

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**945th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 13 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 87:

*Declaration on the granting of independence
to colonial countries and peoples (continued)* 1247

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Union of South Africa in exercise of the right of reply.
2. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa): We have listened carefully to a debate which has lasted for many days. We were disappointed that most of those who participated in this debate concentrated only on one type of colonialism. It was our hope that more attention would have been given also to the subjugation of other peoples in other continents by conquest.
3. It is interesting to note that some of those who have so strongly criticized the old type of colonialism and who, I might mention in passing, also referred to my country, contrary to the rules of procedure, did not look under their own carpets to find glaring at them the new type of colonialism. Furthermore, some others, who also showed such keen interest in the affairs of my country, have been using complimentary language in referring to the attitude of a contemporary imperialist Power. I can only conclude that they have no concern for those who live in subjugation under the new type of colonialism or imperialism.
4. Many parts of the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] are acceptable to my delegation. In fact, some have been taken verbatim from the Charter. There are, however, certain other parts which we cannot support, and it is therefore impossible for my delegation to go along with this draft resolution in its entirety. I may add that, in our opinion, this draft resolution must be regarded as a single unit; it stands or falls as a whole. This also applies to the other two drafts before the Assembly [A/4502, A/L.324/Rev.2]. My delegation does not, therefore, propose to vote on the constituent paragraphs if these are put to the vote separately. We feel that you cannot take any of these parts out of the general context.
5. Since I was here on the rostrum, I thought I might briefly explain my vote.
6. Mr. OMAR (Somalia): I should like to open this statement by saying that my delegation is happy to give its full support to draft resolution A/L.323 and

Add.1-6, of which Somalia is a sponsor, or, for that matter, to any other draft resolution which calls for the eradication of colonialism from the face of the earth. In this matter my delegation speaks for a people which, like so many other peoples represented here, is qualified by experience to make an expert report on the results of colonialism. Unfortunately, we of Somalia can testify from our personal knowledge to the suffering which is the invariable concomitant of colonial rule. The absence in our country until very recently of vigorous measures to achieve progress in such vital areas as education, health, transportation, communications and agricultural and commercial development is a typical legacy of colonialism which has left its mark in the poverty and destitution which is the lot of so many of our countrymen. We know too the heavy hand of colonialism in the unfortunate division of the Somali people into five separate territories, which artificial division has inevitably compounded the social and economic problems of our people.

7. My delegation would, therefore, be not only the first to call for, but also the first to lend support to anyone who advocates the end of colonialism in all its manifestations. In view of this, the Soviet Union has earned both our congratulations and our gratitude for having taken the initiative to secure the inclusion of this item in the agenda of this Assembly.

8. We are at a moment in history when all the conditions are ripe, as Toynbee has said, "for an age of welfare for all"; but this is genuinely true only because it is also an age when there may be freedom for all. The technological, intellectual and political developments of the centuries have combined to make possible the emancipation of mankind from economic as well as political bondage. In the economic sense, this was a bondage dictated in the past not only by man's inhumanity to man but also by the absence of those technical developments which have now made possible the creation of an economy of abundance, freeing man from the unremitting toil which for so long has been his inescapable lot.

9. It is too well known to require elaboration here that in mastering the forces of nature in the atomic age, man also has acquired a power of mutual annihilation. The incalculable powers of destruction at our disposal have deprived us of the ability of making whatever choice we would like to make in pursuance of world power politics. History and the atomic age dictate our answers to many questions, not excluding that of colonialism. We cannot afford the development or continuation of unrest and conflict in any part of the world today. The result of such situations is clearly to intensify the rivalries existing between the great Powers today and the setting up of rival claims and positions on the part of other nations that may be tempted to see in these areas of instability the opportunity for advancing their own views, if not

their own interests. The rapid and orderly settlement of the claims of colonial peoples is indispensable if we are to avoid a repetition of the tragic circumstances which prevail today in the Congo and which have thus far defied solution by all the nations assembled at this session. Yet what has happened in the Congo may be only a minor catastrophe in comparison with what may yet come in other areas of the world.

10. In South Africa we still hear the plea of domestic jurisdiction invoked to preclude discussion of the deteriorating situation there, a situation which involves the fate of millions of oppressed people. It would be tragic enough if only the members of the self-styled "master race" were the insane victims of their own policies, or if the victims included only the innocent millions under their immediate control; but the obvious truth is that the explosion that takes place in the Union of South Africa, if we are unable to prevent it, may rock not only that country but the entire world. The West as a whole bears the moral onus of the inhuman practices of that most spiritually backward of all States, of those who have chosen to set themselves "apart" from the stream of humanity as a whole.

11. We do not believe it necessary to repeat here the theme that the record of colonialism has been and continues to be a dark age in human history. In our view, it is far more significant that the historic conditions which made possible this period of exploitation have long since passed and that the survival of colonialism is an anachronism we cannot afford to tolerate.

12. However, I have referred to the case of South Africa, and shall briefly mention conditions in Portuguese Africa, so that we may all understand that we are not dealing with an academic issue. I shall here content myself with the following quotation from an authoritative and moderate observer, Anthony Sampson, in his book Common Sense About Africa:

"The first major investigation was conducted by the British journalist H. W. Nevinson in 1905, who was sent out by Harper's Magazine to investigate allegations of slavery. His book, A Modern Slavery, and the reports of later investigators, revealed the large-scale use of forced labour, in conditions hardly distinguishable from slavery. Fifty years later Harper's sent another British journalist, Basil Davidson, on the same enquiry. His report in his book, The African Awakening, together with reports from the Anti-Slavery Society and the International Labour Office, suggest that the abuses of 'contract labour' or 'contratados' are still widespread. Nearly half the labour force of Angola, according to Davidson, is still made up by 'contratados' as opposed to 'voluntarios' (379,000 to 420,000). 'Contratados' are obtained by the local 'Chefe de Posto', who provides them either from tax-defaulters or by pressure on the local Chief: it is said that in many cases the Portuguese officials were heavily bribed to produce contract labourers. The workers on the cocoa fields of the island of São Tomé are still—as they were in the time of Nevinson—largely obtained from the forced labour of deported Africans."^{1/}

These quotations are enough to show that Africans in Portuguese Africa still live under subhuman conditions.

13. My delegation also cannot refrain from a brief reference to one of the most tragic demonstrations of the scourge of colonialism. We refer to the deplorable situation in Algeria, where the war against the Algerian people has now entered its seventh year. Every effort made to treat the Algerian case as different from any other manifestation of colonialism, to regard Algeria and its people as an integral part of metropolitan France, to bring about the dismemberment of Algeria which we regard as one and indivisible, and to deny to its people the right to self-determination under free conditions—all of these efforts are doomed to failure and can result only in perpetuation of the tragedy which has already persisted far too long.

14. The new cry that an African country, be it Algeria or that often-forgotten part of Somaliland known in colonial terminology as the French Somali Coast, can become part of France is unacceptable to us Africans.

15. The problem of Algeria is in no fundamental respect different from the problem of any other colony, and it can be successfully solved in no other way than by the unconditional liquidation of colonialism. We venture to make these few remarks on this subject because in our view Algeria epitomizes the entire colonial problem. We shall of course speak on this problem at much greater length when it is our turn to do so before the appropriate bodies of this Organization.

16. We have heard the view of some representatives that colonialism today is in effect self-liquidating. The evidence offered in support of this includes the admission to the United Nations of seventeen new nations this year. Those who put forward this view, however, overlook several facts. There was nothing automatic about the process of emancipation in the past. It was achieved only by the heroic sacrifice and struggle of millions in the colonial empire. Moreover, the countries still under colonial rule constitute a hard core, the piercing of which will require even more vigorous efforts than those heretofore exerted. In these efforts should be included both the co-operation of those nations which have espoused the principles of democracy and of the United Nations itself, representing the collective will and the public opinion of all the peoples of the world.

17. Sometimes we hear the argument of domestic jurisdiction adduced against United Nations measures. It is said that the United Nations has no right to intervene in colonial countries even by exerting moral pressure. It is the view of my delegation that the United Nations cannot be expected to abdicate its duty of using its moral prestige and its unequalled moral authority, as the custodian and symbol of the hopes of all the nations, to achieve the final stages of the liquidation of colonialism with the minimum dangers and the maximum benefits. If we are correct in our analysis that the survival of mankind depends upon eliminating all possible areas of friction and all threats to peace, then we are left with no alternative but to invoke the entire authority of this international Organization in voicing the demand that colonialism be speedily liquidated and that the newly independent nations be assisted in establishing effective government.

^{1/} Anthony Sampson, Common Sense About Africa (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960), pp. 136-137.

18. The African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] properly refers to the impropriety of disrupting national unity and territorial integrity. Paragraph 6 of the draft declaration reads:

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

19. In a similar theme, paragraph 7 reads:

"All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity."

20. Whilst my delegation fully supports the contents of these two paragraphs, we should like to emphasize that phrases such as "territorial integrity" and "non-interference in the internal affairs of States" should not be used as a disguise for the continued domination of dependent peoples and the denial to them of the right of self-determination. When we speak of dependent peoples, we do not mean merely those who live under the domination of overseas metropolitan Powers but also peoples who live under the domination of overland colonial Powers. In this connexion I hope that the representative of Ireland will allow me to quote from his well-thought-out speech delivered on 5 December of this year.

21. Speaking of the draft resolution sponsored by the African and Asian countries, the representative of Ireland said, among other things:

"... it is essential, we submit, that the rights it proclaims for peoples not now enjoying full national independence should be applicable to all peoples in all parts of the world, east or west, north or south; that the right to exercise full national independence should be recognized as justly belonging to all peoples, whether the oppressors and the oppressed were of the same race, creed or colour, or of different races, creeds and colours;" [935th meeting, para. 93].

