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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

Tribute to the memory of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

The PRESIDENT: Since our last meeting we have learned with deep sorrow of the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The news came to all of us with a sense of profound shock.

I need not review in detail Mrs. Roosevelt's outstanding contribution to the United Nations ever since the inception of the Organization. She served as a member of successive United States delegations, and in particular as a member of the Commission on Human Rights and of the Commission on the Status of Women. Her contribution is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the Covenants on Human Rights, and in the many related conventions and declarations which have been adopted by the United Nations during the past years. All her many activities reflected her own personal devotion to the cause of enriching the life of all peoples everywhere without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Through her work, through her personal example, through her generous support of many humanitarian causes, especially those sponsored by the United Nations, Mrs. Roosevelt has left us a deepened understanding of the words "the dignity and worth of the human person".

Many of us knew Mrs. Roosevelt personally as a warm friend and an eloquent and thoughtful interpreter of the finest traditions of American life. We shall cherish the memory of her friendship.

To the members of Mrs. Roosevelt's family and to her fellow-citizens in the United States—and, may I add, throughout the world—we extend our deep sympathy.

5. May I invite the Members of the General Assembly to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

The representatives stood in silence.

6. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I stand here for the second time in little more than a year sad in heart and in spirit. The United States, the United Nations—the world—has lost one of its great citizens. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is dead; a cherished friend of all mankind is gone.

7. Yesterday I said I had lost more than a friend. I had lost an inspiration. For she would rather light candles than curse the darkness, and her glow had warmed the world.

8. My country mourns her, and I know that all in this Assembly mourn with us. But even as we do, the sadness we share is enlivened by the faith in her fellow man and his future which filled the heart of this strong and gentle woman.

9. She imparted this faith, not only to those who shared the privilege of knowing her and of working by her side, but to countless men, women and children in every part of the world who loved her even as she loved them. For she embodied the vision and the will to achieve a world in which all men can walk in peace and dignity. And to this goal of a better life she dedicated her tireless energy, the strange strength of her extraordinary personality.

10. I do not think it amiss to suggest that the United Nations is, in no small way, a memorial to her and to her aspirations. To it she gave the last fifteen years of her restless life. She breathed life into this Organization. The United Nations has meaning and hope for millions, thanks to her labours, her love, no less than to her ideals—ideals that made her, only weeks after Franklin Roosevelt's death, put aside all thoughts of peace and quiet after the tumult of their lives, to serve as one of this nation's delegates to the first regular session of the General Assembly. Her duty then—as always—was to the living, to the world, to peace.

11. Some of you in this hall were present at that first historic session of the Assembly in London seventeen years ago. More of you were witnesses to her work in subsequent sessions in the years that followed. The members of the Third Committee—the Committee on Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions—and the Commission on Human Rights, which she served so long as Chairman—you, in particular, will remember the warmth, the intelligence and infectious buoyancy which she brought to her tasks. You know better than any of us the unceasing crusade that helped to give the world, after years of painstaking, patient travail, one of the most noble documents of mankind: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

12. This is not the time to recount the infinite services of this glorious and gracious lady; the list is as

inexhaustible as her energies. But devotion to the world of the Charter, to the principles of the United Nations, to a world without war, to the brotherhood of man, underscored them all. And happily for us, she could communicate her devotion, her enthusiasm, to others. She saw clearly; she spoke simply. The power of her words came from the depth of her conviction.

13. "We must be willing", she said, "to learn the lesson that co-operation may imply compromise; but if it brings a world advance it is a gain for each individual nation. There will be those who doubt their ability to rise to these new heights, but the alternative", she said, "is not possible to contemplate. We must build faith in the hearts of those who doubt, we must rekindle faith in ourselves when it grows dim, and find some kind of divine courage within us to keep on till on earth we have peace and good will among men."

14. Albert Schweitzer wrote:

"No ray of sunlight is ever lost, but the green which it wakes ... needs time to sprout, and it is not always granted to the sower to live to see the harvest. All work that is worth anything is done in faith."

While she lived, Mrs. Roosevelt rekindled that faith in ourselves. Now that she is gone, the legacy of her lifetime will do no less.

15. Mr. President, I trust you and the Members of the Assembly will forgive me for having taken your time with these very personal thoughts. The issues we debate in this hall are many and grave. But I do not think that we are divided in our grief at the passing of this great and gallant human being who was called the First Lady of the World.

16. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): It was with feelings of deep sorrow that the Soviet delegation learnt of the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She was undoubtedly one of those people whose death always comes too soon. It is said that every person when he leaves this life takes something with him, but the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has taken something away from the lives of each one of us.

