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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Decision concerning procedure

1. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): I have asked for the floor in order to make a brief statement on behalf of the twenty-seven delegations of African States. Those delegations, anxious to help in expediting the work of our Assembly and desiring also to show their cohesion and solidarity with regard to problems of such vital importance for the world and for Africa as those covered by items 88 and 22 of the agenda, propose that these items should be discussed jointly, in a single general debate.
2. These twenty-seven delegations of course include that of Nigeria, whose ardent devotion to the cause of freedom in the world and to the defence of Africa is well known to and esteemed by the Assembly. Accordingly, I am authorized to state that the request for priority made by the Nigerian delegation is hereby withdrawn.
3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has before it a compromise proposal to discuss jointly agenda item 88, "The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", and agenda item 22, "Assistance to Africa: (a) A United Nations programme for independence".
4. The Chair notes that no delegation objects to the proposal by the representative of Madagascar, and accordingly considers that this proposal has been accepted by the Assembly.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 88 AND 22

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

Assistance to Africa:
(a) A United Nations programme for independence

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will accordingly begin the joint discussion of

agenda items 88 and 22 (a). We will discuss the draft resolutions when the debate on the items themselves has been concluded. Naturally, each delegation will be able to speak on either of these two items or on both together. At this point, when we are about to begin the general debate, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that there are important items on our agenda and that we must endeavour to complete our work. I accordingly appeal to all delegations wishing to participate in the discussion on agenda items 88 and 22 (a) to enter their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible and to be ready to speak in the order in which they are listed. I propose in this connexion, if there is no objection by the Assembly, to close the list of speakers for the general debate on these two items at 6 p.m. on Thursday, 9 November.

6. Mr. Henry COOPER (Liberia): I do not like to disagree with the Chair; we are not doing it now, but we are appealing to the President and we ask that the list of speakers be closed on Friday, 10 November. This is a very important question for the African States, which are still holding meetings on the question of these agenda items. So, I appeal to the President to close the list of speakers on Friday instead of Thursday.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In view of the observations made by the representative of Liberia, the Chair sees no objection to closing the list of speakers for the debate on these two items at 6 p.m. on Friday, 10 November.

It was so decided.

8. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We welcome the African-Asian group's proposal that these two items on the agenda should be discussed together. These items are indeed closely linked with one another.

9. Exactly one year ago, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly (869th meeting), Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government, appealed to all States Members of the United Nations to decide on the immediate and complete abolition of the colonial system. He said:

"... there is no means and no force which can halt this struggle of peoples for their liberation, for it is a great historical process, one of evergrowing and invincible power" [para. 72].

"The entire march of events and the course of economic and political development pass the inexorable judgement of history on the obsolete and shameful colonial system." [para. 220.]

10. The Soviet Union has always been, and still remains, faithful to a policy of peace and support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their national independence. This policy was first proclaimed by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, and has been

loyally followed by the Soviet Government during the forty-four years of Soviet power.

11. I am glad to be able to make this statement today, the day when my country and the entire world is celebrating the forty-fourth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

12. This policy of peace and support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples was reaffirmed at the recent 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party which numbers ten million members in its ranks. The new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, unanimously approved by the whole Soviet people, states that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it to be its international duty to help the peoples who are advancing along the path of the conquest and consolidation of their national independence, to help all peoples who are fighting for the complete destruction of the colonial system.

13. The Soviet people won its freedom in a stubborn and long-drawn-out fight against the oppression of the landlords and capitalists, against the intervention of international imperialism. The Soviet people, who have themselves suffered greatly, feel a sincere sympathy for the colonial peoples' struggle for freedom; they actively support this just fight and are deeply convinced that the time has come when the dawn of freedom and happiness must rise over all peoples still in colonial dependence.

14. Those present in this hall will remember the bitter and stormy discussions that developed in meetings of the General Assembly and outside the United Nations in connexion with the Soviet Government's proposal for the complete and immediate abolition of colonialism. The session witnessed heated battles such as had never been known before in the history of international organizations. The representatives of the colonial Powers were unwilling to allow such far-reaching interference by the United Nations in colonial affairs which they are accustomed to consider as their internal business. They accused the Soviet Union of artificially exacerbating international differences. Attempts were even made to prove from this rostrum that the colonial Powers had for many years done nothing else but look after the oppressed peoples; there was talk of the "civilizing mission" and "benefactions" conferred by the colonial authorities and so on.

15. But the defenders of colonialism were shamefully defeated. The Assembly discussion unmasked the colonizers and laid bare the real visage of those who for long years have enslaved and plundered the colonial peoples, dooming millions of people to poverty, hunger and death for the sake of the profits of imperialist monopolies.

16. You will remember how bitterly the colonial Powers fought against the adoption of the Declaration [resolution 1516 (XV)] proposed by the Soviet Union, and later by a group of forty-three independent States of Asia and Africa. It was only their fear of being left completely isolated that forced the representatives of the colonial Powers to change their tactics. Finally, they withdrew their objections to discussion of the colonial question in plenary meetings and then abstained in the voting on the Declaration. They did this when they were convinced that they would be unable to prevent the adoption of a decision on the necessity of putting an end to the colonial system.

17. By adopting the Declaration, the General Assembly, as it were, gave legal form to the legitimate demands of the peoples fighting for their national independence. Colonial wars, terror and repression against participants in the movement for liberation, attempts to dismember the newly-formed States and undermine their sovereignty can only be described as flagrant violations of international law, as crimes against humanity and as open defiance of the United Nations.

18. The Declaration on the abolition of colonialism was universally approved, for the abolition of the colonial system eliminates one of the most dangerous sources of war and thus helps to improve the international situation and to strengthen peace and international security.

19. The Declaration marked the beginning of the final stage in the fight for the liberation of peoples. It was a great success for all the freedom-loving States. Some ten years ago the colonizers never even dreamt that they would—and very soon too—have to abandon not just one or several but all of their colonies. The adoption of the Declaration clearly confirmed the growing strength and influence of the peace-loving States and showed the whole world that, when these States unite in the fight for a just cause and present a single front, they can compel the United Nations to serve the true interests of peace and the liberation of peoples from colonialism.

20. The past year was a year of intensive struggle by the peoples for their liberation and this struggle brought fresh results. At this session we admitted to membership in the United Nations the young African State of Sierra Leone. We can also note with satisfaction the termination of trusteeship over the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration and also the forthcoming proclamation of the independence of Tanganyika, Western Samoa and Uganda.

21. In connexion with the granting of independence to these countries, comments were to be heard on "the good will" of the colonizers. Attempts were made to represent the formation of the new States as evidence of the magnanimity of the colonial Powers. These hypocritical statements deceive no one. The peoples are well acquainted with the "magnanimity" of the colonizers from events in Algeria, Angola, South West Africa, Kenya, and many other areas where patriots are shedding their blood in the fight for freedom and independence.

22. The new countries, whose representatives we all welcomed at the last session, also won their freedom in hard struggles which cost them innumerable sacrifices and serious hardships.

23. Unless the most urgent steps are taken, colonialism is capable of inflicting many more sufferings and sacrifices, of ruining further millions of lives, of provoking armed conflicts and wars and of threatening peace and security. The colonial Powers continue to offer stubborn resistance to the powerful movement for national liberation. This is why it is so important that, on the proposal of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly has decided, at its current session, to discuss the question of the implementation of the Declaration and of the further measures needed to accelerate the complete abolition of the colonial system.