22. These words, we submit, strike at the heart of the matter before this Assembly. In order that their meaning may be made clear in the draft resolution, the representative of Ireland expressed his delegation's preference that the opening part of paragraph 5 should read:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in all cases where the sovereign rights proclaimed in this Declaration are denied to any people, to transfer all powers to the people concerned without any conditions or reservations...." [*ibid.*, para. 107].

My delegation would be only too happy to support such a proposal.

23. I am certain that all of us would wish also to emphasize that all the elements which constitute a nation and its national territory must be considered in dealing with the question of territorial integrity and national unity. Unsettled boundaries or arbitrary delimitations must be rectified in accordance with the overriding and commonly accepted criterion of unification of those ethnic groups which also consti-

tute indivisible economic entities. This is particularly true when artificial boundaries divide homogeneous population groups, creating economic and social hardships. We must be governed by the basic principle, as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations, that the interests of the inhabitants of the areas concerned are paramount. We cannot permit arbitrary lines to override the welfare and historical rights of peoples, or to conflict with the obvious implications of the geographical contiguity of the regions concerned and the wishes of their inhabitants. The disregard of such principles may well lead to disguised forms of colonialism, as wolves in the garb of sheep sometimes creep into the fold.

24. Indeed, in our view the worst legacy of colonialism in Africa will be the endless number of territorial problems which it has created as a result of the artificial divisions of homogeneous national entities.

25. Colonialism has seen to it, by leaving these territorial disputes on their hands, that Africans shall be divided amongst themselves for a long time to come so that erstwhile colonial Powers can exploit this division for their own advantage. It is for us Africans to take full cognizance of this fact and to strive for the amicable solution of our differences so that the Machiavellian doctrine of "divide and rule" may not reappear in a different and more subtle form from that it has taken in the past.

26. In conclusion, if an overwhelming majority of the nations represented at this session of the General Assembly agree on a vigorous declaration, this session of the Assembly may well go down in history as the "Assembly of Freedom" and our declaration, as a "Declaration of Freedom", would rank with the great Charters of mankind: the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Charter of the United Nations.

27. In so doing we shall, it is true, primarily be recognizing history rather than making it, for the march towards independence is so indelibly inscribed in the agenda of mankind that it cannot be halted; nevertheless, in a sense we shall be making history as well.

28. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (translated from French): Earlier speakers from this rostrum have described, with a talent I cannot hope to equal, the origin, history and consequences of the sorry scourge that is called colonialism. Some of the most brilliant speakers have sought to give it a definition and to reveal to the world all the hardship, suffering and intrigues that it conceals, and also the racial discrimination and segregation involved, culminating in the end in the exploitation in inhuman and shameful fashion of man by man, whereas men are borne free and people are all equal and should be treated as such.

29. I shall add nothing to what has been said--and well said--to define this phenomenon of colonialism, which will long remain, alas, deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of those who have endured it. To understand what it means in practice, without consulting dictionaries or encyclopedias, ask a man, a woman, an old person, a child, a family, a people, a nation that have been colonized, that have endured it or are still enduring it, what colonialism means. Maybe, they will give you no answer; but how mean-

ingful and eloquent will be their silence! How many generations have for centuries suffered and are still suffering under it, from the days of the concessions and up to the brutal occupation by armed force, which went on all through the last century and the beginning of this century.

30. Times have changed and we are witnessing today this same phenomenon appear in new forms, with a new ideology and a new doctrine. That is why the task we are pursuing today and for which our forefathers gave their lives and their happiness is a noble and major task. It must also be accomplished completely and definitively; it must unmask colonialism in both its ancient and its present-day forms.

31. The disintegration and liquidation of colonial empires is certainly one of the most salient features of contemporary history. After lengthy sufferings and a heroic struggle, millions of human beings have successfully shaken off the oppressors' yoke and a large number of nations have regained their freedom and their dignity. Nevertheless, anachronistic though it may seem in the world of 1960, the expeditions, conspiracies and acts of force that marked the establishment of huge areas of domination in the not very remote past show that the era of colonialism is not by any means a thing of the past. Not only does it survive in its most brutal classical forms, not only does it continue to wage absurd colonial wars but, in addition—and this too is a characteristic feature of our time—we find it assuming new forms of domination that are no whit less virulent.

32. This is a problem which merits all the attention and vigilance we can devote to it. That is why Morocco, a country which has endured foreign occupation and its bitter experience, a country that is devoted to the freedom and dignity of individuals and nations, is gratified to see the General Assembly taking up the important question of the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is only natural that the United Nations should take up this—in our view, essential—problem. Specific clauses in the Charter clearly show the importance attached to the development of dependent countries and their economic and social improvement with a view to enabling them to govern themselves and gain their freedom. Furthermore, the basic principles of the United Nations, the aims which are the justification for its existence, oblige it to deal, with the least possible delay, with the serious problems raised by colonialism and its consequences; for, as long as this phenomenon persists, all the principles on which the United Nations is based and which should govern any international community worthy of its name will be violated—whether it be respect for human rights and dignity or equality as between persons and peoples or the right of peoples to self-determination.

33. We fail to understand, speaking for ourselves, how anyone can still talk here about certain obsolete ideas, acclaiming the merits of "enlightened" colonialism, vaunting its lofty ideals or attributing to it any kind of humanitarian or civilizing mission. The history of colonial conquests, far from being a peak achievement, confronts us with quite different realities. It is nothing other than a stormy succession of wars and expeditions waged by Powers intoxicated by their economic and military potential, seeking to gain strategic positions and hankering for wealth and prestige. The struggles for power between these

opposing Powers, their policies of collusion and their intrigues to partition whole continents reflect little credit on the Powers involved and are certainly not a glorious page in the history of mankind.

34. And how could it be otherwise, seeing that colonialism has its laws and its dogmas, its own dialectic and its own logic. To start with, it infringes the principle of the equality of individuals and ignores their most elementary rights. Above all, it signifies domination, enslavement and exploitation of the individual. Occupation of any territory entails, to begin with, a clash between two temperaments, two personalities, discrimination between the colonizer and the colonized. The inferiority of the latter to the former becomes a sacrosanct principle of colonialism.

35. It is a point worth mentioning that the occupying countries which have often thought fit to regard the occupied territories as an integral part of their own territory—some of them even, in a fancied display of generosity, granting their citizenship to the conquered populations—have never gone so far as to carry this fiction to its logical consequence and grant complete equality of rights.

36. The recent history of Algeria is most instructive on this point and shows us the innumerable changes that have been made in the legal status of the Algerians at the whim of the colonizing Power and the various categories through which it has successively passed to fit the needs of the policy of the moment.

37. Colonialism, by its very nature, excludes any form of equal rights which might operate to its disadvantage or undermine its rule. Even where it parades its civilizing virtues and certain humanitarian ideals, it is mainly directed towards the exploitation of wealth and is prone to look upon the native of the country merely as a means to an end, a means of producing something cheaply. The merciless logic of such a policy has led, and is still leading, colonialism to practise the most extreme forms of inequality of rights and to build up a system of racial segregation.

38. World public opinion continues to feel deep resentment at the outmoded policies that are still followed in certain parts of the world, more especially in Africa, which constitute a negation of the basic values of civilization and a serious affront to human dignity.

39. The African and Asian countries most immediately affected by racial discrimination have often been heard denouncing and stigmatising such behaviour. The serious decadence in human civilization reflected by this disgraceful behaviour was strongly condemned at the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, and again at the sessions of the Conference of Independent African States held at Accra and Monrovia and quite recently also at Addis-Ababa.

40. These voices from Africa and Asia met with a resounding response from world public opinion. The problem of racial segregation is still one of the gravest and most difficult problems which our Organization must solve. For instance, under a screen of humanitarian intentions, the colonialists often trample underfoot the most elementary rights of the individual. Similarly, on the pretext that the inhabitants of the occupied regions are unable to exploit their wealth, and that they want to help them to

develop their economy, the colonialists do not hesitate to proceed systematically to exploit that wealth.

41. An individual is not even allowed to prove his ability. He finds his energies stifled and subjugated. Now that many countries in Africa and Asia have attained independence we can see how emancipation and the expansion of energies that were formerly muzzled have stimulated the progress and well-being of the populations and that it was foreign occupation that kept the economy, trade and agriculture at such a backward level.

42. After being for long regarded as a reserve of raw materials and plentiful cheap manpower, the countries of Africa and Asia have now become aware of themselves and have realized that, by freeing their energies, independence opens the door to economic expansion and social and cultural progress. Several examples of this have been cited. I would like to add the case of my own country, Morocco, where in four years of independent existence we have provided schooling for more than a million children, or ten times more than was achieved in forty-four years of occupation. Our economy, which was a subsidiary and slave economy, is gradually becoming a national economy operating for the progress and well-being of the people. Social security benefits are available for everyone and the social welfare measures introduced since we became independent are much, very much, superior to those which existed before. Discrimination and differentiation of every kind have been abolished and we are continuing the fight against unemployment and for the happiness, prosperity and well-being of our people.

43. This means the disappearance of the myth of chronic incapacity which the colonialists were fond of attributing to the peoples whom they oppressed. One of the most disturbing aspects of colonialism, however, particularly at a time when all efforts are directed towards maintaining peace, is the permanent threat which it represents for the security and stability of the world.

44. The reason for this is, firstly, that colonial settlement often goes hand in hand with territorial partitioning and evokes the divisions, or even exploits the disputes, which at a given moment in history may exist between certain peoples.

45. The territorial partitioning which resulted from the splitting up of whole continents into zones of influence, the intrigues and manoeuvres resorted to by colonialism in order to achieve its aims have always had the effect of exasperating the peoples who have suffered from them. This partitioning and dismantling of territories stands in formal contradiction to the very principles of our Charter and prejudices, seriously prejudices, the territorial unity and integrity of States.

