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

**AGENDA ITEM 87**

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

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): The present General Assembly debate on the adoption of a United Nations declaration on the granting of independence to countries and peoples still under foreign domination, calling for the immediate and final abolition of colonialism, is a significant stage in the history of mankind. The United Nations, by initiating such a declaration, is taking an important step towards discharging one of the solemn obligations to which Member States subscribed when they laid down certain definite purposes for the Organization. One of those purposes was "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

2. It is now universally acknowledged that the practices of colonialism, which consist purely and simply of the domination of certain countries by others and the subjugation of certain peoples by others, are a flagrant violation of the principle of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples" laid down in the Charter; while the practices of colonialism, by keeping a number of countries and their inhabitants subjected to the domination and exploitation of other countries, are the most obvious causes of the distress, the acts of violence and the disorders which are occurring in several parts of the world and seriously threatening international peace and security.

3. The colonial phenomenon, in the historical sense, reached its peak in the expansionist urge of the western European Powers during the nineteenth century, especially towards the end. Their ambition was achieved at the expense of a large number of Asian and African countries. A product of the mercantilism of earlier centuries, colonial expansion was based essentially on economic and strategic considerations, in a historical period marked by industrialization in Europe and dominated by the need to ensure that raw materials from the colonies found their way to the metropolitan countries, that strategic points were occupied for the control of land and sea routes and that manufactured goods could be disposed of in colonial markets.

4. More recently, colonization was also used as a pretext when a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Oceania were annexed for the establishment of colonial settlements designed to solve the problems of over-population in certain European countries.

5. What some western European historians like to call the colonial saga has produced—along with its plethora of military expeditions and wars of occupation—its missionaries, philosophers and theorists, and even its poets and its epics, as well as the false theories of superior races carrying out so-called civilizing missions among allegedly backward or inferior tribes.

6. But in spite of the various labels which the colonial Powers used to induce an ill-informed public opinion or a reluctant parliament to accept the vast expense of their conquests, the history of colonial expansion has clearly shown the reality of the materialistic motives, often cynical and selfish and dominated by the greed which inspired the colonialists.

7. In any case, colonialism has more often than not resorted to armed force to impose the rule of one country or people over another. In the eyes of colonial peoples, this domination by force has always been a sign of the illegality and immorality of their subjugation and the seizure of their natural wealth by foreign Powers. The colonial peoples have offered physical resistance to foreign domination, sometimes for decade after decade; and where they have submitted, they have not become resigned, but have submitted only temporarily, seizing every opportunity to assert themselves in a variety of ways.

8. The colonial peoples opposed exploitation, injustice and provocation with insubordination and demonstrations, and sometimes with uprisings, rebellions and revolts. Because of the refusal of the colonial peoples to accept foreign domination, and because they were aware of their right to attain their national ambitions, nationalist movements grew up giving the popular feeling of revolt a means of expression, disciplined organization and dynamic methods of action. Just as men are jealous of their personal rights and basic freedoms when these are threatened by the arbitrary rule of princes or States, so the colonial peoples were eager to enjoy self-respect and to regain their freedom with nations fashioned by their suffering and sacrifice and bearing aloft the ideals of national independence and territorial integrity. The modern history of Africa and Asia is dominated by this struggle of peoples subjugated by colonial Powers and oppressed by the forces of exploitation which seized their natural wealth. Since ideals and reactions are the same irrespective of ethnic diversity and geographical separation, the peoples colonized and dominated by foreign Powers found encouragement for their agitation, one after another, in the success of those who had fought the battle before them. Thus a vast movement of solidarity grew up throughout the world. At first it was spontaneous, then deliberate, and finally agreements were

reached and the movement organized among all peoples still under foreign domination. After the Second World War the movement became one of the most important forces in the history of the second half of the twentieth century. This vast liberation movement, aiming at the fulfilment of the aspirations of all peoples under foreign domination, at victory for the dignity of the oppressed peoples and their rapid liberation from the colonial yoke, found a means of expression and a basis for its principles in the League of Arab States set up at the end of the Second World War, in the Conference of African and Asian States held in Bandung in 1955, which worked out a kind of anti-colonialist charter, and at the various pan-African conferences, from the Accra Conference of 1958 to the latest Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in June 1960.

9. The principles of the Atlantic Charter and the purposes, principles, and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations have undoubtedly played a decisive part in this historic development of the movement for the abolition of colonialism and of the exploitation of one people by another; and a movement of public opinion in favour of the liberation of colonial peoples has also made a great contribution. This movement has appeared and prevailed because of its humanism, its vision and its nobility of purpose and ideals, even in those countries which are still, unfortunately, dominated by the forces of colonialist reaction. The countries formerly under foreign domination have shown their ability to manage their own affairs and a sense of responsibility in discharging their obligations as sovereign members of the family of nations. In this way they have shown, in the clearest possible way, how untenable are the arguments which the colonial Powers tend to use in order to maintain their supremacy and domination, including the argument that the countries concerned are not ready for self-government. Where peoples have resolved to resort to the most extreme means to achieve their national ambitions, they have shown an exemplary sense of sacrifice in their armed struggle against the forces of colonial oppression which have given the colonial Powers pause. They have realized that the only way to protect their interests is to speed up the process of emancipating the peoples under their domination to prevent them from using such methods to achieve their ends.

10. Thus a process of self-liquidation of colonialism—or decolonization, as it is now called—has made it possible, over the last few years, and especially more recently, for the United Nations to admit to membership many African nations which are free at last from foreign colonial domination.

11. But, alas, there is still much to be done. In several parts of the world, and especially in Africa and the Middle East, tens of millions of oppressed human beings, eager for freedom and a life of dignity and fully aware of their natural and lawful right to self-determination and independence, are fighting bravely against the blind forces of colonial exploitation and oppression. In Algeria, in Palestine, in the south of the Arabian peninsula and in various parts of Africa, the indigenous peoples are revolting against the foreign occupation of their national territory and are fighting against abuse, injustice, hardship, oppression and arbitrary rule. In all these parts of the world, the peoples concerned are paying a heavy tribute in blood, sweat and tears to the triumphant cause of their

freedom, their dignity and the safeguarding of the integrity of their national heritage. The peoples in question are prepared to make great sacrifices, simply because they do not despair of the victory of their just struggle in a world where the forces of equity, justice and morality find their most eloquent expression in the purposes, principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter.

12. It is highly significant that the authors of the Charter tried to base the new order, the order of the United Nations, on the solemn determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

13. This fundamental concern with the dignity and worth of the human person was the source of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That solemn proclamation was certainly a historic step forward in the struggle for the triumph of individual rights and essential freedoms.

14. No less important is the United Nations concern to achieve these freedoms within the framework of the equality of nations large and small. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter deal with obligations towards Non-Self-Governing Territories and territories under international trusteeship. Over the past fifteen years, the United Nations has worked most diligently to implement the provisions of the Charter which relate to these two kinds of territories and are basically concerned with ensuring the political, economic and social progress of the peoples of those territories, developing their administrative ability, catering for their political ambitions, helping them gradually to develop their political institutions and encouraging their steady growth towards self-government or independence.

15. Over the past fifteen years, the dependent peoples, or those under foreign domination, have taken every opportunity of expressing their most ardent and sincere wish to enjoy their freedom and self-respect and to be masters of their own fate. Those among them whose national aspirations have been fulfilled have considered it their duty to make the voice of the still oppressed peoples heard in international circles; they have become the interpreters of the legitimate desire of those peoples for human dignity and national independence.

16. Some of the dependent peoples, as we have already said, have determined in the face of injustice, misunderstanding and provocation to use extreme methods to gain their rights. This has led to tragic situations and bloody wars which are a serious threat to international peace and security. The long and painful war which has now gone on for six years in Algeria between the forces of nationalism and the armies of colonialist oppression, is a distressing and alarming example.

17. The acts of violence, clashes and disturbances, the instability and unrest characteristic of the Asian and African countries under foreign domination today and ever since the Second World War, have been caused mainly by this very failure of the colonial Powers in their so-called civilizing mission and the humanitarian principles they professed in order to bring the local peoples under their yoke. Denial of

human dignity, ignorance of the demands of the indigenous masses and the negation of fundamental freedoms were unfortunately made still more intolerable by the racial discrimination and segregation practised against most of the peoples who had the misfortune to fall under foreign colonial domination.

18. The Administering Authorities have not given all the attention which was expected and desirable to the education of the indigenous masses, the improvement of their health conditions, the raising of their standard of living and their preparation for the responsibility of managing their own affairs.

19. Those peoples which did achieve their national ambitions immediately understood the enormous responsibilities facing their leaders, because almost everything had to be done from scratch. Large-scale public works were of course carried out in countries dominated by foreign Powers; bridges, harbours and roads were built and similar projects were carried out. But clearly all this was done to ensure the efficient running of colonial enterprises with a view to higher economic returns, almost exclusively in the interests of those who had the work done. It is nevertheless encouraging for all concerned that the colonial past, in spite of old scores, has hardly anywhere engendered bitterness or strong feelings, which would have been understandable; nor has it given rise to rankling hate, desire for revenge or xenophobia among the liberated peoples. On the contrary, in most of the countries formerly under European domination, including my own, foreign communities still live in an atmosphere of hospitality and tranquillity and enjoy a growing economic well-being and prosperity. The anxiety of certain colonial Powers to maintain their supremacy in order to ensure the safety and tranquillity of European minorities, is not based on any valid reasoning and is really no more than a pretext for maintaining colonialist privilege. It merely encourages the desire for domination and perpetuates greed for power and profit.

20. However skilful colonialism may be in maintaining its position by indirect economic technical or other domination, its skill will be of no avail in the face of the awakening of the peoples and their new-found awareness in every field.

21. In its constant concern to discharge its solemn obligations and to create the conditions of lasting peace and universal well-being based on respect for the principle of equal rights of peoples and the right of self-determination, the United Nations must take a stand in favour of ending the exploitation of one people by another, solemnly proclaiming the necessity of bringing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations to a speedy and unconditional end.