17. Those who are connected with the United Nations feel this particularly keenly and their grief is the greater because Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt gave many years and much effort to this Organization. She possessed a deep understanding of the development of international life and in her heart there always dwelt a warm feeling of friendship and goodwill towards all peoples and a concern for the interests of peace throughout the world.

18. In conveying his condolences to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's family, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, wrote:

"The Soviet Government and all the Soviet people knew Eleanor Roosevelt as an outstanding American civic leader and the closest friend of the great American, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with whose name are linked many good pages in the history of Soviet-American relations, both in peace time and during the joint struggle against Hitlerite Germany. After the death of President Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt remained true to his convictions about the necessity for good relations between the Soviet Union and the

United States of America and the necessity of strengthening peace in the whole world."

19. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt personified many of the best qualities of the American people, and we believe that her attitude to the Soviet Union and the Soviet people is shared by millions of Americans.

20. The Soviet delegation expresses its sincere sympathy to the United States delegation and the American people for the heavy loss they have sustained.

21. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I would like to add my words of sympathy and my expressions of appreciation of the life of Eleanor Roosevelt, on behalf of the delegation of the United Kingdom. This is not an occasion for long speeches, it is an occasion to let our hearts speak and to say how much we all lament the passing of one who was, not only for many years the First Lady of the United States, but who was a leader and an inspiration to humanity throughout the world.

22. The name of Roosevelt bulks large in our recent memories: Eleanor Roosevelt supported her husband during many anxious years, and after the war efforts were over, and when she herself came here to the United Nations, she was, I know, an inspiration to many people of all nationalities; she was a frequent and honoured visitor to my own country and she always displayed that warm interest and that deep humanity, which characterized her nature in everything that she did. She embodied all the best that the United Nations stands for and that, I think, is why we all, particularly in this Organization, mourn her here today. Her death is indeed a tragic loss, but it must not only be considered in that light, for what she stands for, what she did and what she sought to perpetuate is something that I am sure will long live in our hearts, and our memory of her will be one of constant gratitude. I hope that it will inspire us, despite many difficulties, to go forward even more strongly with all the things in which she believed and if we do that, then we shall be keeping faith with what she stood for.

23. To those of my delegation who had the privilege of meeting her and working with her, today is a very sad day. But I know that we will gain strength from our memories of what she did and I think that, probably, is what she would have wished more than anything else: that we remember her gratefully and that we go forward in our determination to carry on the work for which she laboured so unceasingly, and which has left her in our hearts for all time.

24. On behalf of the United Kingdom delegation I add my deep appreciation for the life of Eleanor Roosevelt and for the honour of having worked with her.

25. Mr. LACHS (Poland): It is with great sorrow that I speak today not only on behalf of Poland, but of other countries of the people's democracies of Eastern Europe. Humanity has suffered a great loss. No more will we see this noble figure; no more will we hear her words and appeals, whenever the cause of man is at stake. For she was not only a great and worthy companion of a great President of the United States; she was a great human being in her own right. By her passing the world has become poorer; not only the country she so ably represented in many fields, but the United Nations as a whole. We, who had the privilege of working with her in the councils of the United Nations, will never forget her enthusiasm and devotion to humanity, to all mankind, irrespective of race and creed, to the great family of man.

26. Greatness has many dimensions but, if there was a person who combined exceptional qualities of intellect and heart, selflessness and devotion, it was Eleanor Roosevelt. Only two years ago we welcomed her in Poland at the Conference of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. Disregarding her frail health and the hardships of a distant journey, she came to us to make her voice heard on behalf of the cause of peace and friendly co-operation of nations; to these causes she devoted her whole life.

27. We wish to express words of deep sympathy to the family of Eleanor Roosevelt, to the American nation and to the delegation of the United States to the United Nations. Eleanor Roosevelt made a lasting contribution to the great causes which are so dear to all of us and, therefore, we are all united in mourning her today.

28. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): I should like, on behalf of the French delegation and—at their request—on behalf of several Western European delegations, to associate myself with the tributes being paid to the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt.

29. Her death is a cruel loss for her country, for the world and for the United Nations, and I wish to convey to the President of the General Assembly, where she served with such distinction, to the head of the United States delegation and to the Chairman of the Third Committee our heartfelt sympathy and feeling of deep distress. This loss will be deeply felt in my own country where, by her life devoted to furthering the noblest and most worthy causes, Mrs. Roosevelt earned respectful and affectionate admiration on all sides. I shall only recall that it was through her efforts in association with other eminent personalities that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document which, because of its title and its substance, is particularly dear to the hearts of the French people, was drawn up and approved by the General Assembly in 1948.