46. That is how, as we have had occasion to point out and to repeat, our country was partitioned, split up, mutilated and divided because colonial Powers wanted at the outset of this century to divide it up between them, quite heedless of either the wishes of the population or natural historical and geographical circumstances. That is how a united Morocco, forming one single indential entity, has been amputated of what is nowadays presented as the independent State of Mauritania and of territories the populations of which still languish under colonial occupation,

such as Ifni, Segûia El Hamra, Rio de Oro, Tindouf, Tidikelt, Ceuta and Melilla. Each of these territories is under occupation, designated variously as overseas territory, overseas establishment, "presidio" or suzerain area; but the form is everywhere and always the same and is nothing other than colonial occupation.

47. Our task here today is to lead the attack against these tricks of division and disunity. It is also to resist, in the best way we can, colonialist designs based on the principle of "divide and rule" or "disunite in order to hold on".

48. We refuse to accept balkanization, "katanganization" and "mauritanization". We cannot but voice our regret and resentment at the fact that the same colonial Powers, which at the end of the last and beginning of the present century partitioned and divided up Africa into zones of influence, are today objecting to reunification and regrouping. Thus, by seeking to have Mauritania admitted to the United Nations, France and her allies sought to make the partitioning and division of Morocco a "fait accompli", guaranteed and ratified by the United Nations. The Soviet Union, in opposing that admission, and the fifty-six delegations which expressed themselves in the First Committee by their affirmative vote or their abstention,^{2/} were but respecting the principle enshrined in the Charter which demands respect for the territorial integrity of Member States.

49. We are profoundly sorry that certain representatives of great Powers not only disregarded this principle but also failed to comply with their own obligations as signatory Powers of such international instruments as the General Act of the International Conference at Algeiras in 1906.

50. They go on stubbornly persisting in their mistakes and in this very Assembly they reproach those who took the correct view with having acted consequentially. We would like, therefore, to have this point made absolutely clear: we claim that the Soviet Union, by casting its veto, signified its objection, invoking the United Nations Charter, to recognizing the violation of the territory of a Member State of the United Nations by another Member State. The Soviet Government desired in this way to respect its special obligations towards Morocco whose independence it had recognized in 1956. Why was not the same attitude adopted by all the delegations and all the members of the Security Council? We can only regret the fact but we feel bound to denounce the colonialist action which divides up our country, rends asunder our people and mutilates our State. Anyhow, we shall continue the fight for complete liberation and for the safeguarding of our territorial integrity. This is a fight based on right and justice. It is also the continuation of a policy that has long since been devised to combat colonialism, for resistance to oppression has been written into the history of peoples and forms one of its essential factors. There is no instance of colonial domination which in the long run has not been obliged to capitulate to such resistance. That, of course, does imply a lot of hardship and suffering but the struggle of a people for its freedom steels its energies and adds lustre to its name. What makes the situation more serious is that the centres of intrigue and trouble whence colonialism launches

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, First Committee, 1118th meeting, para. 51.

its attacks for the conquest of strongholds constitute a grave threat to peace and stability in a number of very sensitive areas.

51. We cannot remain indifferent to the situation in Oman and West Irian, for in present-day circumstances peace and security are indivisible. The concept of localized conflict tends to disappear; the extension and the generalization of disputes are always to be feared. One of the most striking examples of the threat which colonialism holds suspended over world peace is the disturbing situation which prevails in Palestine, a country where cruel and despotic behaviour has reached its peak. A whole nation has been displaced, deprived of its land and its wealth, and doomed for the last fourteen years to live in exile. This Palestine situation, which evokes feelings of indignation and revolt in everyone's conscience, must be vigilantly watched, for it is highly explosive. It has already led to a local war, in 1948; it nearly produced a general conflagration in 1956 and it constitutes a permanent source of disturbances and instability in a highly sensitive area of the world. Generally speaking, the conquest of strategic strong-points, which is still the major aim of colonialism, is a constant source of trouble and a serious threat to world peace and security. We all know how one event leads to the next and how the process marches inevitably on—establishment of military bases, armaments race, the organization of aggressive blocs.

52. The presence of armed forces, which used to be excused chiefly by the desire to consolidate political domination and maintain powerful economic interests, becomes an end in itself, dictated by strategic considerations and forming an integral part of a policy of blocs and alliances. We energetically protest against the threats which, in this way, bear particularly heavily on Africa where certain Powers, rejecting the disarmament policy which the peace-loving nations propose should be followed, continue to nourish aggressive ambitions and, under the pretext of joint defence, set up bases and carry out nuclear tests despite general disapproval and contrary to the wishes of the peoples of Africa.

53. We protest even more forcibly against the coalition of powerful interests, the leagues of aggressive blocs formed against peoples who are fighting to regain their independence, and this is where we come to the most revolting aspect of colonialist domination. The building up of overseas territories has not been accomplished smoothly and peacefully. Empires on which the sun never sets have not been built up in an atmosphere of peace and calm. The path of colonialist conquests has always been marked by bloody expeditions in its various phases, more especially in its decline. The liberation of colonized peoples has almost always been characterized by merciless wars, for neither the deployment of a formidable military potential nor the strongest coalition of interests can possibly prevent the oppressed populations from waging to the utmost their lawful struggle for recognition of their sacred and undeniable rights.

54. There is no need to dip very far back into history to come upon classical examples of colonial conflicts. Some Powers have been engaged in war for many long years. Only recently Indo-China was the scene of large-scale operations which had a profound effect on world security and stability. The war in Algeria, which has been going on relentlessly for

more than six years bringing unhappiness and suffering in its train, continues to remind us of a past we would like to see never recur. It continues to be a manifestation of colonialism in its most brutal form. The endurance and tenacity of the Algerian people evoke our admiration and our sympathy. The various phases of its heroic fight are so well known that there is no need to describe or recall them here in detail.

55. Our Organization has already on several occasions considered, and is bound again, this year, marked as it is by the accession of several African countries to independence, to consider this drama which dangerously affects international peace. We merely wish to stress once more the grave risks of the conflict being widened and internationalized, more especially because of the assistance which some nations persist in giving to the colonialist aggressor. Facing as it does a desire for domination which disregards historical evolution and the irresistible advance of nationalisms, the Algerian people yet enjoys the support and sympathy of 1,500 million human beings who used to live not long ago in colonialist slavery and who have succeeded, after long decades of suffering, in regaining their freedom and their dignity.

56. Asia and Africa show a new face to the world nowadays and we are convinced that the last strongholds, behind which colonialism has taken refuge, will in their turn soon crumble away. Thus, the great family of the nations which have recently achieved independence will go on expanding, to the maximum advantage of everyone, since its function will be to play a decisive role in maintaining peace improving international relations and promoting the progress, prosperity and well-being of the peoples. At the same time, though, as they are performing this noble but very difficult task, they must consolidate their dearly-bought independence, put their economies on a sound footing and continue to be more vigilant than ever, for the colonial Powers resort to other ways and means of perpetuating their domination and their influence.

57. That is the reason why we want to thank the Soviet delegation for having requested the inclusion of this item in our agenda and insisting that it should be discussed, with all the proper formality, in our Organization. We shall support its draft resolution and my delegation will, likewise, support any resolution or solemn declaration that proclaims the immediate ending of colonialism in all its forms and urges respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception. It goes without saying that, as regards my country, these resolutions or declarations cover the whole complex of colonial territories, however they may be tricked out or disguised as overseas territories or departments, "presidios" or suzerain areas, colonies or protectorates, mandated or trust territories. We have seen that, though the designation may be different, the system and methods remain the same and the single objective is to exploit human beings, to exploit the natural wealth for themselves irrespective of any other consideration.

58. We say loudly and clearly that we want no independence "at a discount"; we will never accept dependence or servility and so we will always and everywhere denounce puppet régimes, balkanization,

political, economic, military or cultural domination. We stand for real, true independence, which will foster the development of the individual and guarantee the peoples advancement and well-being. That is how we understand our fight for the future, one which will have no time for obsequiousness or beating about the bush or hesitation of any kind. Accordingly, the independence to be granted to the colonial peoples must be one which protects their territorial integrity and does not place them under any kind of domination. My country is as anxious as any other to see colonialism in its death throes and liquidated once and for all, but it wants this independence to be something genuine, both as regards territory and as regards population.

59. We are aware of the pretext advanced to the effect that the colonial countries are not yet capable of conducting their own affairs. That is a misleading and baseless pretext and we reject it categorically. We consider that the first step is to free the peoples from colonial domination; that is the essential prerequisite for their speedy evolution. So long as they remain dependent, they will be unable to organize their countries politically, economically and socially in effective fashion and so as to serve their own interests.

60. We can now perhaps draw a few conclusions from what has already been said.

61. Firstly, the eradication of colonialism on a world-wide scale is desired by decent people all over the world. The liquidation and burial of this parasitical evil was long overdue. Colonialism stands condemned everywhere and nowadays even the colonial powers are ashamed of it. They hide their faces when it is referred to but they hide them under a veil which does not differ from the classical colonialism, nowadays known as neo-colonialism.

62. Secondly, the conscience of mankind rejects colonialism as a derogation from the concept of freedom, something that favours the spirit of domination, based on a kind of parasitism in which man behaves like a wolf to his fellow-man. The moral conscience is revolted and this leads inevitably to instability which, in turn, hampers the advance of progress.

63. Thirdly, the moral conscience used to depict the formation of empires as a civilizing mission. This same conscience presents the neo-colonialist imperialism of today as a system for the defence of freedom. While this imperialism combats freedom in Algeria, while it provokes secessionist movements in Katanga and Mauritania, having first set up puppet and completely unrepresentative governments, the desire for power, the motives of profit, domination and exploitation hide themselves behind the false mask of freedom and take cover behind a military system imposed on a large number of weak countries.