24. As you remember, the Declaration solemnly proclaims that all peoples have the right to self-determination, that they may freely determine their political

status and pursue their economic, social or cultural development. The Declaration is based on the just principle that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. The colonizers, however, are still trying to manoeuvre, and to devise all kinds of pretexts to delay granting the colonial peoples the right to self-determination and an independent existence and to shackle their political and economic development.

25. During the general debate at the present session some representatives of the colonial Powers tried to create the impression that the colonial problem had lost its former urgency. Reassuring statements were heard from this rostrum to the effect that less than two per cent of the world's population now live in dependent territories. But what does two per cent mean? It means more than seventy million people who will still remain under colonial domination by 1 January 1962. It means eighty-eight Non-Self-Governing Territories. Thirty-five of these Territories with a population of 34 million continue to remain colonies of the United Kingdom, eleven Territories with a population of 12 million colonies of France, eight Territories with a population of 13 million colonies of Portugal; twelve Territories continue to belong to the United States, five to Spain, three to the Netherlands, and so on. Can we really reconcile ourselves to the fact that on the great African continent there are still twenty-seven colonial and Trust Territories where over 50 million Africans still live under conditions of the harshest colonial oppression? It must also be pointed out that in Asia there are still sixteen colonial possessions with a population of about 10 million, that in America there are seventeen colonies with a population of 7 million, and so on.

26. The Declaration demanded the cessation of all armed action or repressive measures against dependent peoples, but this demand is not being complied with by the colonial Powers.

27. Colonialism is passing through its death throes but, like a gravely wounded beast of prey, it is resisting desperately and in so resisting is committing monstrous crimes against humanity. Colonial wars are still costing hundreds of thousands of human lives: in colonies and dependent territories uncurbed racialism and arbitrary police action are rampant and I need hardly say that no hypocritical talk about the "good will" of the colonizers can conceal these obvious facts.

28. The General Assembly should be fully aware of what is going on in Angola. For over a year now the Portuguese colonizers have been waging open warfare against the defenceless population. They are destroying whole villages and regions, leaving dust and ashes behind them. Many thousands of the inhabitants of Angola have been compelled to leave their homeland and seek refuge in other countries.

29. The United Nations has sufficient reliable evidence that Portuguese armed bands have killed more than fifty thousand defenceless women, old people and children. Shocking documentary evidence—photographs of brutally murdered Angolan patriots—was recently submitted to the Fourth Committee. The Portuguese colonizers do not even think it necessary to conceal the facts of the mass extermination of the indigenous population. The British newspaper, Daily Mirror, wrote in May 1961 that the colonizers were

now openly boasting of their intention to kill another hundred thousand Angolans. According to a Reuter report from Lisbon, Mr. de Slandes, the new Governor of Angola, declared that the only alternative offered to the Angolan patriots was voluntary surrender or destruction.

30. And all this is going on here and now, at a time when representatives of the colonial Powers here in the United Nations tell us about the lofty principles of "the free world" and even of their magnanimity towards the oppressed peoples.

31. It should be added that in other Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea the situation is no better than in Angola. Racialism is rampant there; the slave trade still exists and the defenceless population is being exterminated.

32. Not very long ago the whole world noted a date which cannot be referred to without a sense of grief and anger—the colonial war in Algeria has been in progress for a full seven years. In these years about 800,000 Algerians have fallen in battle. More than 200,000 patriots have been thrown into prison; about a million indigenous inhabitants of the country have been forcibly herded into concentration camps which are called "resettlement centres". More than 300,000 have been forced to leave their homeland to save themselves from persecution. There is not a village in Algeria where the punitive detachments have not left their bloody traces; there is not a single Algerian family which has not suffered from the colonizers.

33. The war in Algeria has not brought and cannot bring success to the colonizers. Notwithstanding its military and economic supremacy and the help received from its military allies in NATO, France is unable to break the resistance of the Algerian people who, under the difficult conditions of war and terrorism, have managed to create their own government and consolidate the forces of resistance.

34. Since the war in Algeria began, the General Assembly has met seven times and each time demands were made here in this hall for an end to the criminal war against the Algerian people. How long will France and its military allies go on disregarding the opinion of the United Nations, its Charter and its resolutions?

35. The activities of the colonizers in the Republic of the Congo continue to arouse serious concern. The colonial Powers are quite unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Congolese people, despite all difficulties and obstacles, are defending the independence and territorial integrity of their young State.

36. In the Republic of the Congo an all-national Government has been formed which has proclaimed itself the successor of the first lawful Congolese Government of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, the distinguished statesman and national hero of the Congo who perished at the hands of the colonizers and their hirelings. But the shady activities of the colonizers in the Congo have not come to an end. The resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the Congo have still not been executed and those guilty of the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues have not been punished.

37. Contrary to resolutions of the Security Council, armaments, including aircraft of Belgian, French, West German and British manufacture are being supplied to Katanga through Rhodesia, the Congo (Braz-

zaville), Angola and other countries, and numerous mercenaries are being despatched. Foreign monopolies and, more especially, the Union Minière, are financing and equipping the separatist gang of Mr. Tshombé and other agents of the colonizers who are attacking the unity of the Congo.

38. The Soviet Union considers that it is now high time to put an end to the interference of the colonial Powers in the internal affairs of the Congo, to reunite Katanga with the rest of the territory of the Republic, to punish those guilty of the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and other Congolese patriots, to withdraw all foreign troops, all Belgian, French, South African, Rhodesian and other foreign mercenaries from the territory of the Republic and so enable the people and Government of the Congo to determine their own future.

39. The activities of the Belgian colonizers in Ruanda-Urundi are a direct breach of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Police terror prevails in that country and towns and villages are occupied by Belgian troops. Not long ago, Rwagasore, the Prime Minister of Urundi, was murdered there. The Belgians persecute the patriotic forces of the country and, while maintaining a régime of arbitrary police control, continue to plunder the national wealth of the country and exploit the population. In doing so, they utilize the Trusteeship System and their special rights as the so-called Administering Authority. This system, however, has long since been converted into an illegal form of colonial domination. It has never justified itself anywhere and should be consigned to oblivion together with the whole obsolete colonial system. With the abolition of the Trusteeship System, full independence should be granted not only to Ruanda-Urundi but also to New Guinea, Nauru, the Pacific Islands and all the other territories which under various pretexts still remain dependent on imperialist States.

40. The United Kingdom representatives frequently talk here almost as if they were in favour of granting independence to their colonies. And yet the United Kingdom Government is still the largest colonial Power and is giving up its colonial positions only under the pressure of the national-liberation struggle.

41. If the United Kingdom Government is not opposed to granting independence to the British colonies, why do their colonizers still refuse to grant this to Kenya and British Guiana? Why do British aircraft bomb the peaceful villages of Eastern Aden? Why has a colonial war been waged for the past five years against the people of Oman? It is a fact that British troops and police are carrying out large-scale measures of repression against the people of Northern Rhodesia.

42. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples prohibits all practices of segregation or discrimination. Yet it is common knowledge that racialism is rampant in the Republic of South Africa. In that country racial discrimination and apartheid have been elevated to the level of State policy. In May 1961, Mr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, made the cynical statement 'that his Government would "maintain the white man's domination", in other words, would maintain racialism, police despotism, terror and repression against the overwhelming majority of the population.