30. A great lady who bore a great name and played a great role has gone, but the work which she did and the ideal which she stood for remain. I believe that we can draw inspiration from them in our efforts to secure mutual understanding and peace among peoples, which is the paramount aim of our Organization, as it was hers throughout her life.

31. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): Today we mourn the tragic loss of a great world personality, a great lady, whose life was one of dedication, usefulness and service.

32. I speak of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, whose untimely death has cast a pall, not only over her own country, but over the entire world. Mrs. Roosevelt served the cause of humanity well and the world will, indeed be poorer by her absence from this scene of mankind's quest for a just, peaceful and orderly world; a world in which all men despite their creed, their race and their colour can seek, in brotherhood, the enrichment of their souls and the abundance of life.

33. Her useful life is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a monumental and historic document which proclaims the dignity of the human person. Thus, she has left with us an everlasting testament, so badly needed in this world, torn asunder by man's inhumanity to man. Her memory will long be cherished by all who, like her, dipped into the future as far as human eye could see, saw

the vision of the world and all the wonders that could be, till the war drums talked no longer and the battle fields were furled, in what we hope the United Nations will be, a parliament of man and the federation of the world.

34. On behalf of the delegation of Liberia, I extend deepest sympathy to the delegation of the United States, to her family and to the people of this great country.

35. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation, and the whole people of Israel, fully shares the sense of deep loss and sadness at the passing of Mrs. Roosevelt.

36. She made three visits to our country and left an indelible impression on the many men, women and children she met in every walk of life. Her friendship towards our people, her faith in the future of our State, was to us a source of unfailing inspiration and courage. The world is a poorer place without her, but a richer place for her sojourn in it.

37. Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to her family and her nation, to the United Nations she served so nobly, and to all who had the privilege of knowing her personally.

38. U TIN MAUNG (Burma): With a deep feeling of sadness, we learn of the demise of Mrs. Roosevelt. We knew and recognized her as a great American humanitarian and as a citizen of the world. We knew her also as the tireless champion of the poor, the unprivileged and the downtrodden. Her great dedication to, and her deep faith in, the principles and purposes of the Charter and her constructive contribution to progress in the field of human rights and social justice, mark her as one of the outstanding world figures.

39. Her devotion to the cause of peace and her monumental work will continue to inspire all of us.

40. On behalf of the delegation of Burma, I wish to request the delegation of the United States to convey our condolences to all the members of her family in their recent bereavement.

41. Mr. TAIEB SLIM (Tunisia): It is with a feeling of great sorrow and sadness that we speak today about the passing of Mrs. Roosevelt, one of the greatest figures in our world.

42. Mrs. Roosevelt had devoted her whole life to the service of mankind and was connected with the work of our Organization. She had, during her life, shown a sense of humanity, understanding and sympathy to all the people of the world and, in particular, to those who are fighting for their rights and their dignity. There is hardly a universal organization dealing with human rights which did not enjoy the sympathy, and valuable help and the contribution of that great citizen of the world.

43. The world today mourns the passing of a great citizen and we in Africa have lost a great friend who inspired our lives and our struggle. It is on behalf of the African delegations, who asked me to speak, that I wish to express through you to the family of that great lady and to the delegation of the United States our sincere condolences. We wish to express to them all the sympathy of the African continent.

44. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The Uruguayan delegation cannot remain silent on the occasion of this solemn tribute. We are moved not only by our feelings of solidarity and

friendship for the people of the United States, who have been so shaken by this sad loss, but also by our affection for Mrs. Roosevelt and our esteem for her personal qualities.

45. We shall not stop to review every contribution she made, first in supporting and encouraging her husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and later in her own capacity, as she continued to pursue the ideals of that great man. This is not the time, for the list is too long. We will confine ourselves to mentioning what was for us the most precious aspect of her personality. We refer to her outstanding humanitarian sentiments, her open and spontaneous friendliness towards all men and all peoples, and her passion for mutual help and brotherhood.

46. I may say that few people have personified as she did everything that is noble and sublime in the objectives of this Organization. But although emotion would lead us to spend time in reminiscence, reason tells us that this would not be the sort of tribute which Mrs. Roosevelt would have liked; on the contrary, the best homage we can pay her will be to devote ourselves with greater zeal to our work for the good of mankind and for peace and progress, in order to be true to the message of her whole life.

47. Mrs. ROSSEL (Sweden): May I, on behalf of the Governments and the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Sweden, convey our condolences to the United States mission and to the family of Mrs. Roosevelt. Our sorrow is deep and I do not think we can yet understand how deep our loss is.

