we welcome them wholeheartedly. We are profoundly convinced that the emergence of new independent States on the international scene and in the United Nations will contribute appreciably to the strengthening of the Organization and of the position of those whose primary concern is to safeguard peace and promote co-operation among peoples enjoying equality of rights, co-operation based on the principle of active and peaceful coexistence.

125. Important as are the results obtained so far in the elimination of colonialism, the process of the emancipation of colonized peoples has not yet come to an end. This process has not been carried out in the past and, unfortunately, is still today giving rise to serious clashes and encountering strong resistance on the part of certain colonial Powers to the rightful aspirations of the dependent peoples, whose struggle is unquestionably facilitated by the liberation of a large number of former colonies but whose sufferings are not thereby mitigated.

126. It is very often pointed out here that the populations of the countries which are still colonies represent only 2 per cent of the total population which was under colonial rule at the end of the Second World War. This low percentage figure conceals the fact that about 70 million people are still living under colonial rule and the argument accordingly proves the opposite of what those submitting it intend; indeed, it merely strengthens our conviction that the liquidation of colonialism should be accelerated and not retarded.

127. Needless to say, we are far from denying the differences in the degree of development of the various Non-Self-Governing Territories, but we cannot accept the theories put forward on the basis of this argument to justify the slowing down of the process of decolonization. Furthermore, are there not even greater differences in degree of development as be-

tween independent States and is not the resistance of the colonial Powers greatest precisely in those colonies which are relatively more developed? The fact is that the existing colonies are still colonies not because they are less developed than those which have won independence but because they are in most cases fortresses of colonialism and neo-colonialism to which, regardless of the aspirations and contrary to the interests of their inhabitants, a special and important place is given in economic, military or strategic planning. That is why the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces resort to any means—from the cynical distortion of the meaning of the right of self-determination to the use of brute force—in order to attain their sole aim of prolonging their rule and their exploitation of the still dependent peoples and countries.

128. Although doomed to defeat, colonialism is unfortunately not dead. The best proof of this assertion is to be found not only in the millions of people living under the colonial system but also in the colonial wars and colonialist interventions in various parts of the world and primarily on the African continent.

129. The brutal oppression in the Territories under Portuguese administration, which in the case of Angola has become a veritable colonial war, the war in Algeria, which has been going on for seven years, the colonialist adventure at Bizerta in the summer of 1961, the South African Government's policy of apartheid, hated and condemned by the entire world, the practice of racial discrimination in many colonies—these are but a few of the manifestations of the stubborn determination of colonialist circles and of certain colonial Powers to maintain their privileges or to slow down the process of liberation of the colonies.

130. If to the examples which I have just mentioned are added the attempts made to influence by economic and other pressures the domestic and foreign policies of the newly liberated countries and of those which are in the process of attaining independence, it will be seen that one conclusion is inescapable: the colonialist circles are seeking by every means at their command at this final stage of the decay of colonialism, not hesitating to use force or to embark on irresponsible adventures, to oppose the inevitable emancipation of the dependent peoples, regardless of the repercussions which their actions may have on the extremely tense international situation prevailing today.

131. In our view, the tragedy of the Republic of the Congo unfortunately continues to present a living example of the stubbornness, the resistance and the obstinate efforts of the neo-colonialist forces to recover and maintain their economic and political privileges by any means, even after the colonies have achieved independence.

132. It should not be forgotten that the fundamental cause of the Congo crisis and of the sufferings endured by the people of that young African State is foreign intervention, organized, encouraged, financed and armed by the colonial Powers and foreign financial circles.

133. Secession in this case is but one of the forms assumed by colonialist intervention, the disintegration of the Congo being the means employed to uphold colonial privileges and perpetuate the exploitation of the natural wealth of that country.

134. No parliamentary rhetoric, however brilliant, can camouflage this state of affairs, much less distort the truth of the drama which has been unfolding for the past seventeen months in the Congo. This human and national drama constitutes a serious warning to all the anti-colonialist forces and to the United Nations: colonialism, although doomed to defeat, is not dead but constitutes a real threat to the independence of the newly liberated countries.

135. These profoundly anti-historical trends are dangerous both because of the disturbances to which they give rise and because they are bound up with the conflicting interests of military blocs—a circumstance which still further complicates the situation at both levels—and in our opinion they call for determined and vigorous action on the part of the international community. Such action is the more necessary in that the international situation has become dangerously tense and that since the Second World War mankind has been confronted as never before with the seriousness of the problem of war or peace.

136. The real threat to peace and the real breeding-ground of actual and potential conflicts are to be found in colonialist oppression and colonialist interventions, not in the resistance of the colonized peoples to such violence and their struggle to throw off colonialist rule.