43. Mr. Louw, the Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, made a statement at this

session [1033rd meeting] in which he tried to present the policy of racialism as something in the nature of a model for other colonial Powers. This outrageous statement was condemned by the overwhelming majority of countries and only the colonial Powers refused to join in the general decision of the General Assembly to condemn the racist views expressed by Mr. Louw.

44. The Republic of South Africa has annexed the territory of South West Africa and introduced a régime of racial discrimination and police repression there. In that country, slave labour is employed and the local population is forcibly herded into reservations which are no whit different from Hitler's concentration camps. One cannot read without anger the indignation the report of the Committee on South West Africa, which cites facts concerning the brutal tortures inflicted on the indigenous population.

45. The Soviet delegation unreservedly supports the proposal to exclude the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations and to apply economic, political and other sanctions against that racist State.

46. The General Assembly must take a resolute stand against the stubborn attempts of certain colonial Powers to maintain their domination over territories illegally occupied by them—territories which are an inalienable part of other independent States Members of the United Nations. How long will the Portuguese colonizers hold sway in Goa and other regions belonging to India? When will the Spanish colonizers finally leave territories belonging to Morocco? How long will Indonesians living in West Irian still have to suffer under the yoke of Netherlands colonizers? I must once again recall the well-known clause in the Declaration providing that any "attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

47. No one should be deceived by the manoeuvres to which the Netherlands Government is now resorting. West Irian is an inalienable part of Indonesia. The "self-determination" proposed for West Irian by the Netherlands authorities is none other than an attempt to maintain the *de facto* domination of the Netherlands colonizers over this part of Indonesian territory. The duty of the United Nations is not only to reject the Netherlands plan but also categorically to request the Netherlands Government immediately to end its illegal occupation of foreign territory.

48. A year has passed since the adoption of the declaration on the abolition of colonialism and it has now become abundantly clear that the colonial Powers, in abstaining from voting at last year's session, were calculating that they would succeed, to put it bluntly, in disregarding the General Assembly resolution and in keeping their freedom of action as regards colonial countries. The colonial Powers are reluctant to abandon their positions voluntarily. They are opposing the world front, against colonialism with their own armed front, their military alliances, their military bases, their police forces, and all other means of fighting against the colonial peoples. This consolidation of the dark forces of colonialism can be seen everywhere where enslaved peoples have risen to fight for their liberation.

49. How could a politically and economically backward Portugal possibly resist the healthy and grow-

ing national forces of Angola, unless the Portuguese colonizers were receiving constant support from their military allies in NATO? Facts were cited at Assembly meetings showing that the Portuguese troops are using United States and West German weapons in the war against Angola. United States napalm bombs are being dropped from aircraft of United States manufacture on Angolan towns and villages. Portugal is receiving United States credits to carry on the war in Angola.

50. Is there any need of proof that, without the support of the United States and its other military allies, and especially without the support of West Germany, France would be unable to continue such a protracted war against the Algerian people? France is waging this war with the help of modern United States armaments supplied through NATO and with the assistance of United States and West German credits.

51. Events in the Congo have shown the whole world clearly that, in spite of certain differences of views and conflicts of interest between the monopolies of the imperialist Powers, the Governments of these countries quickly agree on common measures when it is necessary to preserve the interests of one or other colonial Power in the face of pressure from a national liberation movement. If the United States, United Kingdom and French colonizers had not come to the assistance of the Belgian colonizers in the Congo and had not utilized the United Nations for their own purposes, the Congolese people would long since have succeeded in expelling the colonizers from the country and in consolidating the national unity and independence of their State.

52. During the discussion of the question of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and the situation in South West Africa, many of the representatives who spoke here asked how it could come to pass that the United Nations has fruitlessly been discussing this problem for over a decade and now the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa can with impunity ignore all the decisions taken by the General Assembly. It is not difficult to reply to this question. The fact is that the principal colonial Powers—the United States and the United Kingdom—are giving de facto support to the Republic of South Africa and are preventing the United Nations from adopting measures and sanctions which would compel the Government of the Republic of South Africa to take account of world public opinion.

53. The colonial Powers, linked together by a spirit of solidarity in their fight against the national liberation movement, rely more and more openly on military and colonial blocs and on military bases which have become bastions of colonialism and are maintained even where former colonies have already attained independence.

54. Last year the imperialists of Belgium used the military base at Kamina for aggression against the Republic of the Congo. From this base they conducted military operations with a view to detaching the province of Katanga. Quite recently, from the French military base at Bizerta, aggressive action was launched against Tunisia. The French authorities kept this base for themselves in order to bring pressure to bear on all the countries of the Maghreb. French ruling circles reserved the right to keep a military base at Diego Suarez and other bases on the island of Madagascar which they describe as an aircraft carrier headed towards the Indian Ocean; the French

authorities are fortifying military bases against Algeria in Mauritania, Niger and Chad.

55. British colonizers are using the military base at Kahava in Kenya in order to dominate that country and undertake military adventures in neighbouring countries. In spite of protests by the political parties in Kenya, the British are strengthening and expanding this bastion of colonialism. From the military base at Mukalla in Aden, British aircraft take off to bomb the towns and villages of Oman. In the Caribbean the British have made territory available for United States military bases.

56. It is a well-known fact that an attack was mounted against Cuba from the United States bases in Puerto Rico and a number of other bases situated in Latin American countries. United States colonizers retain bases in foreign territories even in cases where the lawful governments of those countries demand their removal. The French and British authorities are violating international law and the sovereignty of small countries in an equally insolent manner.

57. As you see, on the one hand, the representatives of the colonial Powers are wont to assert here that, to all intents and purposes, colonialism is finished. They talk about their "good will", while at the same time retaining their hold on military bases in foreign territories, strengthening and expanding those bases, and creating new military bases directed against colonial countries and States which have only recently become independent.

58. The concerted operations of the military and colonial alliances and the network of military bases are, I think, the most eloquent proof of the real intentions of the imperialist Powers and their plans in regard to the colonial peoples and new States.

59. Making use of their armed forces, their economic power, and their trade and other connexions, the colonial Powers, before granting independence to a particular country, enmesh it in a network of unequal treaties, agreements and undertakings, conclude deals with the reactionary forces in the country, and penetrate into every sector of its internal life. And all this is done in order to maintain their influence for long years to come, to keep the economic levers in their own hands, to continue the exploitation of the population and of the natural resources.

60. In spite of the fact that many colonies have enormous resources which have enriched foreign monopolies, these countries invariably find themselves burdened with unpaid debts when they attain their independence. Thus, on the eve of obtaining independence, the Congo (Brazzaville) had a trade deficit of over 10,000 million African francs. The trade deficit of the Republic of Chad exceeded 3,000 million francs. Dahomey, Upper Volta and other countries found themselves in the same plight.

61. All the new States are at present facing difficulties because of the gap between the prices of agricultural products and manufactures. In the general debate at this session, the representatives of the African-Asian countries expressed great concern at the increasing discrepancy in prices. For instance, according to the statement by the representative of the Central African Republic, the prices of agricultural exports from African countries have risen by 11 per cent during the past six years, whereas the prices of imports from the capitalist countries have risen by 42 per cent, i.e., by four times as much. Through

their price policy and their policy of non-equivalent exchanges, United States and West European monopolies are intensifying the exploitation of colonial countries and the economically under-developed States.