48. At the same time we cannot forget and we should remember that we are enriched by all that she gave to us, the representatives of the United Nations, to the United Nations and all its organs and to the world as a whole. May I be allowed to say that especially the women of the world have a special gratitude to her for all that she taught us, for all the encouragement she gave to women all over the world in their endeavours. She belonged and belongs to mankind.

49. We are all in some way her heirs and upon us is laid the duty to be the trustees of the wealth of constructive thoughts and ideas of realistic idealism and of all her endeavours. It is up to us to carry on what she did in such a noble manner and in a way which has raised an eternally living monument over her. I hope that we will be worthy of the trust and belief she had in the United Nations and in mankind.

50. Mr. OKAZAKI (Japan): Words are scarcely adequate to express the feeling of sadness which overtook the delegation of Japan when we learned of the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

51. We, in the United Nations, honour her today not only because she was a great American lady, but also because she was a great lady of the United Nations. Her outstanding contributions and devoted service to our Organization during its early formative years will be a lasting inspiration to all of us. But most of all we grieve because the entire Japanese people had come to know and love Mrs. Roosevelt as a great champion of human rights and of all that is good and true and noble in human nature and human relations regardless of race or colour or nationality, regardless of creed or sex, of poverty or riches.

52. Mrs. Roosevelt belongs not only to the United States or to the United Nations; she belongs to

humanity. A woman, she loved all mankind and all mankind will cherish forever her memory.

53. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): The world has learned with deep distress of the death of Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. One of the greatest female personalities of our century, and particularly of the American continent, has passed away after devoting her life to all those fields of endeavour that do man honour, leading the world towards a fuller understanding of the major social problems.

54. Throughout the Americas, and particularly in every Latin American capital and in Haiti, the passing-bell that causes so many tears tolls more sadly than elsewhere, for it is impossible to speak of the qualities—the great qualities—of this illustrious lady without also recalling that great citizen of the world, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. She whom the world mourns today, working at his side as his collaborator, also gave her name to all those instruments which have opened the way to better understanding between men and between peoples. She was, as she has been described, a great lady—great for having pleaded the cause of our century and, in particular, the cause of Latin America. I therefore regard it as a pious duty and a debt of gratitude to pay homage, on behalf of all the Republics of Latin America, to the memory of the late Mrs. Roosevelt and to convey our deepest sympathy to her family and to her country.

55. Miss MARSH (Canada): It is fitting that we should take this hour from our labours to pay tribute in this hall to a very great lady, a lady whose name will remain in our hearts and memories as one of the builders of the United Nations.

56. We in Canada have particular cause to mourn her death. The tribute from all countries of the world testify to her remarkable ability to inspire all whom she met. Our ties as neighbouring countries were especially close and we benefited the more from them. She also spent many happy days in our country in the Roosevelt family home on Campobello Island.

57. She achieved the unique distinction of becoming during her lifetime a symbol of the dignity of the individual and of the profound impact that a warm and generous personality can have on our destinies. Our task now is to dedicate ourselves to the achievement of the goals which have guided her numerous activities, the benefit of humanity and respect for the fundamental rights of the individual. In her own person she became a living embodiment of the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

58. On behalf of the Government and the people of Canada I wish to record how deep is our regret and our sense of loss at the death of Anna Eleanor Roosevelt.

59. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation wishes to join in the expressions of condolence and deep sympathy on the passing of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt expressed here and in all parts of the world to her family, to the American people and to the United States delegation.

60. By the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt the American people suffers a great loss, the loss of one of the outstanding personalities of its new history, and the world and our Organization particularly have lost a great humanitarian and an untiring champion of the cause of peace and friendship among nations.

61. When, today, all her great merits in many fields are being recalled, the Yugoslav delegation feels in duty bound to recall that it was Mrs. Roosevelt who was among the first to understand and support the struggle of the Yugoslav people for freedom and independence. Thereby, Mrs. Roosevelt greatly contributed to the building of friendship and mutual understanding between the United States and Yugoslavia.

62. For all these reasons, the people of Yugoslavia will cherish a warm and lasting memory of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

63. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): Yesterday a distinguished member of our delegation gave expression in the Third Committee to our feelings of deep sorrow on the passing of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. I do not wish to repeat here what he said, but having had the honour and the privilege of knowing this great lady I would simply say, here in this Assembly Hall as well, that the people of the Netherlands mourn her profoundly because they know that she was one of those rare human beings—and wonderful human beings—whose dedication, whose understanding and whose charity are universal.