64. Before 1960 the fight for freedom was waged against direct colonial administration. This classical form of colonialism tried to secure in the countries placed under its control a monopoly of raw materials, cheap manpower and forced labour, sought to corner markets, control points of strategic importance and keep a watch on foreign competition and, lastly, sought the so-called cannon fodder still to be found on the battlefields in Algeria. The characteristic feature of this classical colonialism is its domination of all the departments of public life—administrative,

political, military, economic, cultural, social and diplomatic.

65. After 1960 the fight for freedom enters a phase which differs only superficially from the previous phase. After emancipation and liberation from direct administration, the peoples will soon realize that political independence brings them to a period of rehabilitation, marked by a struggle against balkanization and the partitioning of countries, against a reversion to capitalist feudalism, against foreign economic control and against military domination. In a word, neo-colonialism confronts the countries that took part in the Bandung Conference with the prospect of fighting against the keeping of young countries in a state of dependence. With the prospect of such a sombre future before it, neo-colonialism, in order to maintain itself, seeks to create and to aggravate the divisions between the African-Asian countries and elsewhere also; it is using and will go on using every means available to break up the Bandung bloc. It is trying to separate Asia from Africa. In Africa it seeks to separate North Africa from Central Africa and from South Africa. Neo-colonialism fights against the authentic independence that has been won at the cost of struggle and suffering. It is redoubling its efforts to have in Africa and other countries only those forms of independence that are perverted or even imposed, as in Mauritania in Southern Morocco.

66. In the United Nations forum classical colonialism was wont to use a certain number of falsehoods like pacification, civilizing mission, respect for traditions, serving an apprenticeship to democracy, defence of religion, properly qualified spokesmen, foreign influence, etc.

67. Nowadays neo-colonialism represents itself as a system of orderly evolution, the protector of freedom, in order to maintain its economic and military domination. It splits up the territorial unity of nations and offers it as a further contribution to freedom and independence. The line marking the boundary between the notion of evolution and that of revolution becomes harder and harder to perceive.

68. We live in an age of scientific and technical revolution and, at the same time, our era is also an age of political and social revolutions, which explains why the unconditional eradication of colonialism is categorically imperative.

69. The trend of history is following the direction of freedom and unity. Freedom is a concrete idea—an economic, political, social and spiritual concept. Unity is a concrete idea implying the equality, regrouping and universality of rights and duties.

70. When these two ideas are respected, the evolutionary process follows the simple path of emancipation and reconstruction. When neo-colonialism interferes with its intrigues and provocations, as in the Congo or Mauritania, the process becomes complicated. It passes from classical colonialism to balkanization, economic exploitation, popular revolutions and then to natural regrouping and, finally, to national reconstruction in every sphere.

71. That is why the concept of independence is entirely relative unless it is placed within the framework of territorial integrity and representative government.

72. The Soviet Union's proposal will constitute a landmark in history. With colonialism and neo-colonialism destroyed, it will become more possible and feasible to bring men together. Since imperialism and the spirit of domination were the major causes of world wars, the problem of disarmament itself will be simplified by the liquidation of the last vestiges of the old empires. Peace is indivisible; it goes hand in hand with justice. When the evil that afflicts humanity has been extirpated, the beneficial effects will be felt in every department of human activity.

Mr. Fekni (Libya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

73. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The subject which we are now debating in this Assembly—the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples—is one of pre-eminent significance, in relation both to its moral content and to its global encompassment. It is, in fact, an issue of world freedom.

74. The dedication of the people of Cyprus to the ideals of freedom and self-determination has been amply established by their hard and long struggle for liberation. As a people who have long suffered under foreign domination and experienced one of the saddest manifestations of colonialism and its policy of "divide and rule", and as a country having to cope with the effects of colonialism, we feel deeply with all subject peoples yearning and struggling for their freedom. With fullness of heart we espouse their cause, which is our cause, the cause of all peoples spiritually free.

75. We are therefore happy to co-sponsor the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] and to endorse its vigorous declarations. We endorse it not only because it contains a message of freedom but also because it contains the meaning of peace.

76. Freedom and peace are inseparable concepts and indivisible realities. Those who seek peace and deny freedom are working at cross purposes. The negativeness of the latter destroys the positiveness of the former.

77. Disarmament and peace can only be achieved where world order reigns, and world order is impossible so long as nations seek to dominate other nations and peoples. Domination is linked with force, and force is the enemy of peace.

78. We are not theorizing; we are speaking from experience. After a long struggle for freedom in the political field over many decades, the people of Cyprus turned with faith to the United Nations, hoping for a just and peaceful solution. When negative results brought disillusionment and frustration, bloodshed and armed resistance followed during four years of fighting, with all its feats of heroism and self-sacrifice, and also with its heavy toll in human life and suffering.

79. Criticism is not the objective of this reference to the past. Its sense is to convey an experience and an enduring lesson, that peace cannot last where freedom is denied, and that United Nations apathy and inaction on issues of freedom do not help the cause of peace. When this simple truth is realized, many grave problems of today will find their natural solution. If we are to move effectively towards world peace, we must ensure world freedom; and to ensure world freedom, all forms of subjugation and domination should be eliminated.

80. Colonialism is a system of domination that still survives and, therefore, it should, in the first place, be speedily abolished. Its abandonment will bring in its wake the liberation of all subject peoples in whatever lands and by whatever means their freedom is denied.

81. The resolution which, as we hope, will emerge from this debate is of far-reaching importance. It will be the collective voice of humanity making its decisive pronouncement against colonialism and in support of the right of all peoples to self-determination. In its wider significance the resolution will mark the approaching end of a long era in human history, an era conditioned by the concept of force and domination, and will open up vistas of a new world, a world based on equality and the brotherhood of man.

82. The primary and direct effect, however, of this resolution will lie in the termination of colonialism as a world system, a system which still openly sanctions domination by one people over another.

83. Historically, colonialism, which started by way of settlement for purposes of trade, soon took the form of subjugation and domination of primitive and under-developed lands and countries in Asia and Africa, and eventually grew into a political system and a legal institution. Recognized under international law, expounded and classified in constitutional laws, colonialism came to be accepted as a normal state of affairs. Geography was traced in terms of colonialism, and national and international life, for over two centuries, turned on its axis. In other words, domination by force, resulting in the deprivation of fundamental human rights to freedom, equality and justice, has been, and sadly enough still is, in the name of colonialism, sanctioned and treated as the norm. However, the subjection and exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation, so long tolerated and even admitted in practice, now offend against the moral conscience of humanity.

84. In the course of history mankind has gone through many stages and conditions, but ultimately their fate has been decided by the human attitude towards them. They survive where moral principle and freedom prevail; they finally decay and die when they run counter to man's inherent sense of right and justice. Humanity, finding no hope in them, casts them aside. Even slavery, now long outlawed, was for centuries an accepted and lawful practice.

85. The continuous human evolution, shaped by industrial progress and technological achievements, slow at first, has in our present times so gained in momentum that it successively revolutionizes all preconceived notions that do not rest on a moral basis.

86. The stage has now come when the institution of colonialism, or any other forcible domination of one people over another, will, in its turn, be universally condemned and abandoned.

87. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the declaration in the African-Asian draft resolution read as follows:

"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.

"All peoples have the right of self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

This is the call of humanity today, and these are the dictates of moral principle. They cannot go unheeded. The age of domination by force already belongs to the past. All peoples have a right to live in freedom and to develop freely their own culture and their own political and economic systems. The principle of self-determination has been aptly called the cornerstone of the United Nations and the master key of the Charter. People the world over look to freedom and self-determination not only because they promote human dignity and the assertion of human personality but also as elements of peace and conditions necessary for effective progress and international co-operation. For, indeed, the wider the extent of self-determination, the broader the basis of peace in the world. Relationships of dominant and subject peoples should be replaced by relations between free peoples on a footing of equality and trust. In this way, co-operation and peace can take the place of antagonism and war.

88. The earlier this is realized by those directly concerned, the better for them and for world peace. An imaginative policy on the part of those who wield power can lead no other way. They should move with the moving times and the spirit of the age. Even from the viewpoint of expediency, it would be in the interests of the dominant Powers to co-operate now with what is right while there is still time and before rapid developments force them to co-operate with the inevitable. Almost all the merit of that co-operation would then be lost.

89. Forty-two years ago, Woodrow Wilson gave a far-sighted warning to the world. In his address to the United States Congress on 11 February 1918, he said: "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." The wisdom of that statement is now obvious from everyday realities.

90. I am glad to note from the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in regard to the smaller British colonies, that his country is prepared, as he said, "in accordance with Article 73 b of the Charter, to work out with the people concerned the form of independence which will best satisfy their aspirations." [925th meeting, para. 41.]

91. Therefore, even in the case of all the small colonies, their independence is promised by the United Kingdom. We earnestly hope that this will apply also to the brave people of Malta, whose progress to self-determination seems to have suffered a marked regression in the new constitution now offered to them, which is substantially less liberal than the previous one. That is why we make particular mention of this colony.

92. Another vital aspect of the draft resolution is its declaration in paragraph 6, which runs:

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

93. This is essential in order to counter the consequences of the policy of "divide and rule", which often is the sad legacy of colonialism and carries its evil effects further into the future.

94. The abolition of colonialism will be a historic landmark in the moral progress of mankind. There is no doubt that its impact upon all forms of domination and oppression will inevitably be far-reaching.

95. We cannot, however, hope that colonialism will disappear overnight. For a time its existence will inevitably continue, but only while it is being gradually liquidated, in much the same way—to draw a rough analogy—in which a company continues to exist while in liquidation. The resolution under discussion will be, in a sense, the receiving order issued by the collective judgement of nations in the matter of colonialism. The United Nations could well be the trustee in this liquidation.