22. Once it is recognized that all dependent peoples long to achieve their goal of freedom and independence, it is the duty of the United Nations to denounce any subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination or exploitation as immoral, unlawful and contrary to the principles of the Charter. All peoples have the right of self-determination, the right freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

23. If the United Nations is convinced that the maintenance of colonialism is at variance with its ideal of universal peace, it is in duty bound to declare that all armed action or repressive measures directed

against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and to the integrity of their national territory.

24. In accordance with the demands of international morality, as expressed by the great majority of the international community, it is most urgent that the United Nations should declare solemnly that immediate steps shall be taken in all dependent countries, whatever their form of subjection and whatever fictions may be used to keep them in subjection, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, preferably with adequate international guarantees.

25. For these reasons a number of delegations, including my own, have submitted to the General Assembly a draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-2] expressing the wish of all the peoples of the earth to get rid of colonialism once and for all and proclaiming the right of dependent peoples to enjoy freedom, national independence and territorial integrity as soon as possible.

26. This draft, worded in extremely dignified and moderate language, is a sincere and realistic attempt to bring about the final victory of the principles of the United Nations and its ideals of equality among peoples and human dignity. The draft is a sign of good faith and goodwill, devoid of any harshness or demagoguery. By adopting it, we are convinced that the General Assembly will be taking a timely stand, in keeping with its noble mission throughout the world.

27. The moral effect of such a declaration will be to strengthen the hopes of the oppressed peoples who are fighting bravely to attain their legitimate ambitions, and allow the United Nations to create the conditions for a world governed by freedom, law and human values.

28. I should like on behalf of the Libyan delegation to express to the Soviet Union our heartfelt gratitude for its initiative in asking to have this important question placed on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/4501] and pressing for its solemn discussion in plenary meeting. I must assure the Soviet delegation that we have studied its draft declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1] with the closest attention, and I must say that we have found complete agreement between the views and purposes set out in their draft resolution and our own. Our purpose in associating ourselves with a number of Asian and African delegations to submit the draft declaration contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-2 was simply to ensure that this question was considered objectively and without reference to any matters irrelevant to its essential purpose. We recommend it to the General Assembly, in the hope that it will be considered in its proper context and approved on its proper merits.

29. I should also like to express in advance our appreciation to the United States of America for taking the initiative in outlining a United Nations programme for the independence and development of Africa. We shall examine this proposal with equal interest when the time comes to consider it in the First Committee. May I say that the interest in the independence of peoples now shown by the two major Powers of the present world is significant in many ways.

30. In conclusion, my delegation sincerely hopes to see the beginning of a new age in the history of man-

kind when the peoples of the world, free at last from the domination of great Powers, will turn their energies to the service of everlasting peace and fruitful co-operation in a better world, governed by the wise and humane order of the United Nations.

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

31. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Now that the draft declaration on the abolition of the colonial system and the granting of independence to colonial peoples has been introduced, everyone, even the most determined champions of the colonial system, agrees that colonialism has had its day. Sometimes, however, the champions of colonialism find really ingenious ways of presenting a case which is not in line with the general trend of ideas now uppermost in people's minds regarding the abolition of colonialism. They rack their brains to find expressions such as "an outmoded concept of political relationships" for colonialism, naturally so as not to have to take a clear and unequivocal decision on such a vital question as the abolition of colonialism in our times, or so as to prepare the ground and take up special positions for an out-and-out defence of the colonial system in a new guise.

32. But the declaration on the abolition of colonialism proposed by the USSR is so wide in scope and such a turning point in the history of this question that even those that are involved in colonial exploitation and their friends and allies find it difficult to defend the continuation of the colonial system. Colonialism has caused such untold and incalculable suffering to mankind in general and to the colonial people in particular now that no one can easily defend it openly. For centuries, the colonial peoples have been subjected to a horrible system under which they have been exploited and deprived of the most elementary human rights. We shall not dwell on some of the episodes of colonial history such as the extermination of whole peoples to make room for white settlers, since for the time being these have no direct bearing on the development of the question or on the decision to be taken with regard to the abolition of the colonial system. They are merely historical facts, but they give us an inkling of the ferocity with which colonization was carried out.

33. What is more important is to note that, at the present time, fifteen years after the foundation of the United Nations and the establishment of the system defined in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter relating to the colonial territories, there has been very little improvement in the situation of the people who are still groaning under the colonial yoke, compared with their lot in the past.

34. Indeed, because the economy of the colonial countries is the most backward in the world, because their agriculture is still at a stage comparable to that of the Middle Ages in Europe, because the fertile land has been taken over and developed by the white settlers while the indigenous population has been herded onto poor and arid land, because industry is very backward and the industrial enterprises are nearly all in the hands of the colonialists, who also exploit all the natural wealth of the colonies, the colonial people are still living in the most frightful poverty and the death rate in the colonies is still so high that the figures themselves do not give an adequate picture of the misery into which the people have been plunged.

In a word, the blood and sweat of the colonial peoples who are still beneath the colonial yoke and the ruthless exploitation of the labour and natural wealth of the colonies are still bringing in fabulous profits for the people who, through their representatives, are trying to convince us of their sacred civilizing mission and of their sincere efforts to prepare the colonial peoples for independence.

35. The results of this civilizing mission are only too obvious and too well known. We shall not dwell on the living standards of the colonial peoples. Other delegations have quoted figures in abundance. It is enough, perhaps, to point out that in most colonies, the per caput income of the indigenous inhabitants is often scores of times lower than the per caput income of the white colonists.

36. And these are not all the so-called virtues of the colonial system. There are others. The indigenous inhabitants are subjected to a monstrous system of racial discrimination, even in their own country—in South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere. They are not treated like human beings at all, but as though they were cattle. The colonists are indifferent not only to the interests of these people but even to their lives and their very existence.

37. Under these circumstances it is understandable that certain representatives have appealed to delegations not to bring up the appalling history of colonialism again in the present debate, in particular not to mention certain special and particularly vile instances of colonialism. Some have even gone so far as to claim that it would be introducing the language of the cold war to dwell on cases which show us some of the uglier facts of colonialism.

38. We representatives of the socialist countries would certainly like to find a solution to the problem of granting independence to the colonial peoples without going into all the past crimes of the colonialists or bringing up certain special cases. In fact this is the position and attitude we have adopted in the past and still maintain on every question, provided there is no attempt to use special tactics to defer and even prevent the necessary solutions—we have proved this on several occasions. We have no wish to introduce an acrimonious note into the debates on the item under discussion, either in the General Assembly or in the Committees. However, we cannot resign ourselves to mere statements, to expressions of pious hope that a just and adequate solution will be found for the problems facing the General Assembly, if and when the representatives of certain countries start manoeuvring to divert attention and prevent the necessary decisions from being taken. It is regrettable that in the course of the present debate, attempts have been made by the representatives of certain colonial Powers to present the vilest colonialism not only in a favourable light but as a boon to the colonial peoples who for decades and even centuries have been bowed beneath the colonial yoke. The United Kingdom representative, for instance, attempted to prove that the question of granting independence to the colonial peoples could not be considered a colonial question and sought to place it on another footing which he hoped would make it possible to thwart the colonial peoples struggling for their liberation and impatiently awaiting a decision from the Assembly. He strove to transfer the discus-



sion to another field, the field of the cold war; but if we followed him, we should have even more arguments, and really effective ones, not hackneyed arguments such as he uses.

39. Some representatives of the colonial Powers have stood up here, both during the present debate and in other discussions in the United Nations, and tried to champion the colonial system without giving the appearance of doing so. The old form of colonialism, they tell us, is dead or at least dying. The colonial Powers themselves have granted independence to the colonial peoples; why, then, should we discuss the question of colonialism in such detail, they ask. Why propose such urgent measures against a system which is disappearing naturally, of its own accord?

40. It would be difficult to find statements so far from the truth. At the present time, more than a hundred million men are still under the colonial yoke. Not a day goes by without the Press and radio informing us of the cruelest repressive measures against the colonial peoples. Not only are colonialism and the colonialists unwilling to let go their prey, but realizing that their days are numbered, they often become much more aggressive and much more bloodthirsty. Where the colonial Powers are no longer able to resist the pressure of the masses of the people, they make political concessions, while at the same time striving to maintain their economic, strategic and other positions. If these are imperilled, they use every means at their disposal, including armed force, in an attempt to protect them. When they cannot do this alone, they enlist the aid of other colonial and imperialist Powers who are their allies.

41. This aggressive colonialist policy is fraught with enormous dangers for the whole of mankind, for colonialism and its methods of imposing colonial policy have always been linked with war and have always led to war. In the present situation, where there are weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear weapons, mankind can no longer run the risk of allowing such breeding grounds of conflict and the possibilities of war to persist indefinitely.

42. The United Kingdom representative, in his out-and-out defence of the principles of colonial policy and his attempt to find justification for not granting immediate independence to colonial countries, has adduced arguments marked by what, in this day and age, is a strange and completely misplaced logic. He has tried to prove that certain small nations and small territories should not be granted immediate independence. However, there is nothing to be found in the United Nations Charter which establishes an invidious distinction between small and large nations. Moreover, there are, of course, already in the United Nations several countries with a population of less than a million inhabitants. Freedom can surely not be denied to these peoples, still suffering under the colonialist yoke, for the trumped up reasons advanced by the United Kingdom representative. It has also been stated that these small colonial countries had, and will have need of financial assistance and special protection in order to survive. I fear I must question the sincerity of the "generous" concern expressed by the colonialists for those whom they have until now oppressed.

43. In the matter of financial assistance, the balance has, of course, always been in favour of the colonialist Power. As for the protection it is alleged that these

small countries will need, why not let them make their own choice and express their own opinion on that point?

44. Reference has been made to another category of countries, where different tribes and communities live side by side and where "groups ... sometimes African, sometimes European, sometimes Asian ... fear that independence when it comes will hurt them".

45. Which groups are meant? If the reference is to the white colonialists who have profited by the colonization and exploitation of the indigenous populations, it will certainly be difficult to persuade the colonial peoples and world public opinion that the colonial system must be maintained in these countries in order to preserve the monstrous privileges enjoyed by these minorities.

46. As for the other communities, it is notorious that the colonialist policy has always sought to create conflicts among them, the more easily to keep them in subjection and slavery. All these contrived problems will disappear of themselves, once a democratic and independent system is established in the countries concerned, unless the colonialists attempt to interfere once again in the domestic affairs of the liberated countries.