64. Let me add that Mrs. Roosevelt was a personal and intimate friend of our Queen, and that I know that Her Majesty is as moved by this loss as are all of us. On behalf of the people of the Netherlands as well as of my delegation I would convey our condolences to Mrs. Roosevelt's family, to her country and to her delegation.

65. Mr. SILLA (Madagascar) (translated from French): The twelve African and Malagasy Republics—Senegal, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Niger, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Cameroon and Madagascar—wish to add their voices to all those which have been heard in tribute to the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt. Her loss will be felt not only by the American people, but also by all peoples of the world, who, on this day of sorrow, remember that great and noble figure, and the role she played in the drafting of the immortal Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

66. She will be remembered with emotion in the remotest corners of Africa and Madagascar, as those who, like her, fought for human dignity and for fundamental rights and freedoms will always be remembered.

67. To her family and to the American people, the twelve African and Malagasy Republics desire to convey their deepest sympathy. When many a once famous name has passed into oblivion, her memory will survive like that of all those who have served here on earth as a beacon and a guide for all mankind.

68. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): We were deeply shocked and grieved to learn of the passing of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. On behalf of the delegations of India and Indonesia I beg to associate myself with others in paying homage and tribute to the memory of this great lady.

69. Mrs. Roosevelt was a tireless champion of the poor and the downtrodden. Her devotion to the cause of peace, her contributions towards the establishment of human rights and social justice will always be cherished in history. She was not merely a former First Lady in this country; she was a great world

citizen in her own right. She had always taken a leading part in the activities of the United Nations, which she served so well. The world is the poorer today for the death of this great humanitarian lady.

70. Mrs. Roosevelt had visited my country and taken a great deal of interest and shown sympathetic understanding of our people. We mourn her loss profoundly.

71. On behalf of the Government and people of India and of Indonesia, we would like to offer our sincerest sympathy and deep condolences to Mrs. Roosevelt's family, to the United States delegation and to the American people.

72. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): On behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan, and also the delegation of Iran, allow me to join my voice with those who have paid homage and tribute to the memory of the late Mrs. Roosevelt. I do this with a mind full of respect and a heart full of profound sorrow, and we share the sad feelings of the mission of the United States of America and also other Members of this Organization, the people of the United States and the family and friends of Mrs. Roosevelt wherever they may be on this sad occasion. Her death is a great loss not only for the American people, but for humanity as a whole.

73. In your statement, Mr. President, you spoke of Mrs. Roosevelt's great contributions to the United Nations and to the promotion of human rights everywhere. And no one can find better words than those spoken by Mr. Stevenson. Therefore, I request the President and Mr. Stevenson to allow me to associate myself wholeheartedly with every word spoken by them. I assure Mr. Stevenson that, in speaking today here and in the words that he chose, he has spoken not only as an American, or as a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt; he has spoken for all human beings who have a sense of respect and of appreciation.

74. I request the mission of the United States to accept our most sincere condolences on this sad occasion and to convey our feelings to Mrs. Roosevelt's family and to the great American people.

75. Mrs. Roosevelt had the greatest love for mankind and for humanity, and she will always live in the heart of humanity as a great inspiration. This flame of love, in the words of an Afghan poet, does not die. This candle is removed from one room only to glow in another. If all Mrs. Roosevelt wanted for humanity is achieved, we will have a much better world in which death will be a much sadder event indeed. Her spirit will be happy if those she has left behind, particularly in this Organization, will complete the noble mission to which she had dedicated her life. This we should do as a tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt.

76. For us, and for me personally, because I had the privilege of working with Mrs. Roosevelt, the greatest thing to remember always is the memory that she expressed the greatness of her own mind by understanding the minds of others.

77. Mr. HAUGLAND (Norway): The death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has caused deep sorrow in Norway. The Norwegian people were proud and happy to be able to regard her as a very close friend. Like her husband, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, she took a personal and warm interest in Norway's fate during the Second World War, as she was always sincerely and fervently devoted to the cause of all peoples and individuals fighting for life and freedom and dignity.

78. When the late Crown Princess Martha of Norway and her children were forced into exile with King Haakon and the Crown Prince, President and Mrs. Roosevelt extended their ever-present hospitality and friendship to them and gave them a war-time home in the United States, for a long time even in the President's own residence at Hyde Park.

79. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt visited Norway after the war and was received by the Norwegian Royal Family and by the people and Government of Norway as a long-standing friend. In Oslo, she unveiled a statue of President Roosevelt raised by Norwegians in memory of his inspiring leadership. Today, this statute will also remind us of Mrs. Roosevelt's own achievements in the cause of freedom and democracy.