96. The Charter of the United Nations, in Chapters XI, XII and XIII, while taking cognizance of colonialism, made provision for the progress towards independence of colonial peoples and territories. However, the progress achieved in these fifteen years has proved too slow to cope with the growing rapidity of international developments, which seem to take by surprise those more directly concerned with them. One manifestation of these rapid developments is the almost sudden collapse of colonialism, now evidenced in this debate. The human instinct for liberty, developing into an urge and an impelling necessity, is now an irresistible force. That force inspires this debate and the resolution which will be the outcome of it.

97. The inscription in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item like the present one was thought wholly unrealistic and unattainable even a few years ago. Such was then the grip of the old concept of colonialism. It was not then an uncommon occurrence for questions of freedom and self-determination brought to the United Nations to be put aside, or bypassed, in resolutions without substance, instead of leading to the adoption of constructive resolutions. This was damaging to the prestige of the United Nations and to the cause of peace. For peace is not served by covering up anomalous situations which stem from violations of the very principles on which the United Nations stands. That simply leads to greater anomaly—and we are witnessing the effect of that policy today.

98. Adherence to principle is steadily becoming more pronounced in the United Nations. The expansion of membership by the addition of so many new States from Asia and Africa, which long struggled for justice and freedom in their own cause, brings to the United Nations a growing dedication to the Charter, particularly noticeable on questions of freedom and human dignity.

99. It is common knowledge that colonialism in its accepted form is a product of Western civilization. But it should in all fairness also be said that it was that civilization which voiced the staunchest moral condemnations of colonialism and exploitation and first expounded the principle of self-determination. All freedom movements have in some way or another been inspired by Western civilization and blossomed in its concepts. Some staunch opposers of British and other colonialism may be found today in Britain, and

we are grateful to those liberal minds in Britain, no less than to those in other nations, who stood by our side in the difficult times of our struggle for freedom.

100. Another aspect that has been put forward is that of ensuring full independence to newly emerging countries. To quote Mr. Walter Lippman: "Colonialism does not always end with the grant of political independence". Although a territory is independent, yet the legacy of colonialism may sometimes be there and may in its effect be a hindrance to the fullness of independence.

101. From the economic aspect, I should like to turn to what has been said by the representative of Iran, to the effect that the economic reconstruction and development of new countries must be aided and their freedom ensured so that they "will never find it necessary, for reasons of national defence, to allocate to military expenditure funds essential to their national development" [926th meeting, para. 69].

102. Difficult economic problems face the new countries, problems that have to be provided for. The United Nations has a distinct obligation in that respect. It should be prepared to render all necessary economic and other assistance. Meeting these requirements is a necessity and a challenge for the United Nations.

103. We therefore support the United States proposal for a United Nations programme for independence and development in Africa, and we hope that such a programme of development may be extended to Cyprus.

104. We would also wish to see the United Nations take a more active part in helping newly emerging countries, as well as countries and peoples in the transitory period to independence. A United Nations committee could be established to assist where there are differences, by offering its good offices, by mediation and by bridging the gulfs, thereby helping in the smooth and speedy progress toward independence.

105. Although the African-Asian draft resolution is mainly concerned with the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, yet it is in no way restricted. Its scope, in terms of freedom and self-determination, is all-embracing. It includes all peoples, in whatever land and in whatever circumstances they are dominated and by whatever means they are deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and freedom.

106. This resolution will, in a sense, be a sequel to and a counterpart of the Bandung Declaration, adopted at the Asian-African Conference of 1955. The importance of that declaration cannot be over-emphasized. It was the dynamic expression of the awakening African-Asian world unanimous in its declaration on basic moral and political principles. That declaration was equally all-embracing in its condemnation of imperialism and colonialism, in all their manifestations, and in upholding the right of self-determination. From that conference a chain of events followed that cannot be unrelated to the spirit of Bandung. They produced a healthier international climate leading up to the Geneva summit conference.^{3/} Subsequent adverse events in international relations interrupted the trend of that positive move towards greater

understanding and co-operation. We hope and trust that, with the resolution to be now adopted, the thread will be taken up and a new move forward will be made in the right direction, towards freedom and towards peace based on freedom.

107. In concluding, I should like to point out that the draft resolution, by relating all its parts to the United Nations Charter and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not only gives a sound basis to its contents, but also revitalizes the spirit of the Charter. It restores to the Charter provisions on self-determination something of the strength and purpose which they may have lost over the years through ineffective treatment of relative items of freedom.

108. Furthermore, this draft resolution gives to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights a new sense of reality and validity. This is of importance, considering that that Declaration has no binding force in a legal sense, and that the completion and adoption of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights cannot be expected, at least at the present rate of progress, before many years have elapsed.

109. This resolution, if adopted, will make a signal contribution, juridically and politically, to the United Nations. It could become an epoch-making document, second only to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hope it may be given, by this Assembly, the unanimous adoption it deserves.

110. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation has already had the opportunity of presenting in detail its views on all aspects of the problem of the immediate elimination of colonialism; it has explained and given the reasons for its proposals. The Soviet Union is in favour of a radical and immediate solution of the whole problem of colonialism, and accordingly calls on all States that really desire the speedy liberation of the colonial peoples to adopt, at this fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Declaration on the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples the draft text of which has been submitted by the Soviet Government in document A/4502.

111. In its previous statements the USSR delegation has already pointed out that the overwhelming majority of African and Asian delegations have sincerely expressed their desire to see the immediate termination of the colonial system and the adoption at this session of the General Assembly of measures that would help in the performance of this noble task. We should like now to express our views on the draft resolution and declaration submitted by forty-three African and Asian States [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]. The Soviet delegation's opinion of this African-Asian draft resolution is, on the whole, favourable, even though we consider it inadequate and incomplete. The draft resolution-declaration contains a number of fundamental provisions that were put forward in the Soviet draft declaration submitted, as you all know, at the very beginning of the fifteenth session. It can be said that the Soviet draft declaration and the draft resolution presented by the African-Asian countries express a common platform and identical views on a number of vital questions. This is a gratifying fact that proves that in the protracted struggle for the elimination of colonialism conducted by the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and the African and Asian countries and peoples, there is an identity of views and a single fundamental purpose.

^{3/} Conference of Heads of Government of the four great Powers, held at Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955.

112. However, we must also point out the defects from which we think the African-Asian draft resolution suffers.

113. We could observe, first of all, that certain paragraphs are not drafted with sufficient clarity; as a result they are interpreted differently even by the sponsors of the draft resolution. We need only point out that the representative of the Philippines asserted that what was enjoined in paragraph 5 of the draft declaration was not the immediate transfer of all powers to the peoples of the colonies, but rather the taking or initiating forthwith of steps which would lead to such transfer of power. Approximately the same interpretation of that paragraph was given by the Malayan representative, who stated that "the declaration does not envisage ... that all powers shall be transferred forthwith" [935th meeting, para. 130]. We are inclined to think that this interpretation does not correspond to the desires of the overwhelming majority of the sponsors of the draft resolution. We have no doubt of the sincerity of the aspirations and motives of the overwhelming majority of the African and Asian delegations, and we think that they do not agree with such an interpretation and believe in the need for the immediate liberation of the colonial peoples. The Soviet delegation, too, interprets paragraph 5 in just that way.

114. In a number of other provisions, also, the wording could give rise to interpretations contrary to the basic meaning of the draft resolution as understood by the majority of the African and Asian countries, judging by their statements in the plenary Assembly. Leaving aside the question of the desirability of improving the wording in a number of places, since this could complicate the consideration of the draft resolution—and this the Soviet delegation has no intention of doing—we should like to indicate two fundamental provisions which, in our opinion, the sponsors of the draft resolution have completely failed to take into account.

115. Firstly, the draft resolution refers to the need for the speedy elimination of colonialism and for immediate steps to be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and of all other territories which have not yet attained independence. However, no precise target date for the grant of independence to the colonial countries is indicated. Moreover, the draft resolution contains no specific instructions for the Powers which are responsible for the liberation of the colonies and Trust Territories. It contains no indications whatever of what these Powers are to do and by what date.

116. Secondly, an important provision is missing: a provision to the effect that the General Assembly should consider the question of the implementation of this declaration at its next session; this is essential in order to ensure that the main provisions of the declaration are carried out.

117. The Soviet delegation has accordingly deemed it necessary to submit for consideration by the General Assembly certain amendments to the African-Asian draft resolution which, while leaving the existing text unchanged, would introduce some additional provisions that would give effectiveness to the general principles stated in the declaration and would help to bring about their speedy implementation.

118. The following are the essential points of these supplementary amendments.

119. First: we consider it essential to fix a target date by which all colonial countries and peoples must be liberated. The call for the prompt liberation of the colonies has been supported by a large number of States. It is common knowledge that resolutions on the speedy liberation of the colonial peoples have been adopted repeatedly at conferences of African and Asian States. As early as 1955, for instance, the States represented at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung adopted a declaration to the effect that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end".

120. This demand of the Bandung Conference is reflected in the draft resolution now submitted to us. However, we must take into account the fact that this demand, adopted in 1955, i.e. five years ago, now needs developing further. Having regard to the very rapid rate of development of the national-liberation movement, it is not enough now merely to repeat the demands that were made five years ago.

121. It was for precisely this reason that at the second Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in June 1960, a resolution was adopted urging 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 and to communicate those dates to the people concerned". The Soviet delegation fully supports this demand made by the representatives of the independent countries of Africa.

122. Thus, in the past five years the demand for the speedy elimination of the colonial system has been transformed—and very naturally so—into a demand for the immediate elimination of the colonial system, for the immediate liberation of all peoples still living in conditions of colonial oppression. In conformity with the resolution adopted at Addis Ababa, the representative of Togo, when speaking here in the general debate, referred to the need to eliminate colonialism as an urgent matter and emphasized that:

"Our concern here is not merely to condemn colonialism and adopt the principle of the grant of independence. It is of the greatest importance that we should also draw up, here and now, a time-table of dates on which the colonized territories are to be granted independence. Otherwise the countries still in bondage will have to face another long struggle against colonial power." [936th meeting, para. 65.]