62. The efforts that are being made to drag the African countries into the European Economic Community constitute a serious menace to their economic independence. These attempts are based on the idea of using African countries as suppliers of cheap raw materials for the industries of European countries and subordinating the policy of these countries to the purposes of NATO, which, as is well known, relies to a considerable extent on the resources of the European Economic Community. The participation of African States in the European Economic Community would further accentuate this difference in the prices of industrial and agricultural products which is already a heavy burden on the economy of new States. Thus, in attempting to involve the African countries in the European Economic Community, the imperialist Powers are pursuing their former colonial objectives: to keep the under-developed countries in the position of agricultural appendages producing raw materials, to exploit their peoples and retain the super-profits derived from non-equivalent exchanges of goods.

63. And all the while the imperialist Powers boast of the "help" which they are allegedly giving to the under-developed countries. But what is this "help"? Whom are the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other colonial Powers helping when they grant credits, loans, technical assistance, and so on? They are helping, first of all, their own monopolies and their own concerns which have despoiled, and are still despoiling, the peoples of the under-developed countries while earning fabulous profits.

64. It is, after all, a fact that, between 1946 and 1959, for every dollar invested in the under-developed countries the United States exported 2.5 dollars in profits from those countries. According to the calculations of Soviet economists, the monopolies of the United States and other Western countries annually extract 20,000 million dollars from the under-developed States. It is no mere chance that United States monopolies are so pertinaciously infiltrating into countries which have only recently been given their independence. At the same time, the United States monopolies are ousting their partners, the old colonizers, taking over concessions, obtaining privileges and foisting upon the new States all kinds of agreements on economic co-operation, establishing "currency zones", "customs unions", etc., which operate to their own advantage.

65. And now that, simultaneously with this unchecked race for super-profits, new economic links are being formed between the under-developed and the socialist countries, based on altruistic aid and on co-operation based on equality of rights, the monopoly kings and their henchmen in the governments are seeing red. They shout about the danger of communism, about expansion, although it is merely a question of economic aid and trade co-operation.

66. The Soviet Union and the world socialist system have actually broken the imperialist Powers' monopoly with regard to armaments contracts, the granting of credits and loans, and technical experience and knowledge. The whole world knows that the socialist countries extend help to the under-developed countries without any political strings whatsoever, on an al-

truistic basis. By helping these countries, the socialist States consider they are discharging an international duty; they are motivated by a sense of solidarity with the peoples of the under-developed countries who are fighting for full economic independence and the speediest possible liquidation of the sorry legacy of colonialism in the economic, educational, scientific and cultural fields.

67. By obstructing in every possible way the growing economic links between the new countries and the socialist countries, the imperialists are striving to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies within the capitalist economic system. They seek to consolidate the unequal position those countries occupy in that system. United States imperialism emerges as the main stronghold of present-day colonialism. The United States monopolies and the United States military clique control the activities of the military-colonial blocs directed against the struggle for national liberation and against the sovereignty of the new States. United States imperialists are continuing to strengthen the system of military bases in the areas of former colonial empires where the flame of the national liberation struggle has not yet died down. The Pentagon is creating new airborne units, so-called "fire brigades", "special detachments", and so on—all in order to suppress the resistance of the oppressed and dependent peoples.

68. In a word, every device—colonial wars, military blocs, conspiracy, terror, subversive activity, economic pressure, bribery—is employed in order to keep the liberated peoples under the rule of the imperialist Powers and to convert the independence they have won into a formality or to deprive them of that independence.

69. The Federal Republic of Germany has also joined this front of colonial Powers. This irredentist and militarist State is helping France to wage a colonial war against the Algerian people and has made available a credit of 2,000 million marks for this purpose. SS men are active members of the foreign legions of France, Spain, Belgium and other colonial Powers. According to Press reports, West Germany participated in the nuclear weapon tests carried out by France in Africa. The West German monopolies, which are closely linked with those of the United States, act in concert with them in many colonial and under-developed countries. Certain circles in West Germany still cherish hopes of the restoration, and even the expansion, of the colonial empire of Imperial Germany and it is precisely from West Germany that racial ideas and theories, filled with hatred for humanity, and ideas of militarism and irredentism are still being disseminated.

70. But no concerted efforts by the imperialist Powers will avail to hold back the offensive against colonialism, which is now in its final stages. The single front to combat the disgrace of colonial slavery is becoming broader and stronger. It is no mere accident that in recent years the imperialists have failed to attract a single new country of Asia or Africa into their military blocs.

71. The fight for political independence, for independent economic development in the interests of the peoples and not for the sake of the profits of foreign monopolies, is gaining in strength every day. The countries that have been liberated from colonial oppression are beginning to understand more and more clearly the historic significance of the great road

that has been travelled by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

72. It is significant that increasing interest is being shown in the socialist republics of Central Asia and the other areas of the Soviet Union which have escaped the painful phase of capitalist development and have achieved unprecedented progress in regard to their national economies, education, science, culture and art. And no anti-communist propaganda can end or diminish the irresistible attraction of the great experiment of the socialist countries for the peoples which until yesterday were still subject to oppression. In that experiment they see more and more clearly an example for the national independent development of their own States in the interests of the happiness and well-being of their peoples.

73. Like the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union has no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of the new countries or of foisting socialism on anyone. The ideas of socialism themselves will forge a way into the hearts of the peoples who have attained national independence, into the hearts of those who are still fighting for their freedom against colonial oppression.

74. The victorious advance of these ideas will not be halted either by military bases or by the aggressive blocs of the imperialist powers.

75. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is the death sentence of colonialism. But if this sentence is to be executed, further concerted efforts by the peoples of the world will be needed. The General Assembly has the duty of completing the task so successfully begun at the last session.

76. The main problem now is to ensure that the will of the peoples, as expressed in the United Nations Declaration, is carried into effect so that the demands proclaimed in this Declaration do not remain a dead letter but are translated into practical acts.

77. The Soviet Union considers that the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations must adopt a resolution defining the concrete steps needed for the purpose of implementing the Declaration. First of all, a time-limit must be fixed for the complete and final liquidation of the system of colonial administration. In the Declaration, as you know, no time-limit was fixed for the final liquidation of the colonial system. The colonizers are taking advantage of this in order to prolong their domination over colonies and are devising all kinds of pretexts in order to do so.

78. The Belgrade Conference of non-aligned States^{1/} expressed the view that 1962 should be the year for the final abolition of colonialism wherever it still exists. We propose that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations should be finally liquidated not later than that date, that is, by the end of 1962.

79. Why precisely that year? We base ourselves on the principle in the Declaration of 14 December 1960 according to which "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". There are no peoples nowadays who are not ready for freedom; there are only colonizers who oppose the granting of independence. Life has convincingly demonstrated

the complete baselessness of the assertion that the peoples of the colonies supposedly need some special preparation for independence. The advocates of colonialism at one time tried to apply these so-called conditions to the peoples of Asia, but the peoples of Asia did not consider it necessary to listen to them. They expelled the colonizers, and, having set up their own national States, are successfully developing their economy and culture and have won great authority in international affairs. The same can be said, too, of the African States. People try to convince us that Africans are not yet ready for independence, that they are incapable of executing the complicated functions of State administration. Yet, how many great statesmen and political leaders has Africa already produced? Are the diplomats of the new African States, to whose brilliant speeches we have been listening with interest here in this Assembly, really in any way inferior to all of us who have gone through the European type of school of diplomacy? The history of the new Asian and African States has graphically shown the cultural and spiritual heights reached by the peoples who have cast off the colonial yoke, who are now standing on their own feet and speaking with their own voice. The history of these States has proved precisely that colonial régimes do not prepare countries for "self-government" but, on the contrary, hinder in every way the natural course of their economic, political, social and cultural development.