80. In honouring the memory of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the United Nations, we will in particular remember her work in the field of human rights. In this way, she contributed conclusively towards the fulfilment of a vital part of the ideals of her husband when he conceived the United Nations.

81. The sorrow of the American people and Government over the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is shared by all Norwegians.

82. Mrs. RANA (Nepal): On behalf of my delegation, I take the floor to mourn the passing of a great lady, and to share the loss and sorrow of those present here. The death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has not only deprived the world of a person whose tireless efforts were always directed towards the good of humanity, but also a person who has long been considered as a citizen of the world. Today, all the nations of the world feel this loss and mourn with the United States of America, which gave the world this great lady.

83. May I, on behalf of the delegation of Nepal, pay homage to the departed soul and extend deep condolences to the representatives of the United States.

84. Mr. BORJA (Philippines): I speak on behalf of the delegation of the Federation of Malaya and my own delegation of the Republic of the Philippines. My country and our neighbour, Malaya, are especially saddened to hear that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, that great lady, who has helped soften the heart of the world towards the under-privileged and those disinherited of the goods of this earth, is no more.

85. As countries which have had close relations with the United States, we had an opportunity to witness Mrs. Roosevelt's work and to benefit from the warmth of her personality. The other delegations paid tribute to her humanitarian ideals and her activities which she gave to the world, to her country and to the United Nations. We join the whole world in extending to the United States delegation and to her family our sincerest condolences. Her memory will be an inspiration to us at the United Nations and to the world for all time. I am sure that with the years we shall all cherish her memory as an institution of humanitarian faith.

86. Mr. USTUN (Turkey): Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's death came as a great shock to the people of Turkey. Her contribution to the work of the United Nations in the humanitarian and social fields is so well known that it is hardly necessary for me to go over it again. I only wish to associate myself with the other speakers who preceded me on this rostrum to pay tribute to the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt.

87. I wish also, on behalf of the Turkish delegation, to present to the Government and people of the United States our deepest sympathy and our most sincere condolences.

88. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): Mrs. Roosevelt's natural instincts were on the side of truth and justice. These good instincts, though infused with passion, never led her to be overbearing. Her compassion for her fellow-creatures was too great, her lack of pride too absolute. She was truly a gentle woman, without guile, her good manners reflecting her good nature. She was a beautiful woman. For the transparent beauty and purity of her soul shone in her every expression. Many of the best achievements of the United Nations owe something of their quality to her.

89. This is a political institution. As in all such institutions, we are in daily danger of allowing our preoccupation with means to blind us to our ends. To the extent that the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt remains alive in us—and which of us who knew her can ever forget her—the more likely we are to remain true to the noble principles of the Charter. What better legacy could anyone leave us?

90. We New Zealanders share with her family, with the people of the United States and with people throughout the world a sense of irreparable loss. But we give thanks for her life.

91. Mr. ANUMAN RAJADHON (Thailand): I wish to add my voice, on behalf of the Government and people of Thailand, to those of the representatives who have spoken before me, in paying our tribute to the memory of a great personality, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

92. It is with deep sorrow and sadness that we learned of this tragic loss. We in Thailand remember very well the contribution which she made to her nation in particular and to the world in general, especially in the field of humanity. We have lost her, but the contribution she has made to mankind will always remain and be cherished, and her name will be long remembered. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to ask the United States delegation to convey to her family our heartfelt and sincere condolences.

93. Mr. CLARKE (Trinidad and Tobago): While we deeply mourn the passing of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, we feel that this sad event is the culmination of the dedicated labour of this great lady. For we must today of necessity turn our thoughts to the ideals for which Mrs. Roosevelt continually strove. In doing so, we have no alternative but to pay Mrs. Roosevelt the deserved tribute of ensuring that we bring to reality those ideals for which she would willingly have given her life.

94. On behalf of the delegations of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago, I extend our sincere condolences to her family, her country and the delegation which she once adorned.

95. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On behalf of my delegation, the Government and people of Cyprus, I come to the rostrum to pay tribute and homage to the memory of Eleanor Roosevelt, who has been truly acclaimed the First Lady of the World. As representative of a small and newly independent country, I have added reasons to express my great sorrow for the passing of Mrs. Roosevelt, a great friend and supporter of the cause of freedom and independence.

96. Through her dedication and earnest work for social justice and human rights, Mrs. Roosevelt won

the hearts of all peoples everywhere. Her service to humanity parallels that of her great husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose imaginative policy and great work in building peace and founding the United Nations will be remembered throughout the ages as a monumental contribution to the progress of mankind.