123. We support this proposal of the Togolese delegation for the fixing of a time-limit for the granting of independence and we propose that the end of 1961 should be set as the target date. We accordingly propose that a provision should be inserted in the draft resolution of the African-Asian States, stating that all colonial countries and peoples should attain complete freedom and independence not later than the end of 1961. In our view, this shameful relic of the defunct colonial system can no longer be tolerated.

124. At the same time, for the implementation of the practical measures necessary for the transfer of all powers to the peoples of the colonies, the Soviet delegation proposes that the General Assembly should call upon the colonial Powers to enter into negotiations with representatives of the indigenous inhabitants of the colonial countries. In order that these representatives may truly express the will and aspirations of the colonial peoples, the Soviet dele-

gation deems it essential that elections should be held in all colonies on the basis of universal suffrage. In order to ensure a free expression of their will by the peoples of the colonies and to prevent any manipulation of or juggling with the election results, we consider it desirable that the United Nations should, if necessary, supervise the conduct of the elections.

125. In this connexion, it is necessary to recall that during the recent discussion in the Fourth Committee a majority of the Committee's members approved a proposal by Togo and Tunisia that the United Nations could, when it deemed necessary, supervise the democratic processes by which the peoples of the colonies express their wishes [see A/4651, paras. 5-8]. We are all well aware of the importance which many African and Asian countries, and other countries too, attach to the holding, for instance, of a referendum in Algeria under United Nations supervision, in order to ensure the people's freedom to express their will.

126. Second: we consider that the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is different from the usual run of declarations—such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for example—in that it is not a programme to be applied for all time, but a programme of immediate action to implement the lofty principles proclaimed in the declaration. That is why, in the case of the declaration of independence for the colonies, the time factor is of great importance. The United Nations cannot simply confine itself to proclaiming certain principles, without taking steps for the application of those principles and for the implementation of the declaration adopted. We therefore think that provision must be made in the African-Asian draft resolution for a clause providing that the General Assembly should consider at its sixteenth session in 1961 the question of the implementation of this declaration.

127. For the reasons I have stated, the Soviet delegation has already circulated and now formally submits for consideration by the General Assembly the following amendments to the draft resolution submitted by forty-three countries of Africa and Asia [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]:

"Add the following paragraphs after operative paragraph 7:

'8. Calls upon the Powers concerned to ensure the transfer of full and sovereign power to the peoples of all dependent territories in accordance with the principles stated above and, for this purpose, to enter into negotiations with representatives of the colonial peoples elected on the basis of universal suffrage, if necessary under United Nations supervision, so that all colonial countries and peoples should attain independence not later than the end of 1961 and take their rightful place in the community of nations;

'9. Decides to consider the question of the implementation of this resolution at its sixteenth regular session.' * 4/

128. As regards the Guatemalan amendments [A/L.325] to the African-Asian draft resolution, the Soviet delegation is unable to support these amendments since they provide for a limitation of the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination

and are thus contrary to paragraph 2 of the declaration in the African-Asian draft resolution, which quite rightly states that "All peoples have the right of self-determination". If any States have any claims or reservations to put forward with regard to the disposition of any particular territory, such matters should, in our opinion, be settled according to merit in each individual case; no attempt should be made to raise private claims and reservations to the level of a general principle restricting the inalienable right of every people to self-determination.

129. For the reasons I have just stated the Soviet delegation will vote against the Guatemalan amendments.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

130. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of France, in the exercise of the right of reply.

131. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): I had not intended to intervene in this discussion, but, as references have been made to France by several speakers, may I be permitted to make use of my right to reply to the various representatives concerned.

132. To some of these let me say, first, that the French delegation was very glad to see this question placed on our agenda. I would remind them that in the history of our Organization there had been nothing like what has happened in the course of the present session—I mean the admission to the United Nations of seventeen States that were formerly colonial territories. And thirteen of these States were formerly under French administration. So, as regards the decolonization process and as far as France is concerned, the facts speak for themselves. These States were admitted unanimously; in other words; the most scornful of our critics did in this case add their votes to that of France and it was not our fault if a fourteenth African State failed this week to become the hundredth member of our Organization.

133. There has been no improvisation about this evolution. We have no regrets about it. Quite the contrary; we have constantly encouraged it. Several speakers were good enough to admit this and to recognize the merits of this action. I would thank them for this testimony, revealing as it does both their honesty and their character.

134. I shall define the French position on this problem by recalling the words uttered by General de Gaulle on 5 September 1960:

"Regarding the whole movement of decolonization which is taking place all over the world, I have not ceased, since the day when the world war led me to speak and to act in the name of France, to follow the same course, because I think the emancipation of the peoples—for that is what is at stake—is consistent both with the spirit of our country... and with the irresistible movement set in motion by the world war and its aftermath.

"I then directed French policy along this path—the path of emancipation—and for the past two years I have steered it in the same direction."

135. We were also happy to hear the many references made in this discussion to freedom. Nothing that relates to freedom can leave us indifferent. Let

4/ Subsequently circulated as document A/L.328.

me be quite clear: the freedom I am referring to is not the freedom of a minority to impose its laws nor of a majority to silence any voice raised in disagreement. It is the freedom of the group as well as of the individual. It is liberation from hunger, from fear and from ignorance. It is the freedom of self-expression, of action, freedom to construct without constraint, without anxiety or any hinderance other than respect for the freedom of others. We want to have all that for ourselves; we want it for others; and in this connexion I would like to pay tribute to the speakers who contributed constructive ideas to this discussion.

136. Others have proffered criticisms of my country and have taken up a different attitude. One might well be surprised and shocked to find one Power represented here trying to play the leading role when we have waited in vain so far for the slightest sign on its part of any policy of decolonization. Such a degree of brazen-facedness might well impress those of us who are not so well informed but, after the veto cast on 4 December in the Security Council, the mask has been dropped and I feel sure that in future more of us will be able to discern the difference between, on the one hand, fine words, righteous indignation, advice, warnings of all kinds and, on the other hand, deeds. These false façades have an unfortunate habit of collapsing.

137. When people talk about independence, we also have in mind something other than the behaviour of those who disappoint and bore us by constantly repeating year after year what they have been told to say by the master brain. If some day or other a speech of theirs shows the slightest sign of originality, the faintest breath of genuine freedom, that will be a great day in the history of our Organization.

138. Now I would like to reply to those speakers who, in discussing the colonial problem in Latin America, referred to the French "départements" in the Antilles. This is an unfortunate confusion which derives from an obvious misunderstanding both of the legal situation and of political reality. My country does not administer any colonies now in Latin America. The "départements" there are French "départements" and the only special feature about them is that they are separated from the rest of the Republic by the sea, in the same way as Corsica is. These lands have been French for more than three centuries and are some of the oldest French provinces. Is it really necessary to remind you that the Antilles were present at the Constituent Assembly in 1789? Is anyone unaware of the fact that, ever since the Second Republic and the introduction of universal suffrage, i.e. since 1848, these countries have sent deputies and senators to Parliament? The "départements" of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guiana are integral parts of the French Republic on the same footing as any other. Their citizens have equal status and citizenship rights without distinction or discrimination. They have equal representation and take part at all levels in the political and administrative life of the nation. The most distinguished sons of the Antilles have given, and continue to give, the French Republic thinkers, men of action and statesmen who are the pride of all my compatriots.

139. Lastly, I would like to say a few words to the authors of the draft resolution in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, since some of them have in the course of their remarks thought fit to refer to my country.

140. There have been many words spoken during this debate. Some of them were good, some were not so good and this difference is reflected in the draft resolution before us. I quite recognize the sincerity of many of the sponsors of this draft resolution and I would pay tribute here to the efforts made to invest this document with a certain nobility, to make it into something other than a weapon in the cold war.

141. We particularly welcome several of the paragraphs in the preamble. We, too, consider that every people has the right of free determination, that the national unity and territorial integrity of States should be respected. But certain of the passages in this document merely reiterate commitments which are contained in the Charter. We recognize and we respect these obligations. We wonder, though, whether these repetitions add anything at all to what is laid down in the international moral code.

142. Above all, however, the draft before us is, unhappily, not devoid of considerations that have nothing to do with the aims that are sought. It reflects, possibly unintentionally, the antagonisms which I mentioned earlier on. In that respect the declaration before us will not help to promote the spirit of international comprehension which should animate us all. It also contains certain contradictions. For instance, in paragraph 7 of the draft declaration, a rather solemn reference is made to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, but, quite frankly, can it be claimed that the draft does not contain a whole series of admonitions which all constitute interference in the internal affairs of States?

143. I am quite aware of the fact that the drafting of a text of this kind does inevitably confront its authors with serious difficulties and I am the first to pay tribute to the conscientiousness of those who have taken on such a responsible task. Nevertheless, my delegation does not feel that it can, for the reasons I have stated, support the draft resolution in the form in which it has been laid before the Assembly.

144. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Spain to exercise the right of reply.

145. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): This debate on colonialism is extremely interesting and, in my opinion, very valuable for the development of the interests of mankind in general, but it undoubtedly offers extraordinary surprises for those who are listening to it attentively and with feeling. For example—and I am grateful to the President for giving me the right to speak—I have been listening this afternoon to the representative of Morocco, whose remarks I have had an opportunity of appreciating on other occasions and whose views I always find of interest, particularly as he represents a friendly country, when suddenly, in a list of presumably colonial countries—some of them Spanish—which I shall not discuss now, though there is good reason to do so, I came across the names not of two Spanish provinces, as I pointed out this morning [944th meeting] for another reason, but of two Spanish cities belonging to two different provinces.

146. Mention, I noticed, was made of Ceuta, a city of 67,000 Christian and 13,000 Moslem inhabitants, all Spaniards, belonging to the province of Cádiz; and of Melilla, a city in the province of Málaga, with a

population of 85,000 Christians and 7,000 Moslems, all Spaniards.