80. Here and there voices are heard asserting that in Africa, for instance, the time-limit for granting independence must be extended by almost ten years. This would mean that we would have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that, for many years to come, the peoples of South West Africa will be obliged to endure the mediaeval barbarism of the South African racialists. It would mean that the people of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia must also live under conditions of terror and repression. No, we would be failing in our duty to humanity if we continued to acquiesce in the retention of the colonial system. That is why we propose, and we think it will meet with general support, that the colonial system should be finally abolished all over our planet by the end of 1962.

81. But fixing a time-limit is not everything. We must give a practical definition of the action to be taken by that date to implement the Declaration in all Non-Self-Governing Territories without exception.

82. First of all, the United Nations must demand the immediate cessation of all colonial wars and all acts of repression against the participants in the national liberation movement.

83. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the just struggle that is being waged by these peoples and must call upon the colonizers to comply with the wish expressed in the declaration. It is, further, essential that the governments of the colonial Powers should realize that, if they go on ignoring these requirements, the sanctions provided in the United Nations Charter will be applied to them. In particular, these sanctions must be applied forthwith to Portugal, which is refusing to comply with the demand of the United Nations that the criminal war against Angola should be brought to an end.

84. We must emphasize the urgent need for the immediate withdrawal of all the troops of the colonial Powers from the territory of the colonies, the disbandment of all paramilitary formations composed of

^{1/} Held 1-6 September 1961.

non-indigenous inhabitants and the complete abolition of foreign military bases on Non-Self-Governing Territories and wherever they have been established for the purpose of exerting pressure on the new States.

85. We consider, further, that the United Nations must demand the rescinding of any agreements, including secret agreements, with Non-Self-Governing Territories which are designed to limit the sovereignty of the future independent States.

86. We raise this question in view of the practice which has developed for the colonizers, when they begin to realize that their domination is coming to an end in a particular country, to explore every possible way of maintaining their positions in that country. They try, so to speak, "to modernize" the decrepit colonial system. They enmesh the colonies in a web of different treaties and agreements which, directly or indirectly, limit the sovereignty of the future independent States.

87. First of all, they reserve a privileged position for their monopolies, the "right" of these monopolies to retain concessions previously obtained and they impose on the new States obligations to co-ordinate their economic and currency policies in every respect with those of the former metropolitan Power. The colonial Powers try to make the granting of independence conditional on the signing of all kinds of agreements on so-called "co-operation" with the metropolitan country in the sphere of foreign policy, defence, etc., designed to limit the sovereignty of the new States and to draw them by one means or another into the aggressive military-political blocs of the Western Powers. We understand that in some cases the political leaders of the dependent countries were compelled to sign such agreements as the only way of attaining independence for their country. We consider it, however, absolutely inadmissible that the colonial Powers should still go on forcing such agreements on the dependent countries, thereby reviving colonialism in new forms.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. It is also necessary to demand the immediate revocation of official enactments under which Non-Self-Governing Territories or parts of such Territories are united with the administering countries and that no such enactments should be allowed in future.

89. Finally, we consider that the United Nations must require the Administering Powers to grant immediately to the population of each Non-Self-Governing Territory broad democratic rights and freedoms and to guarantee all the other conditions necessary for ensuring the transfer of full powers to the indigenous population, and also to revoke all laws and regulations permitting racial, religious or other forms of discrimination. Further, we advocate granting the dependent peoples the widest democratic rights and freedoms, including freedom of speech, the Press, freedom of association and the right to elect their organs of power on the basis of universal suffrage.

90. Those are the minimum requirements for a successful solution of the problem confronting the United Nations, the great problem of abolishing the colonial system.

91. Strict and unremitting control by the United Nations is required for the implementation of all these measures. To this end, the Soviet Government proposes the setting up, on the basis of representation of

the main groups of States, of a special United Nations commission to make a full and comprehensive survey of the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration and the measures taken to give it effect. The membership of this commission must include, more especially, representatives of those States which have borne the full weight of the colonial yoke and have amassed a wealth of experience in combating colonialism and building up independent national States.

92. The Soviet Government's proposals are set forth in the draft resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations [A/L.355] concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which the Soviet delegation submits for your attention.

93. The abolition of colonialism is one of the most important problems of our time and its early solution is a matter of concern to millions of human beings, to all mankind. The peoples of the colonies will at last receive the freedom they desire and will be able to take advantage of their natural right to determine their own future independently. The destruction of the bases of colonialism will remove one of the most dangerous sources of military conflict and will promote a considerable improvement in the international situation. The final and complete liquidation of colonialism will lay the foundation for the establishment of truly equal relations among all countries and peoples, for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation among all the peoples on our planet and for the maintenance and strengthening of peace on earth.

94. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): Since the adoption, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], certain events have occurred which have borne out the need for such a Declaration. The initiators and authors of this resolution, as well as those who cast an affirmative vote on it, may justifiably feel a sense of satisfaction that the Declaration has become a part of the history of colonial development and, indeed, a part of the history of the United Nations activities which have derived their inspiration and stimuli from the objectives laid down in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter.

95. Among the events which gave my delegation particular satisfaction was the admission to the international community of Sierra Leone, following the change in its status from that of a colony to full-fledged sovereignty. The orderly transition from trusteeship to independence is but a matter of weeks for Tanganyika, whose admission we may, I hope, still welcome during the present session. The question of the future of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi seems also to be in the phase of a positive conclusion, and we cherish the hope that the solution will be in accordance with the primary objective of the sacred trust—that is, the paramountcy of the interests of the people concerned.

96. It is not merely the continent of Africa from and about which these good tidings are coming. Independence is also due in Western Samoa in the very near future, and it is hoped that this peace-loving people will enjoy their freedom in happiness and radiate to the world the serenity for which they are renowned. We also hope that in other areas where solutions are looming, though still blurred by the mist of some complications, conclusions can be worked out soon to the

satisfaction of the people who are anxiously looking forward to a better future.

97. There are, therefore, confronting us actual events and solid expectations, both of which point to the fact that the Declaration can claim tangible results. Far be it for me to argue with anybody who would claim that these happenings would have occurred in any case and that, Declaration or no Declaration, history would take its course and do away with colonialism anyway, as a phase of political blunder and a series of human indignities. This may or may not be so, but anyone who wishes to think of minimizing the immediate impact of the Declaration will also have to stop to think that this Declaration was not an invention on the spur of the moment, but that it was preceded by human struggle—physical, emotional and moral—that it became an international mandate moulded out of the aspirations of the oppressed and others who, though free, dedicated their lives and efforts to the abolition of colonialism. It would not be unfair to say that the colonial Powers themselves, having realized the stormy speeds of the winds of change, also woke up on a number of occasions to the realities of life, met the peoples' demands with a good show of common sense, and rose to the occasion by planning in advance the preparatory and initial stages of the transfer of power. Tribute to such acts of foresight should be paid wherever such tribute is due, and it would be fitting and proper that we acknowledge the wisdom shown in this respect in the acts of the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand and France.