47. All such arguments, as well as those extolling the benefits of the colonialist policy, are put forward here, as we have already stressed, to distract attention from the main question now under discussion, i.e. the immediate granting of independence to colonial peoples, to try to postpone a decision and maintain colonial domination until such time as the colonialist Powers are able to find other devices and other ways of dominating their former colonies. Under these circumstances, we must re-examine certain arguments and assertions that have been employed repeatedly by the representatives of the colonialist Powers.

48. On several occasions we have heard statements here to the effect that since 1939, 500 million men and women who were formerly under British domination have obtained freedom and independence and that their representatives are seated here. That is undoubtedly true. But it is odd that the United Kingdom representative should not hesitate to claim for his Government and for the United Kingdom colonialists in general the honour of having furthered this historical development. An attempt has been made to persuade us that British colonial policy was enlightened and that the United Kingdom Government made a great contribution to the liberation of the former colonies.

49. Perhaps the United Kingdom representative is counting on the colonial peoples having short memories, or is hoping that this joy at being independent has made them forget the dreadful reality of the past, the horror of colonialist subjugation and the protracted and heroic struggles they waged to achieve liberation and independence. The fact that these peoples have not forgotten and will never forget so long as colonial domination exists on this planet has been amply demonstrated in the discussions that have taken place here since the debate on the elimination of colonialism began. I refer to this matter, not to prove what is self-evident but merely to refresh the memory of certain representatives and to make them realize that unsupported assertions cut no ice with world public opinion.

50. The United Kingdom representatives have said more than once that the policies of the United Kingdom

colonialists had brought hundreds of millions of human beings freedom and independence. However, the facts are entirely different. To learn what the United Kingdom policy really has been throughout the period when so many British colonies have attained independence, one must refer, not to the statements made by United Kingdom political leaders after this historical development had reached fruition—such as the statements by the present Prime Minister of the United Kingdom or by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations which I will not cite, since they are so well known—but rather to the statements and acts of the political leaders of the United Kingdom at the time when these decisions were taken and the events in question took place.

51. Thus, we should like to cite the statements of the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom at the time when one of the largest British colonies, India, was about to attain independence.

52. Opening the debate on 5 March 1947 on the Labour Government's decision to transfer power in India within fourteen months, Sir Stafford Cripps stated, *inter alia*, that the Government was faced with two alternatives:

"...first, we could attempt to strengthen British control in India on the basis of an expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's services, and a considerable reinforcement of British troops, both of which would have been required, so that we should be in a position to maintain for as long as might be necessary our administrative responsibility"—note that the same innocuous expression is used today by Mr. Ormsby-Gore to describe British colonialist subjugation—"while awaiting an agreement amongst the Indian communities. Such a policy would entail a definite decision that we should remain in India for at least 15 to 20 years ... The second alternative was, we could accept the fact that the first alternative was not possible ... . One thing that was, I think, quite obviously impossible was to decide to continue our responsibility indefinitely ... into a period when we had not the power to carry it out."

53. Thus, according to Sir Stafford Cripps' statement, the United Kingdom was obliged to recognize the independence of India because it did not have the power needed to stay in the country.

54. Sir Winston Churchill, speaking on behalf of the Opposition, declared that the members of the Opposition had to sever themselves altogether "from the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government, and to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences which will darken—aye, and redden—the coming years".

55. That is what Churchill said in 1947, and now Mr. Ormsby-Gore is trying to tell us that the aim of the British policy of this period was to bring about the liberation of the colonial peoples.

56. Later, Churchill said that if the United Kingdom, "through lack of physical and moral strength, cannot wind up our affairs in a responsible ... fashion,"—and by responsible fashion he meant the maintenance of colonialist subjugation in India and the setting up of a Government that would follow British policy—at least it should not end "by a premature, hurried scuttle", thus adding to the "ruin" and disaster, which is what Churchill called the attainment of independence by India and the other British colonies that liberated

themselves thereafter and brought about the collapse of the British Empire.

57. Thus the fact is that India obtained its independence, not because the colonialists granted it independence willingly, but because they did not possess the military power necessary to maintain their colonial domination of that country.

58. But India is a large country. In other colonies, the United Kingdom colonialists were able to maintain enough troops to postpone independence for years and years and to maintain the colonial system by repression and massacre. To cite only one instance, the example of Kenya is still fresh in everybody's mind.

59. In an attempt to find reasons for postponing the liberation of certain countries and their attainment of immediate independence, the United Kingdom representative sought to persuade us that independence had been postponed only through a desire to give "the people of these countries ... independence in the form which suits them, and not according to some ideological pattern imposed on them from outside" [925th meeting, para. 50].

60. It is really startling to hear the United Kingdom representative make such a statement, at least for any one who has had an opportunity to follow the progress of the colonial people's fight for independence.

61. It will be recalled that scarcely seven years ago the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana achieved a signal victory at the polls and thereby chose the form of government which suited it. Unfortunately, that form of government did not suit the British colonialists. The United Kingdom Government sent its battleships, suspended the Constitution and declared the elections invalid. Speaking to the House of Commons on 22 October 1953, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following observation: "Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to tolerate the setting up of Communist states in the British Commonwealth ... ." As you see, that is quite a different tone from the one employed by Mr. Ormsby-Gore. Mr. Lyttelton's view was echoed by the following commentary from Mr. Bevan, speaking for the Labour Party. This version of the attitude of the British Government on the right of peoples to have whatever Government they liked was as follows: "You are free to have whatever Government you like as long as it is the kind of Government we like." In other words, the question was whether the Government pleased the British Government.

62. British Guiana is an interesting and instructive example of the manner in which the colonialists think they can arrange matters in their former colonies. For them, the establishment of an independent and popular régime would be a "bad" example which might have an unfortunate effect on the peoples of the adjacent territories.

63. The New York Herald Tribune was quite frank about the situation when it stated, on 9 October 1953, that the case of British Guiana is of vital importance to the United States, not because of the internal events in that colony, but because of its strategic position, since the neighbouring country of Venezuela is synonymous with two products very important to the United States economy: oil and iron ore.

64. That explains why in Guiana great forces were marshalled to disperse the popular régime headed by Mr. Jagan.

65. The entire history of colonialist misdeeds should convince us that it is impossible to trust the good faith and good will of the colonialists. That is just one more reason why the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1], proposed by the Soviet Union, is of capital importance at the present time.

66. The efforts by the colonialists to postpone the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are made with a view to finding new ways and means of maintaining their economic and political dominion over these countries. But the machinations of the colonialist circles against the oppressed peoples of their colonies should spur us on to take a decision which will make it possible for these peoples to achieve independence immediately and to decide for themselves what form of government they want. The time has come to tell the colonial peoples that the United Nations, faithful to the principles of the Charter, will give them full support in their just fight against the most monstrous system known to mankind—colonial subjugation.

*Mr. Boland (Ireland), resumed the Chair.*

67. Mr. ALVAREZ RESTREPO (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): A few weeks ago, from this same rostrum, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics referred to Colombia as a colonialist country simply because our delegation had expressed the view that this item could have been discussed in an atmosphere of greater serenity and calm in the First Committee rather than in this Assembly, which seems to lend itself to sharp exchanges of views or vehement oratory, so that statements made here are often uttered in a spirit of propaganda, with an eye to the outside world, rather than with a desire to inform the opinion or influence the calm judgement of the representatives of the various nations.

68. We could not therefore speak in this debate without stating beforehand that our country is one which ardently supports the self-determination of peoples, and which at no time in its history has been associated with any movement aimed at the suppression or limitation of that freedom elsewhere. On the contrary, when, 150 years ago, Colombia was beginning its life as a separate nation, and before it had even consolidated its own independence, it did not hesitate to send its armies to the neighbouring countries of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia in order to support them in their struggle for final emancipation from Spanish rule.

69. In that magnificent epic struggle, the men of five nations fought under the inspiration and command of Simón Bolívar, the illustrious leader whose legendary exploits fill the pages of American history. The blood of Colombians was thus shed on American soil, from Caracas to La Paz, in a gigantic effort which far exceeded its capacity at the time and which was undertaken by my country with the sole aim of co-operating with the Spanish colonies in order that they might acquire full independence as sovereign nations.

70. We have therefore an honourable history as an anti-colonial country which entitles us to speak in this debate with a full sense of responsibility, and we cannot refrain from pointing out, in passing, that after our armies contributed to the liberation of five countries and the victory was won, all those brave stal-

warts disbanded their armies and went peacefully back to their homeland or settled in the countries which they had helped to liberate, building their homes there and living in peace as simple citizens dedicated to the work and progress of the new emancipated lands. How very different is this attitude from that of other nations which in the very middle of the twentieth century send their armies not to help countries to be free but to co-operate with governments that drown in blood the sovereign aspirations of their peoples.

71. The subject of colonialism is as old as the world. Rome, Greece and Carthage were in their time colonies, as were also France, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom. The history of the world is the story of the life of countries which, through changes extending over a long procession of years, eventually attained the full realization of their political personalities.

72. In the perpetual flow of time, new forms of life are substituted for others which in their day had their explanation and reason for existence. Even legal institutions change as the years go by; the theory of national sovereignty so dear to the writers of treatises on international law in the nineteenth century has been superseded by the new form of supra-national association which is the basis of the United Nations.

73. Our country too was a colony, and in the initial period of independence our people displayed the same rebellious attitudes and voiced the same bitter complaints as we now hear, with some justification, on the lips of the representatives of the new nations which have recently acquired their freedom and, by virtue of their new status, have been able to join our Organization after having lived for many years under the dominion of some foreign Power. The fact that we were a colony did not prevent us, once we had achieved our independence, from regarding Spain with the greatest affection as the country which governed us during the period of our early formation, and which gave us a language, a religion, a legal system and a broad cultural foundation, four elements which have been the fundamental pillars on which our society has been built.

74. Not every aspect of colonialism is as pernicious and harmful as some representatives here, more from political zeal than from a desire to understand history, try to make it appear. In the gradual formation of new nationalities one of the valuable cultural contributions to their future life is that which has been transmitted during the years of domination by the governing country, as we have been able to appreciate here as we listened to the erudite and judicious speeches of representatives like the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Cameroun and Nigeria in which an outstanding cultural background was apparent.