137. Accordingly, the effort to liquidate colonialism, far from being in opposition to the effort to consolidate world peace, is entirely in harmony with it. The final triumph of decolonization, the final liquidation of the colonial system and colonial rule, will be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace, for it will eliminate many dangerous breeding-grounds of conflict and lessen hostility between the existing blocs.

138. As I have said, the colonial problem, because of its implications, occupies a very important place among the problems which make the current situation what it is. This problem and the need to settle it once and for all were given the attention which they warranted by the Conference on the non-aligned countries.^{8/} The declaration of that conference stated inter alia:

"The participants in the Conference are convinced that the emergence of newly-liberated countries will further assist in narrowing of the area of bloc antagonisms and thus encourage all tendencies aimed at strengthening peace and promoting peaceful co-operation among independent and equal nations.

"1. The participants in the Conference solemnly re-affirmed their support to the 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples', adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and recommend the immediate, unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and resolved to make a concerted effort to put an end to all types of new colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations."^{9/}

139. My delegation considers that the United Nations should proceed without delay to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples with a view to the

^{8/} Conference held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

^{9/} Belgrade Conference 1961 (published by the Review of International Affairs, Belgrade), No. 5, p. 21.

final liberation of the still dependent peoples. Taking into account the experience of the past, where the active role played by the United Nations and its intervention have facilitated the liquidation of colonial relationships, taking into account likewise the requirements of contemporary evolution, my delegation considers that the General Assembly or such organ as it may establish should adopt a procedure giving the United Nations ample opportunities for action and ensuring its active and indispensable participation in the process of decolonization. The right of petition, the hearing of petitioners, on-the-spot examinations of conditions, etc., should become the normal means of gathering the information required in order to be able as soon as possible to fix short and realistic periods for the achievement of independence, by each Territory, periods during which power will be transferred to the indigenous populations with the co-operation and under the supervision of the United Nations.

140. My delegation will support any proposal designed to promote the effective implementation of the Declaration and the termination of a system which in the past has led all too often to the gravest conflicts and which even today, by its very existence, constitutes an ever-present threat to the interests of the United Nations, to the interests of peace and to the interests of all mankind.

141. My delegation will in due course express its views on the draft resolutions which have been or may be submitted for the consideration of this Assembly.

142. I should like, however, to refer to a problem which is once again before the General Assembly. I have in mind the problem of West Irian, a Territory which the Netherlands Government, in all the reports submitted by it to the United Nations before 1949 and in all the discussions preceding the transfer of sovereignty to independent Indonesia, considered to be part of what was in those days called the Netherlands East Indies. The fact that for one reason or another sovereignty over this Territory has not been transferred to Indonesia, as it should have been, in no way affects its status.

143. My Government's attitude on this question is well known and has been set forth repeatedly: West Irian is an integral part of Indonesian territory. Accordingly, my delegation considers that any proposal that fails to recognize this fact, which in our view is incontestable, cannot serve as a basis for an equitable and constructive solution.

144. Furthermore, my delegation is convinced that a lasting and constructive solution of this problem cannot be sought and put into effect in disregard of the legitimate rights of Indonesia. The willingness of that country in the past and in the present to co-operate in seeking a negotiated solution shows us the way to reach a peaceful settlement of this problem—the transfer to Indonesia of sovereignty over West Irian—and thus to eliminate a dispute which constitutes a serious threat to peace in that part of the world.

145. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): Once again, this Assembly has been called upon to debate the perennial question of colonialism, with particular reference to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

146. When the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the United Nations reaffirmed certain important principles laid down in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter. These principles underline the lofty ideals which inspired the founding nations and all those who have since achieved membership of this Organization.

147. Since the adoption of this resolution, many things have occurred in demonstration of the good will and sincerity of some of the Administering nations whose representatives supported that resolution. Indeed, it is a matter for justifiable pride to record that my country, Sierra Leone, achieved independence on 27 April 1961 to take its place among the free nations of the world. And here it is only fair to add that this independence was achieved in an atmosphere of the greatest possible good will and friendship between my people and the British Government—our former colonial Administrators—without rancour and without bitterness. In fact, it was because of that good will and cordiality that my country was proud to take its seat in the family of the British Commonwealth of Nations after the achievement of independence.

148. There can be no doubt that there are many countries, formerly dependent and now free, that can recall similar happy relationships with their previous Administering Authorities. Yet, in spite of such cases, it is an unfortunate fact to reflect upon that there are some 50 million people from nearly seventy territories still under the domination of foreign Powers, notwithstanding the fact that this very important resolution—resolution 1514 (XV)—has been adopted.