97. It is perhaps one of the rarest occasions when a husband and wife, each individually, by their own intrinsic work and dedicated service to mankind separately earn the very first position as citizens of the world and the respect and love of the whole world community. The best memorial that could be erected to this couple is to work both for peace and the establishment of a world of peace and order, which was one of their ideals. To work earnestly for the effective application of human rights everywhere and, to this end, to promote with urgency the adoption of the Covenant of Human Rights, would be a memorial to Mrs. Roosevelt in particular, as this was one of the ideals to which she dedicated her life.

98. In paying our last respects to this great lady, my delegation would like to express its deepest sympathy to the family of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, to the United States delegation and to the Government and people of the United States.

99. Mr. RETALIS (Greece): I would like to associate myself with the previous speakers and express, on behalf of my delegation and the Government and people of Greece, the deepest condolences on the tragic loss of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. My country will never forget the personality of the First Lady, who is no longer among us, and her great effort for the creation of a better international atmosphere for peace and understanding; and her fight for the promotion of the highest human ideals will not be forgotten by the peoples of the whole world.

100. I wish to extend to the United States delegation, the people of the United States and the members of Mrs. Roosevelt's family the sincere expression of the deep sorrow and condolences of my Government.

Organization of work

101. The PRESIDENT: We adjourned our plenary meeting on Wednesday afternoon with the understanding that delegations would enter into informal consultations on the most appropriate method which could be followed in considering this item. One important consideration was, of course, to avoid unnecessary duplication between the work of the plenary and that of the Fourth Committee.

102. I indicated that I would study the statements already made in the Assembly on the procedural question and that, taking into account the results of the consultations which would be held, I might be in a position to place before the Assembly certain concrete proposals. I would like to state that I have been helped by the considerable efforts which were made yesterday by all concerned to clarify the issues and to find solutions which would take into account all aspects of the problem to which the attention of the Assembly has been drawn, as well as the wishes of the delegations which intended to take part in the discussion of the item now before us. I understand that all members of the Special Committee of seventeen members^{1/} par-

ticipated in the consultations, together with some of the other representatives who spoke here in the procedural debate, and that a considerable degree of agreement has been reached. I trust, therefore, that the proposals which I am going to make and which reflect the agreement reached will meet with the approval of the Assembly.

103. I propose that the report of the Special Committee [A/5238] should remain in its entirety before the General Assembly. We shall immediately proceed to a general debate on the item before us, representatives being free to discuss in this debate the general problems involved and to refer, if they wish, to the situation in the specific territories which the Special Committee studied in its report.

104. The Fourth Committee will remain seized of all the items so far referred to it, which include item 54, dealing with the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and item 57, the question of South West Africa. The Fourth Committee will consider these items as speedily as possible within their context and in accordance with its procedures.

105. It may be reasonably expected that, upon the conclusion in the plenary of the general debate on item 25, which is now under consideration, delegations will have submitted one or more draft resolutions on the general problems involved in the consideration of that item.

106. The General Assembly will also have before it the proposals of the Special Committee with respect to the various territories examined by it, including a number of draft resolutions, as well as reports and draft resolutions from the Fourth Committee on the specific territories which that Committee will have examined. Before voting on the draft resolutions relating to specific territories, the Assembly may wish to make a special effort to adjust their terms in such a manner that not more than one resolution may be needed with respect to each territory.

107. This is, therefore, the course of action which I propose to the Assembly and, unless I hear any objection, I shall consider that it is generally acceptable.

It was so decided.

108. There is one final point which I would like to make on a procedural matter. Item 29 of the agenda, entitled "The situation in Angola: reports of the Sub-Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and of the Government of Portugal" was allocated to plenary meetings. I understand that the report of the Sub-Committee will soon be available for distribution to Members. As I indicated earlier, the Fourth Committee is already entrusted with the consideration of questions relating to territories under Portuguese administration. In consequence of the consultations that took place yesterday, it has been suggested that item 29, that is to say, the item relating to Angola, should now be referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report to the plenary.

109. If I do not hear any objection, I shall take it that the decision of the Assembly is to refer item 29 to the Fourth Committee.

It was so decided.

^{1/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (A/5238) (continued)

110. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): What we have before us now for consideration is not an ordinary report by a United Nations committee. The report of the seventeen-nation Special Committee on decolonization marks a decisive stage in humanity's struggle to attain liberty and dignity. In his march to achieve freedom over countless centuries, man has spared no effort, however strenuous it has been, and escaped no suffering, however crushing it has been. In this age, the exertions of the United Nations to spread the cause of freedom were not without significance. It was on 23 September 1960 that Chairman Khrushchev proposed that an item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" be included in the agenda of the fifteenth session. Inasmuch as world public opinion has hailed the Soviet Union for taking such a bold and far-reaching step, we are gratified that the United Nations did not hesitate to face the challenge. Indeed, the United Nations, for this matter, did not fail to discharge its responsibility and, in fact, seized the occasion to lend its support to the call of international community. Thus, in resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly solemnly declared: "The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations..." While asserting the rights of all peoples to self-determination, the General Assembly stressed that immediate steps should be taken to grant independence to all peoples and to all countries.