75. In speaking of colonialism it may perhaps be appropriate at this stage to clear up one point in order to avoid a repetition of what some speakers have had the affrontery to insinuate, vaguely but none the less suggestively, when, in their references to the colonial problem in the world, they appear to include the whole of Latin America within the areas controlled by the colonial system.

76. It is true that in our continent there remain a few small areas under the control of European nations, and we hope that one day those areas may enjoy full liberty. It is equally true, however, that the Latin American countries represented here are not colonies



of any Power. Each country has well-defined geographical and political boundaries, and on the soil of our continent there have arisen sovereign nations, each with its own personality, its own culture, its own history and its own unmistakable human characteristics. The one feature that might stamp us all as members of the same family would be the jealous care which we exercise on all occasions to avoid any threat to our sovereign autonomy. From the greatest to the smallest, from Brazil to Costa Rica, each of the twenty American States has its own personality, its own distinctive features and a proud belief in its independence that can never be effaced however difficult the circumstances that may arise in its national life. In that respect we all bear traces of the heritage we received from the Iberian peninsula, from Spain and Portugal, countries in which the cultivation of one's personality is inseparably linked with the words denoting "honour and nobility", which are so much esteemed in our language. We are no man's slave. Politically we move in the broad area of Western democracy, the same democracy by which the free nations of the world became united in one great phalanx to fight against totalitarian dictatorship. We choose our governments and our parliaments in public elections, in which every citizen has the opportunity of expressing his opinions according to his own conscience; we determine our own fate and order our own destiny according to the dictates of our national needs. It is time therefore for certain delegations to the United Nations to stop insinuating that we are some other nation's colonies when in reality the Latin American countries are sovereign and independent nations because they bought their independence many years ago with the blood of their heroes.

77. It would seem that there is a malicious and deliberate attempt to confuse the term "colonialism" with the term "under-development", but in fact the one term has nothing to do with the other in our case. We are indeed under-developed countries in the sense that we have a high birth-rate, a low per caput income, in many countries a high percentage of illiteracy, serious health and education problems, and in nearly all cases a high degree of dependence on the export of primary commodities. Thus, according to the experts, we have all the features that characterize an under-developed area. Economic backwardness must not, however, be confused with the loss of national dignity or of social and political autonomy. To use a well-known expression we might say, as they said in Spain when the great nobles lost their fortunes, we continue to be nobles despite our poverty.

78. The aim of this debate on colonialism, according to those who requested it, is to ensure the independence of peoples and to eliminate a shameful phenomenon of modern history. The declaration in its literal meaning presents no difficulty to us. Our legal tradition makes us naturally sympathetic to all that is implied by freedom, but this must be complete freedom in all places, in all latitudes and under all systems. We do not believe that colonialism alone deserves criticism as a system of subjection and submission, of control and enslavement. The item must be wider in scope. The great issue to be debated here is that of freedom in all its manifestations, the freedom to create, to worship, to teach, to write, to speak, to disseminate information, to criticize and to protest whenever this becomes necessary for the preservation of human dignity.

79. Mr. Sékou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, said in this Assembly in his statement of 13 October 1960:

"We know that there are problems on which everyone may speak as he wishes, according to his own temperament; but there are other problems which cannot be considered as personal problems, and still less as problems related to the existence of this or that system or bloc. Such problems concern the very foundations of a life of dignity for every human being, whatever political or economic system he may choose and whatever his religion, colour or nationality." [903rd meeting, para. 4.]

He then added:

"There can be no doubt that the problem of freedom is the greatest problem in the world. No people and no thinking person can think that freedom is divisible or that it belongs to a single people, race or religion." [Ibid., para. 5.]

80. In listening to the speakers who have come to this rostrum to present colonialism as a system which has deprived thousands of human beings of their independence, we might have thought that colonialism, and colonialism alone, represents the problem of freedom in the world. All the terms that signify the submission of one country to another have been employed to convey to us the full horror of colonial policy, which subjugates, controls, enchains, oppresses, humiliates and crushes the dignity of many nations that should be free. In an impressive stream of words a picture of enslavement and bondage has been presented to us, but all the criticism has been directed one way and has had one objective, as if the problems of human freedom existed only in this quarter.

81. The truth, however, is that while political colonialism, for the greater good of humanity, moves rapidly towards its close because of the intelligent and far-sighted policy of the former metropolitan countries or through the force of circumstances, another type of colonialism has arisen to take its place. The only difference is that this is not the type of colonialism which exercises control over the soil and the harvests, the mountains and the rivers, the social life and political system, over education and health and, in fact, over all the externals of the life of a people; it is rather a colonialism which keeps watch over man's conscience, suppresses his freedoms and utterly destroys the life of the spirit.

82. There are, of course, deplorable legacies of the old colonial system, and millions of men are still awaiting their deliverance. Traces still remain of the system which until quite recently controlled vast areas of the world, and we have heard here the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom [925th meeting] who explained in detail how his country is preparing to grant complete self-government to those areas which are not yet independent.

83. What we have not heard here is the voice of those who keep in subjection, not newly-emerging countries, but nations with an old culture and noble historical traditions, and who have forced them to accept a régime of terror and silence. It might be said that while the colonialism which controls material factors and the world of wealth is progressively and continuously disappearing from vast areas of the world, there is arising in other areas what we might term the colonialism of



souls. This form of colonialism not only holds in a grip of iron the economic activity of the countries it dominates, but also extends its oppressive sway much further by preventing the free expression of thought and abolishing at one blow the whole decalogue of freedoms written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that has been adopted by the United Nations.

84. President Sékou Touré was therefore right when he said that the problem of freedom was the greatest problem in the world, and it is that problem which we shall be attempting to solve by adopting the draft resolution that has been submitted here [A/L.323 and Add.1-2]. It is impossible, however, to divide this problem arbitrarily without falsifying the truth of history, for in the words of the Distinguished President of Guinea, the problems of freedom "concern the very foundations of a life of dignity for every human being".

85. That is the present position of our delegation, the position of a country which has known throughout its history the extraordinary benefits of freedom and will always be on the side of those who are trying to preserve and defend that precious gift for the world for mankind.

86. Some of the statements that have been made here have consisted mainly of an attempt to focus the spotlight and point the accusing finger in one direction only, towards colonialism. They analyse this phenomenon as a monstrous evil, as indeed it has been in the past, since it meant that self-determination was denied to countries which had a right to live in accordance with their own plans and on the product of their own resources. In our opinion, this approach is unilateral and exclusive. The problem of freedom is one and indivisible, and to lament oppression on one front only and in relation to one system only when the total freedom of man has disappeared elsewhere is to take a purely arbitrary stand. One speaker said yesterday that "we do not wish to discuss anything outside the scope of this debate", as if by saying that he could induce us to pass over in silence facts which are at least equal in importance to colonialism since they concern the same social and human phenomenon. They concern in fact all that the peoples of the United Nations jointly affirmed when they stated that they were determined, as the first preambular paragraph of the African-Asian draft resolution also says, to "re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small," and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

87. These are the guiding principles of our Organization, its true justification in the minds of emancipated consciences, and the fruit of experience accumulated by humanity through many centuries. We are prepared to support the draft resolution submitted here by the thirty Powers, but with a few slight amendments which we consider necessary because of our conviction that any step forward in the process of granting freedom to new countries is a step towards the well-being of all mankind. It is thus with the deepest rejoicing that we welcome the emergence of these new States into the independent life which will enable them to devote all their resources and all their intellectual and moral faculties to the improvement of their own people and the increase of their own wealth. These countries are fortunate in finding the door wide open to inter-

national co-operation and the valuable assistance of the United Nations.

88. When, through their own efforts, the countries of Latin America obtained their freedom, they were faced with the grave problem of having to struggle alone and in isolation, with no economic resources or technical training, and with no one to extend them a helping hand in the first days of their independent existence. They were free, it is true, but they were setting foot on the road of world competition with the hesitating steps of young children. For a century we all went tottering along that road, some more unsteadily than others, but none of us sure of the direction we should take to reach the higher economic goals. We experimented with now one and then another political system which could not successfully take root in a land of rugged warriors who had been on the battlefield for twenty years and found it difficult to submit to a rule of law. This was a situation which continued for a long time and which by reason of its disorder and uncertainty, caused tremendous stores of human energy to be wasted.

89. The countries now coming of age are favoured by a circumstance that is of capital importance for their future, namely, the existence in the world of an atmosphere of unlimited co-operation thanks to the guiding influence of the United Nations. The subject of under-development and the measures to combat it constitute the most important element in the study of modern economics.

90. Hundreds of volumes have been devoted in the last ten years to the searching examination of subjects related to the economic organization of the State, the utilization of natural resources, the internal structure of the State, foreign trade, health and education.

91. Only countries like those of Latin America, which had to undergo a century-long process of uncertainty and doubt, unsuccessful experiments and serious mistakes, can appreciate the extent to which these new nations now coming of age are finding the way clear for their first steps on the road to progress. Their freedom, well-directed, can be of service to us all. Their material progress will be an important element in the balance of the world. Their intellectual activity can become an essential factor in the analysis of future problems. May fortune decree that they may all be able to preserve their independence and proudly maintain their own personality without allowing themselves to be deluded by those who play on the magic flute of friendship in order to attract their attention while preparing the chains that will later strangle their self-determination.

92. We shall vote on a draft resolution on colonialism, not in the spirit of recrimination that some would attach to it, but rather with the noble aim of making this a further step forward on the road to human freedom. It will be a happy day when the inhabitants of all countries of the earth, of all latitudes, from the east, the centre and the west, can truly and effectively live under the protection of the essential freedoms laid down in the United Nations Charter.

93. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): It is the custom of certain historians to attach a descriptive label to various centuries and epochs in the life of humanity. Thus, the fifteenth century is described as the era of great discoveries, the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth as that of the great colonial

expansion which led to the subjection of the majority of the peoples of Africa and Asia. The year 1960 has been called the year of Africa, which is indeed an apt description since we have had the great satisfaction of welcoming sixteen new African States to our midst.