98. While we are willing and happy to pay tribute where tribute is due, we are equally willing, though not happy, to lay blame where blame is due. The world is not yet free from colonialism although, as compared with nearly 800 million people under foreign rule in 1946, at the beginning of the United Nations, there are only 50 million now. This constitutes a remarkable progress in itself, but the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories still contains nearly seventy territories, on most of which no unequivocal pronouncements have yet been made by the Administering Members regarding their future. In some cases negative statements have been heard, both in the Assembly and in other United Nations bodies, and my delegation, along with many others, is deeply concerned about this state of affairs. In this connexion I need not conceal that I have in mind the Government of South Africa, which stubbornly and relentlessly has pursued the path of overt racial discrimination in South West Africa, and the Government of Portugal which, having provoked by the application of mediaeval colonial systems the rising of oppressed African nations, is cruelly and implacably suppressing the insurrection by bombings and shootings, by arson, prison and executions. My delegation submits that the United Nations cannot stand by any longer and be a silent witness to the barbarisms of the perpetrators, and the tragedies of the sufferers.

99. As already mentioned, there are still some seventy territories living in colonial status. While the position of some of these territories may not constitute an example of suppression as profoundly drastic as those just cited, yet within the spirit of our times they stand out as complete anachronisms.

100. In the view of my delegation the main purpose of the consideration of the item now before us is to remove these anachronisms once and for all and to return the status of dignity, the right of self-determina-

tion and independence to all those who, at one time or another, have lost these elementary human values and rights through defeat by physical force.

101. The Declaration adopted last year as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) established a set of principles which are in full accord with the principles of the Charter and which, in order to be tangibly effective, require, like all principles, a translation into clearly defined and realistic action. The need for such action was already clearly pointed out during the fifteenth session of the Assembly, when the Fourth Committee, the First Committee and even the General Assembly itself, indicated their intention to approach this problem in concrete terms. It was only due to the very heavy work-load under which the General Assembly laboured at the last session that no definite action could be taken. In this connexion, I should like to refer Members to the record of the 995th plenary meeting, in which sentiments to this effect were expressed.

102. My delegation is strongly convinced of the need for such action, on the nature of which it will, in a moment, advance its own suggestions.

103. Before doing so, however, I cannot but appeal in the strongest possible terms to all Members of the United Nations to realize that colonialism is an issue too important *per se*, too painful and too serious, to be treated as part or an aspect of the big-Power conflict, or, to express myself more popularly, should not be brought into the cold war issues. It is my delegation's view that, apart from other dangers of international scope, the struggle for complete and unconditional abolition of colonialism, unless treated on its own merits, is likely to lose sight of the only and exclusive objective which has been so beautifully formulated by the Charter: the paramountcy of the interests and the well-being of the inhabitants of the dependent territories. Nothing else must, or can, obscure the vision of this objective, and everything that is incidentally added to it is bound to obscure it.

104. We do not have to look very far for evidence of the truth of this premise. The various stages of the tragedy in the Congo (Leopoldville)—a former Non-Self-Governing Territory under Belgian administration—stand out as the saddest example of how greed and ambition can frustrate and annul the otherwise excellent potential of prosperity and well-being of a country endowed with material riches and sound human resources. Moreover, let the sufferings of thousands of human beings, the deaths, among others, of Mr. Lumumba, of our own Secretary-General and other United Nations officials, and recently that of the Prime Minister of Burundi, Prince Rwagasore, serve at least as a deterrent to emulation of similar acts in the sphere of colonial misdeeds.

105. In the light of these views, which form the framework of my delegation's practical approach to the follow-up of the Declaration on independence, we should like to offer a few observations on some of the details relating to the implementation of the Declaration. I should like also to reserve my delegation's right to elaborate these observations into more technical details should such a need arise from further deliberations on the subject.

106. In the first place, I should like to begin with the assertion and the strong conviction of my delegation that there is no Territory nor are there any people in the world incapable of effectively governing them-

selves. The myth that people have to be gradually prepared and conditioned for self-government so as to be able to manage their own affairs, has been finally shattered. Even those who, for obvious reasons, eagerly entertained such views until quite recently, have now given them up as erroneous and morally improper. I should also like to replace this myth by what I believe to be the unassailable truth, and say that each people, within its social and cultural ethos, is completely capable of managing its own affairs as long as it is not interfered with in this process by others, be it under the guise of protection, or some other flimsy excuse.

107. Another question concerning what is called preparedness for independence is the economic position of the Territory concerned in the period of the transfer of power. While a mature human being is naturally endowed with the ability of political judgement as an expression of individual and collective self-interest, he is, alas, not naturally endowed with sufficient material wealth and skills to deal with modern techniques to make self-government automatically successful. It may be said without hesitation that perhaps with one or two isolated exceptions, all dependent Territories and all newly-independent States—possibly in varying degree—have their economies in stages of gross under-development. In a number of cases they possess rich and largely untapped natural resources; in other cases, such resources are not plentiful; in many cases the economy is monocultural or based on subsistence cultivation, and in most cases there is insufficiency of technical and administrative skill to make the country's resources work for the population's benefit. This state of affairs is primarily due to the fact that under the system of colonial administration the resources of these territories were either left unused or were used for the benefit of the metropolitan country and, in most cases, under the supervision of the immigrant and expatriate technicians and administrators who, only occasionally, and generally only on lower levels, were prepared to impart their knowledge to the indigenous inhabitants. My own country has had sufficient experience in these matters to speak on the subject authoritatively.

108. We gather from the information contained in the reports of the Trusteeship Council and that transmitted in pursuance of Article 73 e of the Charter, that in the last few years this situation has somewhat improved in certain areas, and that more attention is now being paid to the training and the preparation of indigenous civil cadres to make the transfer of power and the subsequent enjoyment of independence by the Territories more efficacious. Better late than never, since these steps have assisted at least in the peaceful transition from dependence to independence, to cite the examples of Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika, and soon, we hope, Uganda. It may have also added to the hopes and prospects of these countries for prosperity to be achieved by their own efforts and in the light of their own needs. "Neverness" showed its sad consequences in the Congo (Leopoldville), for instance, as this country is still suffering from the lack of indigenous administrators, scholars, doctors, teachers, managers and others. Territories, such as those under the administration of Portugal and South Africa, which have not yet attained the independence due to them, are deliberately and maliciously kept ignorant and untrained.

109. My delegation refutes, as both untenable and illogical, any argument to the effect that so-called

economic maturity is the prerequisite for the granting of independence. It is untenable because of its unethical, opportunist implications, and it is illogical because the colonial Powers, many of which have had centuries and decades to provide the indigenous inhabitants with training and education and have not done so in any adequate measure, cannot be presumed to be doing so by the prolongation of the colonial system.

110. Under such circumstances, it would seem that there is every reason in the world for the United Nations to demand and to accept the principle of immediate independence. There is also the sacred obligation on the part of the United Nations to see that any such demand and any such acceptance is effected in the light of one overriding concept—that of the paramount interests of the inhabitants of the Territories concerned.

111. The realities of the situation are such that, for the reasons just mentioned and for a variety of others, we are faced with the fact that there are now about seventy Territories for which, under Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter and in the light of various General Assembly resolutions, there exists a well-defined international responsibility. There are also a number of Territories for which such responsibility can be assumed to exist, but on which the Assembly has not pronounced itself with sufficient clarity. Among these are the Territories on the Latin American continent administered by France, which, though it is claimed that they are autonomous, are not necessarily so. Representations on the status of these Territories have been made previously both in the Fourth Committee and in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Though previously reported upon by the French Government under Article 73 e of the Charter, they have slipped away from direct international concern as the result of a unilateral decision made by the Government of France. The status of Algeria and the war for liberation still goes on without the French Government having made the situation clear before this Assembly. There are Territories under the administration of still other Governments: for instance, the Territories under the administration of the United States of America, the status of which, though once involved in the obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter and then released from this specific obligation, still requires perhaps another look by the Assembly in the light of the Declaration, to make sure that the interests of the people are adequately served by this particular not-so-well-defined status.