147. I remember in the last years of the old elected type of Parliament having found myself sitting next to the deputy from Algeciras, who was also the deputy for Melilla, and now, all of a sudden, by an incredible inversion of values, it comes about that not two provinces but two cities belonging to two different Spanish provinces, which have been inhabited for five or six centuries past by Spaniards of different religions though predominantly Christian—which has not changed their character—are regarded, quite incomprehensibly and confusedly, as territories to be investigated, transformed and placed under other peoples' sovereignty.

148. Accordingly, I beg to invoke, as I did this morning for a different reason, the principle that has already been very shrewdly appealed to by the Soviet delegation to the effect that it is quite inadmissible, save under due protest, to make an attack on the unity or the sovereignty of States Members of the United Nations who are protected by its Charter, and I beg to protest, most respectfully but most energetically, against this strange phenomenon of a reference to Ceuta and Melilla being made in our debate by the representative of Morocco.

149. I would add—I do not wish to say much, but it is important, and I have some essential facts on the point to hand—that Ceuta, under the name of Abila, was already known at the time of the discovery of the famous Pillars of Hercules; that the Greeks called it Heptadelphos because of its seven hills; that the Romans called it Septem Fratres (The Seven Brothers), whence the derivation of the names Septa and Ceuta; that it formed part of the dominions of Carthage, and when that republic was annihilated by Rome, it became the capital of Mauritania Tingitana, a Roman province; and that in the times of the Emperor Otho it was included in the juridical convention of Cádiz.

150. In the same neighbourhood landed the 80,000 Vandals who, under the command of Genseric, invaded North Africa. Later, between 531 and 548 it was conquered by the Visigoth King of Spain, Teudis. It was also conquered by Justinian, Emperor of Byzantium, though I do not think it remained long in his power. It was in the possession of the Visigoths, i.e. the Kingdom of Spain, when it was occupied by Muza before he invaded Spain in 710.

151. After innumerable historical vicissitudes, in the year 1437 the five brothers of Edward I, King of Portugal, landed at Ceuta and tried to capture Tangiers. Under Philip II of Spain, heir to the possessions of the Kingdom of Portugal, which also included Ceuta, they were already incorporated in Spain in the sixteenth century. Again, in 1640, when Portugal separated from Spain, the nobles of Ceuta proclaimed it as belonging to the King of Spain, Philip IV. Under the treaty concluded on 13 February 1663, the towns and dominions held in Africa were ceded to Portugal, except Ceuta which Spain reserved for itself, and its possession was confirmed in article 2 of the treaty of 1678. Since that date it has belonged to Spain.

152. I read from a text, not a Spanish text but the Enciclopedia Italiana (vol. IX, page 903), that, being in constant touch with Europe, Ceuta has become a Spanish city where the Moslem population is few in

numbers and it has many features in common with the ports of the Iberian Peninsula which face it.

153. Now did the one-time sultans, now kings of Morocco, ever at any time lay claim to Ceuta? No; on the contrary, in many treaties signed before the Protectorate was set up and when, according to specific declarations made by the Moroccan delegation, the sultans were free, the territories around Ceuta were discussed but never Ceuta itself.

154. I do not want to burden you with dates but in article III of the Treaty of Peace and Amity between Spain and Morocco, signed at Tetuan on 26 April 1860, it is stated that "in order to carry into effect what is stipulated in the preceding article, His Majesty the King of Morocco cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, in full dominion and sovereignty, the territory included between the sea and along the heights of Sierra Bullones, and the ravine of Anghera...". I do not propose to read the detailed texts but there is no mention of Ceuta in any of these instruments, since it was a centuries-old Spanish city.

155. And now Melilla. Melilla belonged to an old Rusadir founded by the Phoenicians and which Ptolemy called Ryssadiron. It came into the possession of the Visigoths, and was the seat of a Christian bishop in the fifth century; it then passed to the Moors who gave it the name of Mlila, a very common name in North Africa; its inhabitants devoted themselves to the exploitation of mines, as they do to this day. Meanwhile, in 1496, Don Juan Clarós de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia, financed an expedition under his officer, Don Pedro de Estupiñán, who captured the city which at that time belonged to the King of Tlemcen. Up to 1556 it was held by the Dukes of Medina Sidonia with the title of Captains-General. It was frequently attacked when it was in Spanish possession. In 1856 a convention was signed extending its boundaries. And, just as in the case of Ceuta, all the treaties with the sultans of Morocco recognized that Melilla was Spanish; for example, the Convention between Spain and Morocco signed at Tetuan on 24 August 1859 talks of "ceding to Her Catholic Majesty in full dominion and sovereignty the land contiguous to the Spanish city of Melilla, as far as the points that will most adequately ensure the defence and tranquillity of that township".

156. In a further article emphasis is again laid on this point but there is never any mention of authority over Melilla. What then is the point of bringing into this debate, one that is replete with serious problems and with matters that fully justify preoccupation and the need for all of us to re-examine our consciences, arbitrary statements that are devoid of all historical significance? Or are we to believe that by one of those fancies which French seventeenth-century historians defined as ad usum Delphini and which were used to satisfy the Dauphins who liked to believe that their States were more powerful than they actually were—an analogy that has since then lost its dynastic significance so that the phrase ad usum Delphini means, in general, "for the gratification of the mighty"—are we, I say, to believe that with arbitrary assertions of this kind we are going to transform the geographical fact that these two African cities form an essential part of Spain? Or, to recall the eloquent remarks of the representative of France, are we going to draw geographical lines that will upset human history, century-old coexistence and the existence of permanent spiritual values?

157. I shall not dissemble the fact—and I am proud to state it—that Spain is a Euro-African Power and has been such for many centuries; that it has had possessions or, rather, establishments in Africa that are more ancient than any establishments that the Moslem kings can boast of, as I have just shown. I have no need to add that this north of Africa was never at any time a hard and fast unity, as invented history asserts. This was quite clearly proved in the discussion about Mauritania. We Spaniards were a colony not of Morocco—although that is partially true—but definitely of Mauritania—and I cite the dates as I recall them from that discussion—between 1094 and 1149. The Mauritians, the Almoravides, or probably people from those tribes, occupied a great part of Spain, built a castle in the Alfajerfa and controlled practically the whole of Moslem Spain. We were an Afro-Asian colony—and I say it proudly—there is no need to hide the fact. To that circumstance we owe the Alhambra of Granada, Cordoba and the immense cultural monuments that have become part of our culture. Perhaps the link we enjoy with the most advanced European philosophy of the period, as our American brothers have on occasion pointed out, is also responsible for many of the cultural and spiritual values in our past history.

158. Only people with confused minds, to whom an arbitrarily simplified version of history appeals, will put forward claims for a specific frontier line within which sole authority would be exercised. This is a claim we must contest on historical grounds and for the sake of the spiritual values cherished by our people. And we regret that a country with such a respect for law as Morocco has, a country with which we have none but cordial relations, should disregard the other discussions on frontiers that are going on and embark on a course of action that is so inconsistent with the United Nations Charter and shows so little respect also for justice and law, by claiming two old Spanish cities which regard it as a great honour to belong to our country. How long then will they wait before asking for Guadalajara, which has a Moslem name, or before settling down on the banks of the Guadalquivir, which also has a Moslem name, or in some other part of the country? Are we going to turn world history into a veritable bedlam? Are we going to transform historians and politicians into—and many of the representatives belong to countries in which this type of person is not well known, though many of the older countries are familiar with it—that type of genealogist, who, for a money fee, will very often discover a relationship, for someone who wants to acquire powerful ancestors, with Napoleon Bonaparte or the Emperors of Constantinople? Are we not going to set limits for ourselves in all these discussions?

159. I am doubly sorry about this instance because it was brought up by a country like Morocco, which has given us so many proofs of affection. In our common past there have been plenty of difficulties, which, for our part at any rate, have only increased the admiration we have felt for the heroism shown by Moroccans on the battlefield. Yet Morocco used not to forget how greatly Spain helped Morocco to re-establish itself as a free Power. That fact has been recognized more than once by some of its representatives. I need only quote, for example, the follow-

ing words spoken by Crown Prince Moulay Hassan when he visited Tetuan on 17 June 1956:

"Moroccans, men and women, old people and children, will never forget the work done by Spain and the immense services rendered to His Majesty the Sultan and to Morocco in those difficult moments when justice was trampled upon and persecution was rampant.

"The realization of this work did no more than reflect the nobility and chivalry of the Spanish people and sow the seed of the sincere attachment and affection, as well as the heartfelt friendship between Morocco and Spain, which is of such great advantage to both countries."

And the Prince concluded by exclaiming "Long live Spain! Long live Morocco!"

160. I could quote other texts that would express the same sentiments, and I myself have heard distinguished representatives of this friendly country make similar references with regard to Spain. That is why I am so surprised and why I must enter a protest against this astonishing behaviour which is so foreign to the customary conduct of our discussions. Can it be perhaps that a pro-Bolshevik infection has for the moment afflicted our good friends, and in many respects our brothers, of Morocco? It may well be the case but I do not feel inclined to criticize too harshly. It is easy to be tempted and many honourable countries yield to it, but will they not regret it later? That is not the least of the peculiar features of this evil called colonialism, a subject on which I had not the least intention of intervening. And, if I may be permitted the digression, I will tell you why: because we have very few countries to be talked about in Africa; we are a tiny country in the colonial sense. We could borrow a well-known French tag and say: "Au banquet de la vie, infortuné convive". And we might well add: "Au banquet d'Afrique, infortuné convive".