149. It is, therefore, our task at this session to consider ways and means of implementing this remarkable document. There is not much point in dilating here on all the evils and humiliations of colonialism. In fact, there is no need to indulge in a verbal war of recriminations. My delegation, representing a country which has only so recently emerged from colonial status, is more concerned with what lies ahead. We are engaged in the most exhilarating experience of building a new nation. But, in spite of the atmosphere of optimism in which we live, and a great sense of relief in the knowledge that we have emerged from a position of dependence and now breathe the rarefied air of newly found independence, we cannot remain aloof from the fates and fortunes of those around us. We cannot cease to identify ourselves with all those who are still struggling for freedom and those who are still fighting for the right to determine their own destiny.

150. This right of a people to determine its own destiny is an inalienable right. Men all over the world should be free to determine their own national affairs and free to exercise the choice between governing themselves independently, or in association with another group. Because my delegation accepts this fundamental principle, we wholeheartedly acclaim the sentiments expressed in resolution 1514 (XV). We see in that resolution an important development in the thinking of a civilized man; it is an expression of universal repugnance to the continued domination of a group of people by another group. Yet, in spite of that resolution, there are still some countries, unfortunately, represented in this body, which still per-

sist in the antiquated doctrine of racial superiority and inequality of man.

151. I say that some of them persist in upholding the doctrine of the inequality of man, because I find it difficult to interpret their conduct otherwise when they argue that certain people are not ripe and are not fit for independence. If any group of people can arrogate to themselves the right to determine the yardstick or standard by which the readiness and the fitness of a nation for independence can be measured, then one must accept the underlying presumption that the nation so arrogating that right to itself is in a position to know and to determine what the true measure of independence is, and what are the real prerequisites for independence.

152. My delegation believes that readiness for independence cannot be determined by arbitrary standards laid down by other people. Every nation has the right to determine its own destiny, and we find it morally indefensible that a people should continue under the domination of another Power after that people have declared their intention to govern themselves. This is why my delegation will support any draft resolution which condemns colonialism and seeks to bring it to an end as quickly as possible.

153. We are, however, fully aware of the difficulties involved in fixing target dates for independence. We do not believe that independence for a people can be worked out along those lines. We think that it would be more helpful if the instruments of repression were withdrawn; this is in keeping with the terms of paragraph 4 of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) which states:

"All armed action or repressive measures ... directed against dependent peoples shall cease ... and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected."

154. In this context, we wish to record our very deep concern for the events in Angola, where the Portuguese have used all types of brutality to keep in subjugation a suffering people fighting for their rights.

155. And here again, we sincerely hope that the negotiations now in progress between the French and the Algerians will come to a speedy conclusion and bring to an end this long, drawn-out struggle of a valiant people for self-determination.

156. It is the responsibility of an Organization such as this to take an attitude on this issue. If this Organization was conceived and dedicated to the end that the conditions of tension and causes of wars should be removed, and an atmosphere created in

which peace would abound, then it is surely our duty to do all we can, to bring all the moral pressure at our command and to stretch the functions of this Organization to its utmost to eradicate colonialism in our time.

157. We have all heard from this rostrum pious announcements against colonialism by some representatives whose countries have little reason to feel smug, because colonialism could well be recognized in those places where people are made to submit to a foreign-inspired Government against the will of the masses of the people. It could be recognized in those situations where the people have never been allowed the right to determine their own affairs. This also is an evil that should be removed without delay. It is hypocrisy for one standard to be used against one set of nations, and another to be used when one considers one's own position.

158. As has already been stated at this session, no resolution touching on the fate of dependent territories has much chance of implementation without the co-operation of the Administering Authorities concerned. Already we have seen the willingness of some nations in recent years—notably the United Kingdom—to surrender their possession when the people have indicated their desire to govern themselves. It is an example that ought to be followed by other nations. And, here, I wish to record my delegation's agreement with the helpful suggestion of the representative of Ceylon, when he spoke here the other day [1049th meeting], of the need for the General Assembly to seek the co-operation of the Administering Members who should be asked to facilitate the Assembly's work by admitting to certain Territories, at present under their administration, United Nations groups or good will missions, at whose disposal would be placed necessary facilities to help them ascertain the trends of public opinion in the Territory concerned. He went on to add that the United Nations could subsequently, if necessary, and if desired by the parties concerned, assist these parties in negotiations. This is a bold suggestion which no Administering Member, sincerely interested in implementing resolution 1514 (XV), should find unacceptable.

159. It is the will of my delegation to lend its support to this or any other proposal which will have the effect of granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, and we proclaim once again our true belief in the lofty ideals of the universality of fundamental human rights and freedoms, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.