112. To develop the few points that I have tried to make in connexion with the translation of the principles embodied in the Declaration into a practical set of recommendations, I should like to offer the following remarks, telescoping the views of my delegation.

113. The Territories with which we are concerned as the subject matter of our recommendations are those which come under the provisions of Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter, as well as those to which Chapter XI continues to apply, even if, owing to arbitrary decisions of some Governments, all the obligations deriving from this Chapter of the Charter have not been fulfilled. My delegation would also like to include in the category of dependencies all those Territories which have been described in principle IV, forming part of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), as Territories which are geographically sepa-

rate and are distinct ethnically or culturally from the country administering them. Though this description may largely coincide with Territories covered by Chapter XI of the Charter, it includes some others which have not been explicitly enumerated under this Chapter.

114. Having already expressed my delegation's views on the question of the peoples' political maturity and their preparedness for independence, and having arrived at the conclusion that every nation is completely capable of managing its own affairs, I should also like to add a comment or two regarding those measures which will render any recommendation we are about to make practical, realistic and workable in the light of no other considerations but the will of the people concerned, their interests and their well-being.

115. Accordingly, whether the follow-up of the Declaration is to take the shape of a general recommendation or of a more elaborate list of target dates, we should, my delegation believes, keep in mind principle VI of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) as well as principles VII, VIII and IX, since only by a wise application of these principles can we implement the requirements of the freely expressed will of the people.

116. Principle VI reads as follows:

"A Non-Self-Governing Territory can be said to have reached a full measure of self-governing by:

- "(a) Emergence as a sovereign independent State;
- "(b) Free association with an independent State; or
- "(c) Integration with an independent State."

117. While it is my delegation's contention that sovereignty is the most appropriate form of independence, to which most of the dependent Territories will aspire, it is also, I believe, reasonable to assume that some of the presently dependent Territories will wish to ask themselves whether sovereignty is the form of independence which would suit their interests best.

118. We have a considerable list of Territories of which we know beyond doubt that sovereignty achieved without delay would suit their interests and aspirations. To mention only at random some belonging in this category, we think of Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the West Indies, Fiji, British Guiana, and so forth. Looking, however, at the list a little longer, we wonder whether the same good purpose would be served in respect of some other Territories and whether they could look happily into the future as sovereign entities or whether they themselves do not entertain doubts lest their independence be a burden rather than a source of enjoyment. I wish, however, at this stage to declare very solemnly that under no circumstances does my delegation recommend a status quo in connexion with the status of these Territories. Equally, under no circumstances does my delegation propose that any of us, or the General Assembly as a whole, should tell these people what they ought to want. We do envisage a role for the United Nations in the achievement of independence, and this is what I wish to elaborate upon a little later.

119. The follow-up of the Declaration, while pronouncing the General Assembly's wish to see all dependent Territories independent, ought to distinguish between Territories whose independence should assume the form of sovereignty and those whose inde-

pendence would be completed by an association or integration with another State, in accordance with the formulae enunciated by the Assembly in principles VII, VIII and IX of resolution 1541 (XV).

120. To remind those who have not fully familiarized themselves with the intent of these principles, I should briefly quote those few sentences included in the principles which constitute the basic ideas underlying the concept of association and integration. Resolution 1541 (XV), in principles VII, VIII and IX, thus states:

"Free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes

"The associated territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

"Integration with an independent State should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it is integrated. The peoples of both territories should have equal status and rights of citizenship and equal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedom

"The integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage. The United Nations could, when it deems it necessary, supervise these processes."

121. For obvious reasons, I shall not engage in citing examples as to which territories would belong to the category of those which would seek association or integration with another sovereign State. The obvious reason is that, as indicated before, it should not be for the United Nations to tell the people what they should aspire to. The very opposite is required, namely, that the territories should find it possible, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people, to tell us, to tell the General Assembly, what their wishes are.

122. It may be anticipated that certain territories may feel that their economic resources are very limited and that they are thus not economically viable, that their respective populations are very small—there are Territories with populations of 1,000 people or even less and territories of 2,000 people, 5,000 and so on—or that their geographical position is unfavourable. The people of these territories may consequently come to the conclusion that their interests would be better served by an association or integration with another State.

123. As may be gathered from the records of this Assembly and those of the Fourth Committee, as well as from other documentation, there are also other territories on whose sovereignty claims have been laid by various United Nations Members. To mention a few, and remembering as one instance the history of Cyprus, we could quote Aden, British Honduras (Belize), Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas), Gibraltar, Ifni, West Irian, and so forth. The follow-up of the

Declaration would, necessity, have to include in some detail the question of these claims as a point of international concern.

124. From the history of colonialism we know how many artificial frontiers have been established as a result of agreement reached between the occupying Powers. We also know that in a number of instances the colonial Powers have, sometimes more and sometimes less successfully, wiped out the vestiges of certain cultural and political influences existing in the areas when they became colonial possessions. We know of cases where certain groups of populations were resettled and replaced by settlers—expatriates from the metropolis; that in some cases leaders or groups of people were removed by extermination, banishment, suppression, arrests, or bribes, be it in the form of well-paid jobs or in some other shape. The Assembly should have the opportunity of considering the legitimacy of the claims of certain Members and, if necessary, of confronting them with the wishes of the people. The General Assembly will have, among others, the very heavy responsibility of seeing to it that one kind of colonialism is not being replaced by another, and that no form of neo-colonialism is substituted for it.

125. To be able to do what is right and to do it effectively, it is my delegation's view that the General Assembly should, as part of the follow-up of the Declaration, decide on the best ways and means of tackling these and various other problems. Equally, the General Assembly has to count, to the extent possible and advisable, on the co-operation of the Administering Members who would be asked to facilitate the Assembly's work by admitting to certain territories currently under their administration, United Nations groups or good will mission or whatever else they may be called, and by replacing at the disposal of such missions the necessary facilities leading to the establishment of the trends existing in the public opinion of the territory concerned.

126. The co-operation of the Administering Member could also be requested, as the need arises, to assist the groups of missions in the preparation for, and the conducting of, the processes leading to the ascertainment of the will of the people regarding the nature of their future status. Should the choice of the people point to association or integration with another State, the question would arise as to what other sovereign State it would involve. Subsequently, if necessary and desired by the parties concerned, it would be the function of the United Nations to assist these parties in the negotiations concerning the agreement of that State and on the formulation of the terms which such association or integration would engender.

127. It is my recollection that on previous occasions, as for instance, in resolution 1539 (XV), the Administering Members have been invited to arrange for the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the appropriate organs of the United Nations. In fact, my country, Ceylon, was partly responsible for the formulation of this clause in that resolution. Now that the United Kingdom Government has, after many years of hesitation, undertaken to transmit political and constitutional information on the territories under its administration, the United Kingdom may also find it possible to bring over to the Assembly competent representatives from the territories who will be able to present the political problems facing the territories concerned. I am

singling out the United Kingdom Government as it is still responsible for the administration of over forty territories and as its co-operation with the United Nations in the final solution of the colonial system would make the United Nations effort so much easier and simpler. The direct participation of competent representatives from the territories, in this particular task of the United Nations, may facilitate the Organization's activities greatly and may even lessen the volume of responsibility of the Administering Authorities themselves, who have hitherto been the only source of official information on conditions in the territories and whose information may have been deliberately or, I say it quite candidly, even unwittingly, biased.