161. In the great colonial enterprises of the nineteenth century, so widely discussed and on which so much could be said, we participated only to a very limited and remote degree. However, that does not prevent us from taking a sensitive and impartial view of the problem, or from listening to Soviet speeches—such as the one we have just heard—which really indicated anxiety for freedom and the sufferings of peoples—which may be the beginning of a phase of reflexion or perhaps, even, of repentance. Before such unbelievable happenings as that we shall not take our eyes off the fundamental problem that is being constantly referred to here as colonialism.

162. It is true that there has been harshness shown, there has been persecution, that justice has been lacking in many of our relationships. Our brothers of Central and South America have, with due reservations and with highly intelligent observations based on history, commented here—it was a moving experience to listen to them—on the colonial problem and on the difficulties and, at the same time, the splendid achievements of Spain. We have no colonial past in Africa, there have been very few interventions by Spain. But that does not alter our profound conviction. And it is this circumstance of not being personally involved that leads us not only to proclaim how much we have done but also to think and vote on African problems with profound respect for the countries of

that continent and with the desire that they should always attain the realization of all their just aspirations in legal and orderly fashion.

163. I ventured in the general debate [886th meeting] to cite the texts of the great Spanish jurists of the sixteenth century who, at the time when America was discovered, recognized the rights of the primitive inhabitants of that continent and refused to grant rights of tutelage and vassalage that were not consistent with law. Mr. Belaúnde has also alluded to those jurists in this debate. That is the spirit in which we are taking part in this discussion and it is in that spirit that we shall vote, subject to the necessary reservations regarding those phrases which are perhaps not really consistent with the meaning of the United Nations Charter. But this should not be taken as representing our attitude towards attacks on the sovereignty of Spain, which I very strongly denounce here and now.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Denmark to speak in explanation of his vote.

165. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Denmark): The Danish people has welcomed most heartily the tide of liberation from colonialism and the emergence of new States which are characteristic of the present epoch. It is a blessing for mankind that in the years since the Second World War there has been an increasingly strong trend towards liberating dependent nations from the dominion of other nations.

166. I should like at this point to compliment in particular the United Kingdom Government, which in the years immediately following the war gave the signal for this new development by granting independence to India and other peoples within the British Empire.

167. In recent years we have witnessed great and rapid advances in this respect, especially in Africa. All friends of progress and liberty welcome the liberation of Africa as another victory for the high ideal that all peoples have the right to enjoy complete freedom and independence. In Denmark we have tried to live up to that ideal, which we highly cherish.

168. In this connexion I should like to mention the manner in which relations between Iceland and Denmark were settled, in full agreement between the two countries, first in 1918 and later in 1944. I need only refer to the warm-hearted statements made by the representative of Iceland during the debate here. There is a most intimate friendship between the Icelandic people and the Danish people, and the ties between our two countries are growing increasingly strong.

169. I would further mention the reorganization with regard to Greenland which, with the approval of the United Nations, was carried out in 1953. On 22 November 1954 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution in which it was established that the Greenland population had freely expressed its will and had been placed on an equal footing with other parts of the Kingdom of Denmark [resolution 849 (IX)]. May I add that this reorganization has proved to be a happy one, satisfactory for the population of Greenland as well as for the Danish population as a whole. This does not mean that all problems have been solved. But progress has been made and continues to be made. As the latest important step in this direction I should like to mention

that when the Danish Government was reconstructed after our general election in November of this year a Member of Parliament elected by the Greenland population was made a Cabinet Minister.

170. Against this background it will easily be understood that Denmark whole-heartedly supports the idea of the adoption by the United Nations of a declaration stressing the necessity of bringing to a speedy end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

171. We support the draft resolution submitted by a large number of African and Asian States [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]. In our opinion, it covers the problem better than the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2], and also much better than the draft submitted by the USSR [A/4502].

172. The African-Asian draft resolution certainly has its merits, although we would have preferred a somewhat different wording of certain passages. Take, for instance, the following:

"Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace."

173. This can hardly be said to be a correct analysis of colonialism. There have undoubtedly been cases in which colonialism did not prevent developments such as those mentioned. On the other hand, there have unfortunately been instances in which colonialism was an impediment to such development. We find that this passage is a generalization and therefore incorrect.

174. There are a few more points to which I should like to call your attention. Paragraph 3 reads as follows:

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

This wording is not quite clear, although there could not, I think, be any doubt as to what the meaning actually is. Would not a correct interpretation be that colonial Powers shall not be able to prevent transition to independence by pointing to the political, economic or cultural inadequacies in the territory concerned, inadequacies for which they themselves would probably be responsible?

175. This undoubtedly touches upon a problem which should not be overlooked. It would be unrealistic to maintain that immediate transition to independence would always be more advantageous for the population than a gradual transition, irrespective of the state of development the population has reached. It is a great problem and one to which it is extremely difficult to find a just and equitable solution.

176. If we look at the development that has taken place in Africa in the last few years, I think that many would say with regard to a certain territory that the transition to independence occurred at a time when it had not been adequately prepared. On the other hand, many would argue that there have been several instances in which delay in the transition to independence caused extremely great difficulties. But it should be borne in mind that the rulers of a territory—or even a group of people—would be apt to think

that the dependent people had not yet attained sufficient maturity. It is, however, explicitly stated in the draft resolution that this should not be used as a pretext, which in our interpretation means that there might be instances in which inadequate preparation might justify postponement of the transition to independence until such time as conditions improve.

177. May I say in conclusion that it would be only fair to assume that the peoples who wish to attain freedom are in a hurry and that it should not be possible by pretexts that are more or less invented to prevent them from attaining freedom. I would put it like this: better freedom and independence too early than too late. But while stressing this wish most emphatically, we should not overlook the problems facing us in this respect. One important aspect should be borne in mind. When all advocates of the liberation of formerly dependent peoples invoke democratic ideals and principles for the attainment of that goal, it would indeed be disgraceful if groups of people in newly established States subsequently exploit the inadequate development of the population to introduce not a democratic rule, but dictatorship, which actually delays and impedes necessary social and political developments.

178. The comments I have made here on paragraph 3 may be said also to apply to paragraph 5, which reads as follows:

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

It appears from statements made by responsible speakers that it is recognized that the meaning of the words "immediate steps shall be taken" is that we shall proceed towards the goal and shall not allow ourselves to be stopped by unnecessary hindrance. This is in conformity with the view I have just expressed.

179. Our critical comments on certain passages of the draft resolution do not, however, prevent us from voting for it; this so much more, as it contains several highly desirable statements. I am thinking of the following:

"Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory."

A more satisfactory wording could perhaps have been found. However, we interpret it as a pledge given to all nations.

180. In previous resolutions certain continents were mentioned by name. While ours—Europe—was not, its people of course have the same right to freedom and independence as all other peoples. I think that the wording is good in so far as it says that all people have the right to complete freedom, and does not limit the attainment of freedom and independence to certain parts of the world.

181. We know that there are many forms of suppression of people and of groups of people. During

our debate on this question many representatives in this hall were opposed by representatives of nations in many parts of the world who complained of the lack of freedom. This draft resolution should offer encouragement to the democratic forces working for the freedom of suppressed nations by peaceful means. Many of the nations now suppressed may today think that the horizon is dark but they will hardly give up hope. This draft resolution will undoubtedly justify and strengthen them in keeping up their hopes. Here we must rejoice in the existence of the United Nations. As I see it, the United Nations has so far played its most decisive role in assisting by peaceful means in making so many peoples free and independent. We hope that it will be possible, through our international Organization, by peaceful means, to secure for all nations, without distinction as to race, colour or geographical location, the freedom to which the people of all countries have an absolute right.

182. It is on the basis of these views that Denmark will vote in favour of the African-Asian draft resolution.

183. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Austria, who wishes to speak in explanation of his vote.

184. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): I am most grateful to the President for giving me the floor to explain briefly the position of my delegation.

185. We have heard a most interesting debate, a debate which was initiated by the delegation of the USSR, to whom our thanks are due. My delegation will vote for the draft resolution which has been submitted by forty-three delegations from Africa and Asia [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]. They are pleading their own cause, a just cause, and we are glad to support them.

186. My country has never been what is termed today a colonial Power, nor did the old Austro-Hungarian Empire possess any colonies. This is a well-known fact. We have no first-hand knowledge of the experiences and conditions in colonies and have, therefore, not taken part in the debate. But the Austrian people, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak here, have always been in sympathy with the struggle of nations and peoples which have not enjoyed full freedom. We have, therefore, been delighted to see that after the Second World War many great and many small nations have become independent and we have been happy to establish contacts and firm and cordial relations with them. We know by our own experience the value of freedom, because for seventeen long years we were deprived of it, and I believe that one never values something more than when one has lost it.

187. Furthermore, we believe that freedom is as indivisible as peace, and as long as there are countries and peoples that have not attained their freedom we who enjoy our own freedom will not be secure. May I say in parenthesis that we believe in my country that this high principle does not only apply to nations and peoples but also to the individual. As long as personal freedom and the rule of law have not been firmly established everywhere, the freedom of every man, woman and child anywhere will be in danger.

188. It is for this reason that we shall vote for the draft resolution as it stands. We shall do so although,

to be quite frank, we have certain misgivings with regard to some of the expressions used in the declaration, some of the requests made and some of the procedures envisaged in it. In view of the high ideals of freedom and the equality of all men on which the declaration is based, we have felt, however, that such considerations should not prevent us from giving it our full support.

189. May I take this opportunity of adding a further observation. In voting for the declaration, we do not mean merely to pay lip service to the desires and aspirations of the people emerging from colonial rule. We want to assure them, by voting for this draft

resolution, that we will support all measures within the limits of our own resources to establish their political and economic independence, because we believe that one cannot exist without the other. The Austrian authorities are at present actively engaged in exploring various possibilities of co-operation with the newly independent nations. We share their feeling of urgency and we believe that they are justified in demanding high priority for their request. We are convinced that they in turn will make a most important contribution to our common aim, namely, the preservation of peace.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.