94. In accordance with the tradition of naming epochs after important events, the second half of the twentieth century will have the distinction of being known as the period of the liberation of peoples. For, whether we like it or not, whether force has to be used or persuasion, whether it is acceptable to the colonizing countries or not, there will soon no longer be any enslaved peoples. The era of colonial domination, of the enslavement of man by man, of the "indigénat" system and other laws imposing forced labour in the colonies, is over. All over the world colonialism, despite its power and resources, is retreating before the irresistible advance of men towards freedom and independence. The irrevocable march of history will certainly not be halted by the obstinacy of France in carrying on a futile and hopeless war in Algeria for the past six years; of Portugal in denying the evidence and clinging to absurd fictions; above all, of South Africa in isolating itself, despite universal reprobation, within an inhuman racism which it has raised to the status of national policy.

95. The upheavals brought about by their stubbornness will perhaps inevitably delay the achievement of freedom by some peoples, but at the cost of much unnecessary suffering and to the detriment of the friendship, understanding and co-operation which are so essential among the peoples.

96. The colonized countries will attain independence with or without the agreement of the colonizers, but they will attain it in any event, for no force in the world can arrest the irresistible march of history.

97. Ever since its establishment, the United Nations has been concerned with the situation of dependent territories and peoples and of those under international trusteeship. The Organization has undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to the peaceful liberation of the colonized peoples through the important debates it has held on the subject, particularly in the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council, and through the numerous recommendations it has made.

98. Nevertheless, that contribution is not sufficient. On the one hand, the impatience of the colonized peoples is continually growing; on the other, the reluctance and the resistance of the colonizing countries have created difficulties which have delayed the recovery of sovereignty and independence by the peoples under their domination.

99. This disharmony between the two movements has frequently led to clashes and to sanguinary conflicts which have endangered the friendship between peoples and international peace and security. It is therefore essential that our Organization should endeavour to lay down basic principles clarifying the application of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to this sphere; it would thus indicate the road to be followed and clear it of obstacles.

100. For the sake of reinforcing the authority and effectiveness of this institution and in the interests of friendship, harmony and peace, it is desirable that the peoples should attain independence within the framework of the United Nations and with its assistance.

101. It is therefore appropriate that the General Assembly should hold a large-scale debate on the subject at this fifteenth session and that it should conclude the debate with the adoption of a resolution which will mark an important date in the history of the United Nations.

102. In the opinion of the Tunisian delegation, it is not enough to round off this debate by drawing up a proclamation stating the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, since this is already enshrined in the Charter; what we must do, above all, is to reaffirm and strengthen those principles in the light of the difficulties raised by the colonizing countries with a view to delaying the liberation of the peoples under their charge.

103. Our task at this session is undoubtedly to provide a vigorous impetus and to give clear and general guidance on the means to be employed so that the peoples still under colonial domination may attain their end, which is also ours, that is to say universal independence.

104. Our essential purpose is to avoid what happened recently in Viet-Nam, what is happening today in Algeria and what has happened in the Congo.

105. Let me explain myself. Faced with the irresistible drive of those countries towards independence, the reaction of the two Powers which can be quoted as examples of the most recalcitrant colonialism—France and Belgium—has been either stubbornly to maintain domination by force of arms or to agree to independence and then to attempt to divide the liberated nations by preposterous manoeuvres and to regain domination by underhand means.

106. In Viet-Nam, for example, after seven years of appalling warfare which cost tens of thousands of lives, France was obliged to bow to facts and abandon the country, leaving behind not only ruins but a people divided into two States and thus providing more fuel for the cold war.

107. Unfortunately, the French colonialists did not profit by the lesson of Viet-Nam. Having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, for the past six years they have been committing the same mistakes in Algeria which were so disastrous in Viet-Nam both for France, for its former colony and for the whole of humanity.

108. In the Congo, Belgium demonstrated its liberalism to the world by agreeing to proclaim the independence of the country. Yet by instigating the secession of Katanga and Kasai and by engaging in manoeuvres designed to maintain its domination in another form, it has plunged the Congo into the tragedy of which we are aware and which today constitutes one of our most serious causes for anxiety.

109. In both cases the result has been a lamentable and grievous chronicle of ruin, misery and mourning. In neither case could the colonialists have hoped to retain their privileges. On the contrary, owing to the force of circumstances, the rift has steadily deepened and the possibility of understanding, reconciliation and co-operation has diminished with every passing day.

110. Would the result have been the same if the colonizing countries had accepted the inevitable and had spontaneously—or at least rationally—encouraged the liberation movement? I do not seriously think so. Viet-Nam, which joined the French Union in 1947,

might today have been a unified, independent and sovereign State, linked to France by ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation; the same would be true of Algeria if that had been desired, if there had been a wish to avoid the continuation of the war.

111. The Congo would not have been the scene of the unfortunate exodus of the Belgians or of the appalling crisis through which it is now passing.

112. We consider that the time has come when the United Nations should face its responsibilities and resolutely put an end to the tragedy of the colonized peoples. The country which I have the honour to represent was one of the first of those placed by an unjust fate under foreign domination to initiate the struggle for honour, dignity and freedom. For three-quarters of a century—and particularly during the past thirty years—it waged unrelenting war against the occupying Power. At the time Tunisia's struggle might have been likened to that of David with Goliath, since the conscience of the world was not alive as it is today to the heroic efforts of the peoples to achieve dignity, freedom and independence. By the use of persuasion and force and by invoking humanitarian considerations and human solidarity, my country persevered on the road of honour until victory was achieved. Under the leadership of President Bourguiba, it has always advocated that colonial problems should be solved by negotiation, though it accepts the need for the use of force when faced by a lack of goodwill on the part of the colonialists.

113. On the day when it achieved independence, after having in desperation embarked upon a long and bitter armed conflict calling for patience, perseverance, sacrifice and courage, it accepted as an ideal the sacred duty of lending its support to the peoples struggling for freedom. Thus on 1 June 1955, when it had only just achieved internal self-government, when the whole question might have been reopened since France retained military bases and powerful means of action in the country, Tunisia did not hesitate to stand shoulder to shoulder with Algeria in its struggle for freedom. I shall have much to say on that subject when the question of Algeria comes up before the First Committee. For the moment I shall only make such allusions as I consider necessary in the present debate.

114. On 1 June 1956, when he was leaving French soil for his triumphant return to his own country, President Bourguiba said that he hoped with all his heart that the Tunisian experiment would be extended so that fighting might end in Algeria, as it had ended in Tunisia, with a settlement which would enable co-operation to be maintained and to continue.

115. A few months later Tunisia achieved independence and has since devoted all its efforts and all its resources to hastening the end of the war. During the past six years President Bourguiba has spared no endeavour to reconcile the two parties and to persuade them to negotiate. Unfortunately our efforts have not met with the success they deserve.

116. Nevertheless, despite the great anxiety caused to Tunisia by the continuance of the war in Algeria, which sometimes spills across its frontiers, Tunisia has never ceased to be concerned with the fate of the other colonized countries and particularly those of our own continent, Africa.

117. At all the African conferences, at Accra, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and recently at Leopoldville, Tu-

nia has associated itself with the other independent African countries in advocating the end of colonialism and endeavouring to find the most appropriate means to lighten the cross borne by our less fortunate brothers.

118. More than a year and a half ago, on 2 March 1959, at the Neo-Destour Congress, held at Sousse, President Bourguiba made a stirring appeal to the colonial countries to adopt a realistic attitude. I should like to quote briefly from his speech:

"The instability now prevailing in the world is born of the antagonism between two blocs, the West and the East, and of the desire of each to attract the largest number of peoples of Asia and Africa.

"However, we see the wheel of history turning inexorably in the direction of liberation, not colonization. The number of emancipated nations is increasing day by day. The future is certainly on the side of the freedom of nations—colonialism is doomed: France may persist in its obstinacy for a year or two more, but will not prevent Algeria from gaining independence.

"In the same way, the United Kingdom cannot prevent Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Somaliland from becoming independent.

"It is futile to try to delay these developments at all costs.

"The reluctance and procrastination of these countries cannot stop the wheel of history, which crushes those who place themselves in its path.

"Why do the Western Powers not consider a return to wisdom?

"Instead of allowing this great battle to continue, in which liberty is waging an unsystematic and improvised struggle against tyranny, instead of leaving matters to chance and relying on the inspiration of events, let common sense take the upper hand, with a willingness to face the facts. I think there is still time for the nations which value liberty and dignity to reverse the trend of events.

"These nations can meet around the conference table to examine and solve the question of 'decolonization' and all its attendant problems in peace and tranquillity.

"The task is to ensure that mankind progresses from the colonial era into the age of co-operation. This process must take place in an atmosphere of calm. Reasonable stages can be established and the possibilities of fruitful co-operation and lasting friendship safeguarded. This must be possible. The colonized countries should not have to seize their independence at the cost of bloodshed and perhaps at the risk of being plunged into an anarchy which might be exploited by a hostile party to inflame grievances, propagate its ideology and pave the way for its domination."

President Bourguiba continued, on 2 March 1959:

"I can readily envisage a large conference attended by all those countries which are still colonies or semi-colonies.

"At such a conference, which would at first be confined to these countries, the latter could reach some agreement. They would then invite the repre-



sentatives of the peoples concerned to meet them around the table, or alternatively, they might set up committees to make a separate study of the case of each individual country and examine its possibilities and particular conditions.

"Much useful information could be obtained from the experience of the United Kingdom, which is now making preparations for the independence of Nigeria in October 1960. By that date, the country's constitution will have been drawn up, administrative and technical personnel will have been trained, and its state institutions will be ready to function.

"What the United Kingdom has done for Ghana and Nigeria, and is preparing to do for Somaliland, can perhaps also be done tomorrow for Rhodesia, Kenya and Tanganyika.

"To adopt such a policy is to follow the natural course of development. Why is it that other countries—France for example—do not adopt this same policy?

"They could establish contact with the nationalist movements and, with their co-operation, organize free elections. Such elections would reveal the most influential and enlightened elements, with whom discussions could be held.

"The risks of terrorism, violence and anarchy could thus be avoided in the evolution of colonial peoples.

"Negotiations between colonists and colonized should be concerned, not only with determining the stages and methods of emancipation, but with the consideration of plans for economic assistance and development. The peoples must be saved from underdevelopment, which is a form of servitude.