128. In the opinion of my delegation, the United Nations has a very grave responsibility in assisting the territories in the attainment of the final objectives of the Charter. As we all know, the objectives of Chapters XII and XIII dealing with the Trusteeship System have already been largely completed, but the objectives of Chapter XI are still awaiting further implementation; so are the over-all objectives of the Declaration on the granting of independence in respect of those territories which have not been covered by the United Nations activities ensuing from Chapter XI.

129. With a degree of over-simplification it could be contended that the attainment of sovereignty is, in a number of cases, a fairly straightforward matter. If the points I have just raised on behalf of my delegation regarding the other forms of independence merit the Assembly's attention, I suggest, without making at this stage any formal proposal, that the Assembly should think of establishing a working group, the composition of which would be based on a geographical distribution representative of the broad interests shown in the matter by international opinion. Such a group could consist of Members from Asia, Africa, Latin America, North America, Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Its terms of reference could be conceived to be wide enough to enable it to listen on the spot, that is, in the territories concerned or anywhere else, to opinions from competent experts on colonial matters without regard to their nationality and, in the first place, to learn the views of the territorial leaders and the trends of public opinion prevailing in the territories concerned. There exist in the United Nations committees whose experience and achievements in the sphere of colonialism have been significant and, if appointed, the group should also establish a link with such committees as an invaluable guide for the purpose of its operations.

130. These are details into which the Assembly need not enter now but may wish to consider later, after it has decided that the proposals just propounded merit attention. To describe the group's basic objective briefly and in general terms it would be to assist the Assembly in arriving at a solution for the abolition of colonialism. The time is short and a speedy solution is required. Speed is of the essence, but haste may also cause damage. If we purposefully and energetically settle down to bringing the various complex problems to a solution, I believe we can do it, and do it with that one objective in mind which I have so often cited in the previous paragraphs: the paramount interest and the well-being of the people concerned.

131. The question of the date when the final abolition of colonialism should be effected has been the subject

of profound speculations and eager discussions among representatives of many United Nations Members. There is little doubt in the mind of my delegation that not one day of undue delay can be suffered. I have elaborated already on the reasons for this contention. Taking into account the decisions on forthcoming independence in some Territories and the necessary consideration to be given by the General Assembly to the public opinion in other Territories, it would seem to me reasonable that within a very few years no colonies should be left in the world in which we live. It is not my purpose, however, nor have I the ability, to fix a target date. My delegation has devoted much attention to the problems involved in the matter now under discussion and we have thought it worthwhile to submit some of our thoughts to the Members of the Assembly for their consideration.

132. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have no further speakers on my list for this afternoon's general debate. I shall give the floor to those speakers who wish to exercise their right of reply.

133. Mr. FLORES AVILA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I have taken the floor in order to deal briefly with two points. First of all, I wish to reply to certain observations made just now by the Soviet Union representative in the course of his interesting statement. If I understood him correctly, he said that the countries which abstained in the motion of censure voted by the General Assembly [1034th meeting] against the statement made by the South African representative [1033rd meeting] did so because they were under the direction of the colonialist Powers. As Guatemala abstained in that vote, I wish to tell the Soviet Union representative that his judgement is erroneous and unjust. My country's invariable position on the colonial question is well known in the General Assembly and the United Nations. Guatemala has always demonstrated categorical opposition to those systems that subjugate man, take away his freedom and exploit him. We have given ample proof of this in this international body. If Guatemala abstained in the vote of censure it was simply because it would not under any circumstances wish to deprive the representative of a Member State of his freedom of speech, and the vote of censure to some extent limited that freedom of speech.

134. The Guatemalan delegation has always shared the thought so admirably expressed by the man who said to his opponent "I do not agree with what you say, but I shall defend to the death your right to say it". That is why I say that the Soviet Union representative's judgement of Guatemala's position was unjust and erroneous.

135. The other point I wished to make is this: the representative who has just spoken referred to the territory of Belize as an instance in which a question of sovereignty was involved. In this connexion my delegation declares that this territory is illegally occupied by the United Kingdom, and enters the strongest possible reservation with regard to Guatemala's right of sovereignty over the territory of Belize.

136. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I had asked to exercise my right of reply in regard to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union. Before I turn to that, however, may I just say one sentence in regard to the speech to which we have just listened from the representative of Guatemala. I do not wish to enter into controversy on this at this time. I would only say that the United Kingdom has no doubts as to

its sovereignty over the territory of British Honduras, and I wish formally to reserve our rights fully in regard to this matter. I will leave it at that.

137. As I say, I had proposed to say one word in regard to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union, because I thought that it was necessary to say just one word in case my silence should have been interpreted as in any way accepting the absurd and ridiculous assertions about the policies of Her Majesty's Government made in that speech. I do not propose now to comment on these ludicrous charges. I shall do so if I have the opportunity of being called by the President, at an appropriate time, when I hope to speak later in this most important debate. All that I want to say now is that my Government completely rejects these charges, which are absolutely unfounded and which, I would suggest to the representative of the Soviet Union, are somewhat stale now, for they have been made so many times. The barrenness of their own policy in these matters is clear, if they have to rake up these ridiculous stories in regard to my country's record. I would say that my country is very proud of its record in the colonial sphere, and I shall seek to justify that when I come to speak formally on this subject.

138. Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America): I will not make any attempt to comment in detail on the lengthy statement presented by the representative of the Soviet Union this afternoon. In due course we will present our views on the subject under discussion. As the oldest anti-colonial Power, we yield to no nation in our devotion to the cause of freedom and of self-determination for all peoples. However, I want to comment briefly on certain aspects of the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union which clearly revealed that his attack on colonialism was in reality an attack on the Western world.

139. The Foreign Minister of Nigeria yesterday [1047th meeting] expressed the fear that, in a general debate on this subject, cold war propaganda might be introduced. His fear was fully justified, as indicated by the statement of the Soviet representative this afternoon. Under cover of an attack on colonialism, the Soviet representative made clear that what he is interested in, is pursuing a variety of Soviet objectives in the cold war. He attacks the United States and its allies for their military bases, knowing full well that these defensive efforts are made necessary only because of the clear danger of communist aggression.

140. He attacks the United States' efforts to help many peoples of the world to help themselves to achieve a higher standard of living under conditions of freedom. These efforts, he says, are imperialism. Soviet assistance on the contrary, is of course purely altruistic. I leave it to the representatives in this hall who have experience in these matters to make the necessary comparisons and contrasts.

141. He attacks the economic ties—the mutually beneficial economic ties—that exist among the States of the free world. Why? Obviously, because it is his objective to weaken those ties, to weaken them so as to make it easier for the Soviet Union and its satellites to penetrate and take over the economic sinews of the world.

142. On the other hand, there were certain statements which the representative of the Soviet Union made which I was glad to hear. I was glad to hear him quote verbatim from paragraph 2 of the Declaration adopted

by the Assembly last year on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. That paragraph reads:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status"

143. I was also glad to hear him call for such principles as the freedom of speech, the freedom of the

press, free elections with universal adult suffrage. I trust that these ringing declarations, which we wholly support, will shortly be put into practice in those parts of the world that are today under the domination of the Soviet Union.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.