"In pursuing such a course, the Western countries would merely be applying the principle which they profess to support, of helping the peoples to achieve political and economic liberation. Under the procedure that I propose, this liberation would be achieved in accordance with a reasonable plan providing for the restoration of power to the nationals of the country concerned, for the holding of elections and the training of the necessary personnel.

"Subsequently, ways and means of providing assistance and arranging investments would be investigated in order to speed up industrialization programmes.

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

119. This appeal launched by President Bourguiba more than a year and a half ago appears prophetic in the light of the serious disturbances—of which he gave warning—that have since occurred in the Congo, South Africa, South West Africa and other important places on the African continent.

120. Unfortunately, his appeal to reason and realism went unheeded. Of course, some countries have since been liberated. Nigeria, the African States which were under French domination, and the Congo. But there has been no solution to the colonial problem as a whole, as urged by President Bourguiba, a solution which would have contributed substantially to the reduction of international tension.

121. It is true that sixteen new African States have recovered their independence and have been admitted

this year to membership in the Organization. But there is still war in Algeria; there is still no programme of decolonization for Angola and Mozambique. This state of affairs should not be tolerated any longer. The experience of recent years has proved how dangerous it is for the colonizer and the colonized, and for all mankind, to allow colonialism to pursue its harmful course. We know that the colonialists and, more generally, all the peoples that dominate others, are clearly aware that their day is drawing to a close. But we also know that, in its death throes, colonialism may still be shaken with convulsions that are extremely dangerous for peace and international security. This was the case in Indonesia—why should we not recall it?—when the Netherlands, after having recognized the independence of that country, then tried to reconquer it.

122. This is the case today in Algeria and the Congo. I am not afraid to repeat myself on this subject, for the grave responsibility of France and Belgium in this connexion cannot be stated often enough. I cite these two cases deliberately, because they are used by the colonialists as arguments in their attempts to justify their policy of domination.

123. Indeed, it is in virtue of French legislation based on faked elections that Algeria is regarded as French territory. It is on the pretext of safeguarding the national heritage that war is at present being waged on the Algerian people.

124. Portugal, too, regards Angola and Mozambique as integral parts of the metropolitan territory.

125. This idea cannot be justified either on historical or geographical grounds. Nor has it any sound juridical foundation. Therefore it is of capital importance to publicize this fact so that the colonizing countries may not be able to evade their obligations by sheltering behind the national territory theory.

126. Now I come to the example of the Congo. The disturbances that occurred in that country immediately after it achieved independence were represented by the champions of colonialism as a solemn warning of the possible dangers of "premature independence". According to them, the lesson to be learned from the situation in the Congo is this: a colony which is liberated before attaining a certain level of economic development and a certain political maturity, and before qualified personnel have been trained, in other words, before it is prepared for its new responsibilities, runs the risk of lapsing into anarchy. This may be true especially if the former controlling Power does everything it can to sow the seeds of anarchy, as was the case in the Congo. But there is another truth which is also illustrated in the Congo, in Angola and in Mozambique: the colonial Powers are unfortunately incapable of preparing these countries for independence for the very good reason that they do not want them to be independent. Therefore, the only rational and fair-minded conclusion we can draw from the situation is the following: the colonial Powers must give a firm undertaking to refrain from any action that may cause disturbances in the liberated countries and avoid any attempt to create difficulties for the new governments. They must strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new States. In other words, we must prevent any further attempts to do what France hoped to do in Guinea and what Belgium unfortunately succeeded in doing in the Congo. In both these cases, the colonial



Powers tried to sabotage the independence they had been forced to concede by the natural course of development.

127. But an undertaking by the colonial Powers, no matter how solemn, does not, in our opinion, constitute a sufficient guarantee. If need be, the United Nations must be able to ensure that the undertaking will be observed.

128. There is another kind of ruse regularly practised by the colonial Powers. This consists in demanding from the colonized country, under pressure, and before granting its independence, certain economic or other advantages.

129. It was indisputably Tunisia's experience—and this situation is still continuing—that before granting independence, certain Powers try to secure for themselves the largest possible number of cultural, economic, and even strategic advantages, which are presented to the other party as being in the mutual interests of both parties, having regard to the principle of the interdependence of peoples.

130. On the eve of its independence, a colonized people thus finds itself in a quandary: it can either reject the demands for concessions at the risk of losing the opportunity of peacefully recovering its sovereignty; or it can accept them at the risk, after independence, of finding its liberty of action restricted, as well as its freedom to determine its own interests, which are not necessarily identical with those of the former colonizing Power.

131. Faced with this painful conflict of conscience, a colonized people generally opts for the second alternative, but with the firm intention, once its sovereignty is recognized and regained, of retrieving whatever it had been forced to concede under pressure. It is then that new difficulties, and sometimes serious crises, arise in the relations between the new independent State and its former master. The latter argues that commitments which have been entered into must be respected and often tries to equate what it considers to be concessions on its part with the concessions which it extorted before independence. Hence the clashes and wrangling that cloud relations which might otherwise become increasingly friendly and trusting.

132. I have done no more than state the relevant and indisputable conclusions based on experience. I could quote exact facts and introduce irrefutable documentary evidence to show the disastrous consequences of agreements made between a colonial Power and a colonized people before the latter achieved its independence.

133. Such agreements must be considered as vitiated from the start. The colonial Powers should refrain from insisting on them. They should, at the very least, agree with good grace to their revision after the former colony takes over its new responsibilities as an independent and sovereign nation. That is a fundamental principle, which would enable peoples under foreign domination to achieve a real, healthy independence, free from the outset from any kind of mortgage.

134. There is a third point which, in my delegation's view, is of prime importance: the need to ensure that political independence has the best possible chance of functioning effectively in the interests of the people concerned—I am speaking of aid to newly liberated countries. They will need such aid, whether economic

or technical. None of these States will be able to do without it if it wants to develop economically and socially. In general, this urgent need of new States provides a good opportunity for competition between the different forces in the world, and particularly between the two blocs, each seeking to impose its influence on the new countries. Technicians, equipment, and even considerable funds are offered on all sides from purportedly disinterested sources to States which no longer know whether it is more advantageous to turn to the left or the right. Whatever direction they choose, the result is the same: they find themselves aligned, often against their will, with one bloc or the other. From being an object of rivalry they thus become, despite themselves, parties to a struggle in which they have nothing to gain.

135. That is why we appeal to the great Powers of East and West, in the interests of the new States, for the sake of mankind and of peace, to stop making those States a field for competition. We ask them, in all seriousness and sincerity, to realize that by seeking to draw these peoples into their orbit they run the risk of jeopardizing the normal and natural evolution of these young nations.

136. Having their own ideologies, their own problems, these States urgently need to work in peace and freedom for the prosperity of their people, for higher standards of living. They cannot achieve this aim without the help of more developed countries. In order to improve the situation of their people, to set them on the path of economic and social progress and the application of modern science and technology, they are obliged to turn to the Powers which have attained a very high degree of industrialization and whose technical achievements have sometimes been revolutionary.

137. If the colonies, which are at present one of the factors in the cold war, and may even be one of the causes of a real war, are to stop being a source of discord once they have achieved independence, it is essential that the economic and technical aid which they need and which the two blocs are in a position to give should not be used as a means of binding them to one or other of those blocs. My delegation thinks, therefore, that the value of this aid would be enormously enhanced if it were given through the United Nations. In this way it would lose any political colouring, it would become truly unconditional and would be a disinterested manifestation of international co-operation and solidarity.

138. My delegation much appreciated the action of the Soviet Union in proposing this item for inclusion on the agenda of the present session [A/4501]. We are also very grateful for the warmth with which the Soviet delegation argued the case for discussion of this important question in the General Assembly.

139. However, although decolonization is a problem which concerns the whole world, it is no less true that it is our sacred duty, as countries formerly under colonial rule which have suffered directly from the misdeeds of the colonialists, it is, I say, our duty as uncommitted countries to be in the forefront of this battle. We are far from having any desire to claim a monopoly in the struggle for the freedom of peoples or any intention of refusing the assistance of the great Powers. On the contrary, we need everyone's help and we will not exclude anyone. It is just that we do not want to give this debate, I might even say this

whole process of decolonization, an ideological character, which would link it to the struggle at present going on between East and West. We do not want this process to lead to a sterile situation where each of the two blocs tries to outbid the other, nor do we want it to become a means of intensifying the cold war.

140. To put it clearly, we should like there to be less talk of NATO, western bases, the countries of Central Europe and their internal régimes. Neither the first nor the second of these appears on the agenda of this debate, nor, in our opinion, are they related in any way to the question itself. On the contrary, if this debate took on an east-west, partisan, ideological character, we should be liable to get off the subject, to introduce emotion and to make the question a propaganda issue.

141. The problem is so serious that it demands from all of us an effort to lift this debate above any partisan, ideological considerations and give it an objective and disinterested character. I say "from all of us", because I do not see how anyone in this Assembly could honestly oppose the principles which are the very foundation of our Charter. There are still, it is true, some unrepentant colonialists; but, fortunately for mankind, their number is becoming smaller and smaller.

142. But apart from them, who in this hall is not aware of the irreversible process which has led and will lead all peoples to independence? Which of us can sincerely believe for an instant that there could exist any force capable of stopping man's irresistible progress towards freedom? Which of us doubts the impossibility of diverting history from its natural course?

143. There should be no men worthy of the name who refuse other men the right to dignity and freedom on the grounds of their colour, their religion or simply the fact that their countries are not sufficiently developed. Slavery may have been abolished, but is not colonialism one of the most pernicious forms of the enslavement of man by man?

144. In this century of technical progress, in this golden age of science, when man has succeeded in taming the forces of nature, constantly improving his standards of living, there should no longer be any place for servitude. For whereas in the days of slavery, men were bought and sold under a system which no one could have justified in terms of human values, colonialism claims to act in the name of civilization, humanitarian principles, and even by an irony of fate, democracy. Do we not see, even nowadays, States systematically exploiting whole peoples while proclaiming, with the support of figures, that they have lavished education on them, introduced public health services and improved their living conditions? Do we not see States keeping weak peoples under their domination on the grounds that they have granted them the same rights as their own nationals? Yet the results are far from being commensurate with the economic exploitation and the exploitation of human resources in which the colonial Powers have engaged, to the detriment of the colonies.

145. In my statement, I have quoted examples and have made specific mention of certain colonies and colonial Powers. I have done so in order to give this debate a practical character. In the opinion of my delegation, the time for professions of faith and affirmations of

principle is past. Such statements of principle were made as long ago as the period after the First World War and aroused great hopes among the subject peoples. Those statements, however, remained a dead letter. At San Francisco, also, it was solemnly declared that the United Nations was determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person..."

146. This is no longer the time to assert such principles, as no one contests them any longer. Our task is to avoid disappointing the peoples of the world, who believed in the San Francisco Charter, to avoid disappointing them as they were disappointed after the First World War.

147. What the present situation requires of us is no longer words, but a solemn declaration by which all Members of the United Nations would undertake to put those same principles into effect and to respect their commitments. It is our duty to achieve one of the aims of our Organization, namely, to give all men freedom and dignity.

148. It was this consciousness of a sacred duty that we all have towards mankind as a whole which prompted my delegation, together with other African and Asian delegations, to submit a draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-2]. This draft specifies the principles which should be the foundation for a general and rapid decolonization in peace, friendship and understanding.

149. We should, it is true, have liked this draft to define more closely the methods of negotiation which, alone, without any coercion or armed repression, should be used by the colonial Powers. We should have liked the draft to fix as short a time limit as possible for the attainment of complete independence by all peoples who are still, on whatever basis, under foreign domination. We have confined ourselves to stating indisputable principles, which do not seem to us to offer any grounds for controversy.

150. This draft could set our Organization on a new path, bringing it to grips with reality. It is one of the finest tasks that it could undertake. If we succeed in carrying it out, we can lay claim to the gratitude of future generations; we shall have helped, in large measure, to achieve the goal which is set before us by the first words of the Charter:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind..."

151. Not only shall we have reduced the risk of war, but we shall have given the world, in addition to peace, stability and prosperity. We shall have restored to hundreds of millions of men the concept of dignity, of honour, of freedom, and hence, of happiness. We shall have washed the brow of humanity free from the blot of colonialism.

*Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

152. Mr. ASHA (United Arab Republic): In view of the importance of the question before us, the General Assembly, in its wisdom, has decided that it be discussed in plenary meeting rather than in committee. The problem of the liquidation of colonialism and the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples is, in the view of my delegation, the most important problem that is before this Organization

after the question of disarmament. It raises some of the fundamental issues at stake in the present world and reflects all the cleavages, conflicts and stresses of our time.

153. I would like, therefore, on behalf of my delegation, to express our thanks for the initiative of Chairman Khrushchev in proposing this item: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples." The declaration which the General Assembly will adopt will inevitably be one not merely about the matter in hand, but no less about ourselves and the future of our Organization. The inclusion in our agenda of this item was approved by acclamation in this Assembly [903rd meeting]—a fact of great significance. Let us, therefore, approve a declaration which will abolish colonialism and free humanity from its evils in the same manner.

154. My delegation has the honour to be one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-2, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", and I shall now state the views of my delegation on this question.

155. My delegation approaches this problem with a great sense of urgency—a sense of urgency which arises, as we had occasion to point out in the General Assembly and in its main committees, from the rapid and increasing pace of the liberation movement which has swept the two great continents of Asia and Africa, culminating in regaining independence for more than two-thirds of humanity. The events of the past fifteen years, and in particular the year 1960, are historic events, unparalleled in the history of mankind. These events have liberated scores of nations who have suffered, for varying periods, the oppression of the colonial system and have restored to them their fundamental human rights and their dignity, proclaimed in the Charter more than fifteen years ago.

156. But the atmosphere of these past fifteen years was, by far, more dynamic than that which existed in San Francisco in 1945, and vastly more so than before the Second World War—an atmosphere impregnated with ideas, revolutionary ideas, reflecting dissatisfaction with colonial rule, economic exploitation and traditional authority; ideas of the true value of human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small; ideas of political, economic, social and cultural freedom; ideas for more progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

157. We cannot afford to pretend that these ideas will safely wait in cold storage while economic, social and educational advancement move on at the same slow pace as in the past. We cannot afford to pretend that the colonial peoples, even in the least developed areas, will be content, or indeed should be required, to come upwards to fitness for independence through the same long, slow, fumbling stages of evolution through which our own civilizations have passed in the course of centuries.

158. In this atmosphere, filled with the yearning of the colonial peoples for their inalienable rights of freedom and independence, one colonial empire after the other began to collapse. Yet they have not as yet totally disappeared, as we hope they will. The time has come when colonialism must be given its final death-blow once and for all to liberate the more than 100 million

human beings still suffering from oppression and exploitation in various forms.

159. It is high time for the colonial Powers to forget the glories of former colonial empires and to recognize the emergent historical forces in the areas under their domination. The freedom-loving people of the world must exert all the pressure they can to strike the last nail in the coffin of colonialism, so that peace, stability and friendly relations, based on respect of equal rights, may prevail.

160. One of the great ironies of the present age is the curious inability of the colonial Powers to comprehend the fundamental urges of freedom and independence. Many of them were at one time or the other victims of aggression and lengthy occupation by foreign troops. Have they forgotten the degradation and suffering of these years? Have they forgotten that a great American said:

"... that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

They speak of liberty only to fill the jails and prisons; they declare their solemn devotion to the principles of fraternity and equality only to create more concentration camps for innocent people. They speak of democracy and free speech only to give orders to firing squads. And I ask the existent colonial Powers and the former colonial Powers: How many lives were lost in suppressing the nationalist and freedom-seeking people of their colonies, Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories, and others? What were their own casualties and what was their net profit and loss? What was the price for colonial domination?

161. Colonialism should have been liquidated a long time ago but, unfortunately, it is still alive. The concept of the right of peoples and nations to independence—that is to say, the right of self-determination—was the earliest aspect of human liberty to be accepted as a matter of international concern. The First World War, which owed its origin in considerable measure to the explosive forces of nationalism, crystallized the concept of self-determination. President Woodrow Wilson became the champion of this ideal even before the United States entered the First World War. He enunciated the principle:

"... that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."

162. The widespread acceptance of this principle contributed significantly to the world trend towards liquidation of colonialism. But neither the establishment by the League of Nations of the Mandates System, nor the Trusteeship System, which was established by the United Nations, was sufficiently effective to eradicate the colonial régime. Nevertheless, the position has been firmly taken that peoples and territories should not be used as pawns or be held by victor nations as "spoils of war".

163. During the past fifteen years colonial problems have come to hold the major place on the agendas of our annual sessions of the General Assembly. Indeed, they have dominated our debates.

164. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter reflect the serious concern of the founders about colonialism



in 1945 at San Francisco. They devoted three of the nineteen Chapters of the Charter to the colonial problem because they acutely recognized its vital implications for security, and that real progress towards a solution was an essential element in any firm foundation for peace. They were also mindful of the fact that most of the colonial peoples had, in two great wars, fought and sacrificed at the side of the countries that ruled them and had contributed significantly to their victory. Despite this, the colonial peoples had no voice in international councils and little enough in the ordering of their domestic affairs.

165. It is true that over 800 million people have regained their independence, but there are over 100 million still struggling to win their freedom and liberty. As early as 1947, the late Mr. John Foster Dulles, with whom we disagreed on a number of occasions, was bold enough and courageous enough to ask for the liquidation of the colonial system. Speaking on behalf of the United States in the Fourth Committee, he said the following concerning colonialism:

"The colonial system should be done away with. It is obsolete, and if it ever had justification in the past it certainly has none in the future. It has borne some very evil fruit, primarily in that it has put people of one race to rule over those of another, which has been very bad for both races. I cannot find words to express myself sufficiently strongly on my belief that the system must come to an end and be liquidated in a prompt and orderly way." <sup>1/</sup>

166. Thirteen years have elapsed since this statement was made and yet this evil, the most sinister of evils, refuses to die of its own will, and it is up to us now to effect its demise. But to do so, all the colonial Powers must bow to the will of public opinion and provide us with the necessary means. The colonial Powers have all contended that the purpose of their remaining in other peoples' lands is to spread their language and culture to the peoples of these colonies and, in general, to enable them to carry out a "civilizing mission". Let me tell them here and now that they are wrong. In the first place, the former colonial peoples and those who are still not independent have their own cultures, their own civilizations, their own traditions, their own languages and their own customs. They are not only proud of their heritage, but they want to maintain it. They are determined to preserve it and to develop it in their own way. In the second place, these activities can be carried out just as well, if not better, if the colonialists make an exit, and a quick exit now.

167. The rulers of the colonies often declare publicly that the people of the colonies love them. If this is the case, that the subject peoples love them and wish to benefit from their culture and civilization, surely, if independence is granted, nothing will prevent the former rulers from carrying on their so-called civilizing work. Their schools will remain open, provided they operate within the national laws of the country; their settlers and traders will carry on their business—not as exploiters but as equals; and, instead of the former relationship of governor and governed, there will develop a new relationship of partnership, equal partnership. All this will be particularly true if, as we hope, all territories which have not as yet achieved independence become independent and the

peoples can exercise their free choice as to the countries from which they wish to receive assistance in building up their society. Recent experience has given proof of the fact that the presence of a European Power as the ruler of an Asian or African country is actually an obstacle to the spreading of the culture and civilization of that European Power. Its presence as the ruler acts as an obstacle because, instead of admiration and love and desire to learn, which perhaps existed before, there is created an attitude of resistance on the part of the governed people, who naturally transfer this resistance from the political sphere to the sphere of the mind and spirit. All this shows that the cultural and civilizing influence, far from being harmed or destroyed by the absence of an accompanying political and administrative influence, may actually be strengthened and encouraged by that absence.

168. The colonial Powers complain, and at times they boast, of the heavy obligations and responsibilities they have to shoulder for the so-called development of the resources of the colonial countries and the welfare of their populations. We have often heard that these financial responsibilities cause a great drain on their treasuries. If this is so, why should they endure such a heavy burden? Would it not be in the interest of the colonial Powers to proclaim independence in their respective colonial territories and thus rid themselves of endless headaches?

169. Another reason why the liquidation of colonialism is in the interests of the colonial Powers themselves in particular and of Europe in general is that it will help them to trust each other. This can best be illustrated from the experience of the northern region of my country following the First World War.

170. The post-war settlement adopted by the League of Nations for the territories of the Ottoman Empire involved the partition of the Arab countries in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula between Great Britain and France. In the period between the two wars, and until the final termination of the French Mandate over Syria and Lebanon, nothing contributed so much to the creation of suspicion, distrust and rivalry between the United Kingdom and France as did their proximity as administering Powers in Palestine on the one hand, and in Syria and Lebanon on the other. The French Government believed that the British were stirring up revolt against their authority in the Levantine States; the British Government believed the French were not adverse to contributing discretely to the difficulties which they were encountering in Palestine. Far be it from me to judge how much truth there was in these mutual accusations; no one, however, could deny that these suspicions and tensions existed. The lesson which we may draw from all this is that nothing contributes so much to the disruption of friendly relations between European Powers as their proximity in territories outside their own metropolitan areas. History, recent history, tells us that many of the wars between the colonial Powers were waged by armies from the colonies and dependent territories. May I suggest that one of the blessings of the abolition of colonialism will be the denial of the manpower of the colonies to the colonial Powers, and that, as a result, the waging of war will become more difficult and the world's chances for peace will thereby be increased.

171. My arguments so far have been concerned only with the strict interests of the colonial Powers. When we consider the aspect of the problem that should be

<sup>1/</sup> This statement was made at the 43rd meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.



foremost in our minds—the liberty and freedom of these territories in accordance with their wishes and interests—any doubts that might linger as to the necessity of immediate independence vanish altogether. Immediate independence, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of the people and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, must be proclaimed without delay. This is the irrevocable decision which we must take with courage, boldness and determination. If we sincerely believe that the wishes of the people who are struggling for liberty are of paramount importance—and no one can deny this—then the adoption of a declaration to this effect becomes imperative.

172. We are familiar, for example, with the argument that such and such a territory is not ready for independence. When the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War, the territories detached from it were subjected to varying treatment: while on the one hand the least prosperous were left independent, the more developed were placed under the Mandates System. The actual state of the territories in question was not the main criterion; the deciding factors were the rivalries of the great Powers and their inability to agree among themselves.

173. If any colonial Power should venture to say—and I hope none will—that some colonial territories are not prepared to assume independence, then we must treat with the greatest suspicion the assertion advanced by that Power. No serious argument can be advanced to support such an assertion; and if it is made, we are confident that no representative will accept it. In the past we have been told that some colonial territories are too poor to assume the great responsibilities of independence. If the existence of an unbalanced budget were an adequate argument for denying a country its independence, I am afraid we should see many empty seats in this great hall. There are many Governments represented here which do not balance their budgets every year, which receive support from outside sources, which make loans or just juggle along with a perpetual deficit. Only the malicious-minded could suggest that these countries do not deserve independence. Therefore, that argument falls to pieces also because, if the colonial Powers leave these territories, they will, I am sure, take care of themselves and, in co-operation with friendly States and the United Nations family, they will be able to recover their former prosperity once the colonial Powers cease exploiting their riches and natural resources. Financial and technical assistance could be given without denying them independence.

174. Certain colonial Powers are still clinging to the outmoded, discarded, and unjustified claim that certain territories are considered as parts of their metropolitan areas.

175. Those who are versed in the social and human elements colouring and characterizing these territories cannot deny that these territories have far more in common with the people of their sister States in Africa and Asia than with the so-called metropolitan countries. The relationship between these people and the independent people of Africa and Asia has been forged over long centuries of free association and common heritage, while the relationship of the colonial people to the colonial rulers is basically one that is predicated on force. The legal framework linking these territories to the colonialists is one of those anomalies of history that are held and sustained by the imbalance of power.

176. Herein lies a fundamental problem, and in this fact resides the basic cause of the present situation. Whether we take a geographical, historical or cultural approach, these territories cannot be considered as European in character, and I submit that no juridical situation, however valid, can ignore or supersede these basic elements in the formation of the human society. No law is immutable, and, for law to survive, it must ever respond to the dynamic existence of those societies whose evolution it purports to regulate. In the course of centuries of colonial domination these Powers have failed to engender in the conscience of the oppressed people anything of a durable value, and the relationship unfortunately continues to reflect a wide human gap bridged only by force. Otherwise how could we explain the violent upsurge of nationalism in these non-independent territories, this long yearning for independence from the colonial rulers, this turmoil of revolution and suppression in those countries? This is a fact which we must face, and face now. No legal niceties can suffice to explain the situation. It is undeniably a situation that calls for our concern as an international Organization, and the colonial Powers cannot claim in this respect any exclusive domestic jurisdiction. This aspect of the problem has been dealt with during this and past debates, and I need not take the time of the Assembly to dwell on it in detail.

177. Some of my colleagues have already exposed the myth that certain territories are integral parts of the metropolitan countries. It is therefore idle for the metropolitan Powers and those who support their thesis to claim that the questions pertaining to the so-called "overseas territories" are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the metropolitan Powers. These territories have nothing more than a colonial status and must therefore be liberated without delay.

178. I should like to stress one other point, and that is the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the colonial countries. I mention the necessity for unity and territorial integrity because of the unfortunate experience of recent years and of recent events. My delegation attaches full importance to these two considerations. We believe that the question of territorial integrity and unity cannot be divorced from the question of independence.

179. A colonial Power has on one occasion divided a small land into five independent States. In North Africa, Morocco was amputated from an integral part of its territory—Mauritania. Colonialism is also threatening the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). One cannot forget the situation in Malta, where unfortunately the aspirations of the people are not receiving due respect by the Government of the United Kingdom.

180. In Palestine a division, drastic and disastrous, was the final outcome of the Mandatory régime. The colonialists have conspired against a whole nation. A nation was uprooted wholesale from its motherland and given away to others. In this connexion may I be permitted to quote what President Gamal Abdel Nasser said on 27 September 1960, before this august body:

"Imperialism has its own logic. The logic of imperialism, as manifested in its crime against the people of Palestine, has been to break the geographical unity of the Arab world, on the one hand, and, on the other, to create for itself in the very heart of the Arab world a base from which to threaten the Arab peoples. I believe no stronger proof of this

could be given than the conspiracy which led to the tripartite aggression against us in 1956." [873rd meeting, para. 131.]

This new form of colonialism called Zionism must also be eradicated.

181. Another attempt at destroying unity is under way in Algeria. A colonial war has been waged for over six years. The colonial Power, in this case France, with military assistance from its allies, is using the most inhuman war weapons against the brave and heroic people of Algeria to perpetuate the subjugation of ten million Arabs. These Algerian brothers and sisters, who have suffered more than any people in the cause of regaining their freedom and liberty, are fighting selflessly to that end. As President Nasser said:

"It is really deplorable that the French Government persisted in setting up concentration camps and resorted to all sorts of brutal torture against the free men and women of the Algerian people, in a manner which aroused the human conscience all over the world, including France itself." [Ibid., para. 144.]

182. The valiant people of Algeria have lost hundreds of thousands of martyrs, their towns and villages were destroyed, over two million innocent civilians live in concentration camps, and hundreds of them die every day, so that their liberty may be restored. So far France has refused to settle this bloody war and now is threatening the territorial integrity and unity of Algeria. How much longer can we tolerate this shameful colonial aggression? How much longer can the human conscience endure such a degradation of the human person? It is time that we declare solemnly the end of colonialism in this dear Algeria, and France should be the first to affix its signature.

183. In this connexion I would like to quote President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who, speaking in the general debate on 27 September 1960, said:

"Today the United Nations should perform its duty. I do not think that we would be exaggerating in our demand if we now pressed for the right of the Algerian people to self-determination based on a plebiscite carried out under the supervision and protection of the United Nations." [873rd meeting, para. 147.]

184. Colonialism does not stop in Palestine and Algeria. It is there in Oman, in Southern Arabia and in the so-called protectorates and many parts of Africa. It is in Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, West Irian, Portuguese Guinea, and elsewhere. It is attempting to go back from where it was ejected. It must die and we must be certain that it is a genuine and final death.

185. The mighty forces of Asia and Africa have arisen. The two giant continents are awake. The misery of the colonial rule has not yet vanished from their memories. Their strong sympathies are with their brothers and sisters who are still living in bondage and servitude. They are impatient with the remnants of colonialism and they want to give it its death blow. Their voice is on the side of truth, and truth is freedom, and freedom is the road to peace.

186. The struggle against colonialism reached a dramatic climax at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in April 1955. Among other historic decisions, the Conference declared that colonialism in all its

manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. It affirmed:

"that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

It declared "its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples", and called "upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples".

187. The Independent African States, meeting in Accra in 1958, gave added support to the declaration adopted in Bandung. The African States were convinced that:

"a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the colonial territories in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

188. Meeting in Addis Ababa in June 1960, the Second Conference of Independent African States reaffirmed the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions of Accra and Monrovia and stated:

"...

"Considering further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the different nations,

"Believing that the restoration of the natural rights and human dignity to the Africans in those parts of Africa at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of their hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our continent,

"...

"Urges the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries..."

189. In conclusion, complete, unconditional, and immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its manifestations must be our irreducible decision. Never will its unjust nature, its horrors, its crimes be sufficiently denounced. Colonialism has never given liberty to its victims as a gift. History is full of the heroic struggle of those who wrested their freedom from their oppressors.

190. The era of colonization is over. This year, rightly called the African year, has seen sixteen sister States make their entry into the family of nations. This historical phenomenon of decolonization and of the achievement of an authentic national life is irresistible.

191. We must therefore give our fullest support to the cause of freedom and independence for all colonial people. Let the parties concerned begin immediate negotiations to transfer full sovereignty and authority to the rightful people without delay and let us welcome them in this world Organization as we have welcomed others during the past fifteen years.

192. It is in the pursuance of these aims that the draft resolution, which we have the honour to co-

sponsor [A/L.323 and Add.1-2], has been submitted to the Assembly. There is no essential difference between the draft declaration which it contains and the declaration which has been submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502 and Corr.1]. Both documents have but one objective, that is, the immediate eradication of colonialism.

193. I reserve the right of my delegation to intervene again later in the debate on the draft resolution, and I hope the President will be kind enough to give me the floor at the appropriate time.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*