111. Viewed in its true perspective and against the heavy background of colonialism, this resolution was, in fact, not a resolution. It was a charter of freedom, a universal Magna Carta of liberty, and a bill of emancipation to all peoples fighting for dignity and equality. Adopted on 14 December 1960, this charter of freedom was no less supreme—and no less sublime—than the United Nations Charter of 1945. The downtrodden peoples and countries owe it to themselves to voice their gratitude to the Soviet Union for having taken the lead and to the United Nations for holding the banner in the field up to the last moment of victory. The date 14 December 1960 should go down in history as an independence day for all peoples, worthy to be commemorated as an international day of thanksgiving and jubilation.

112. At the sixteenth session, the United Nations, again on the initiative of the Soviet Union, considered the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The gospel needed a missionary—so to speak—to preach and to practise. In its resolution 1654 (XVI) the General Assembly adopted certain measures which would put teeth into the Declaration. Decolonization was given its start and a Special Committee of seventeen members was entrusted with the task of giving effect to the Declaration. It was another historic step from a declaration to application, from colonization to decolonization, from domination to emancipation, and from exploitation to nationalization.

113. With these powers well in hand the Special Committee decided to start its pilgrimage, and the pil-

grimage was a visit to Africa. For to survey the problems of freedom, you have to live it. You have to go to the continent where colonialism is practised, where racial discrimination is exercised and where human suffering is inflicted. For so many generations, Africa was the shivering home of affliction and the trembling house of repression. Visiting Africa, therefore, was the least that the United Nations should do to plead repentance for the past and to extend a promise for the present and a hope for the future. It was a visit to heal wounds bleeding for a long, long time, to redress an injustice so heavily crushing and to set free millions of peoples denied everything, except their shackles of subjugation and their yoke of domination.

114. This is how the Special Committee started its journey to Africa with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples as its gospel—and what a dear gospel indeed. The visit was a United Nations landing—and I stress this expression with all its meaning—it was a United Nations landing in the battle for freedom. In Morocco, the Committee was touched by the moving words of His Majesty, King Hassan II, a great leader of a great country. In Ethiopia, the Committee was captivated by the voice of a veteran fighter for liberty, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie. In Tanganyika, the Committee was thrilled by the passion for freedom as expressed by the leaders of the country. Thus a wave of jubilation has penetrated Africa from the Atlantic on the west to the Indian Ocean on the east, and I would say, that not only a wind of change but a tempest of change has swept over the continent. The United Nations, through its Special Committee, was campaigning in Africa for liberty, crusading for independence and winding up the last relics and vestiges of imperialism and colonialism.

115. In spite of its magnanimity it was a heartbreaking mission and a hair-raising task. To imagine the evil of colonialism is quite easy, but to measure its agony, to feel its grief and to sound its depth, you have to live it, at least you have to see it—to see colonialism in the sufferings of peoples and to see imperialism in the agonies of nations. Thanks to the distinguished Committee for its endurance and its distinguished rapporteur for his perseverance. The report of M. Rifai of Syria is a noble defence of freedom and an incriminating indictment of imperialism.

116. I am expressing our sincere and earnest tribute to the Special Committee for it has discharged its task so ably, reported its work so clearly and recommended the course of action so painfully.

117. So painfully, I say, because all the members were caught by mixed feelings and conflicting sentiments. It was a drama of divided reactions—encouraging and discouraging. The determination of the peoples in Africa to achieve their liberty was most encouraging, and the determination of the colonial Powers to retard the march of liberty was most discouraging. The administering Powers—the United Kingdom, Portugal, and the Union of South Africa—are still persisting in their colonial rule, fighting for one more day of colonialism and for one more spoil of exploitation.

118. In Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the United Kingdom—and I would like to put it mercifully—has failed to respond to the General Assembly resolution on the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Through constitutional engineering, through legislative scheming, through voting machinations, through discriminatory techniques, the British have tailored—in fact, they have tailored—everything to serve British interests, without due regard to the interests of the Africans, the legitimate people of the land.

119. In Southern Rhodesia it is obvious that the vast majority of the people have rejected the Constitution of 6 December 1961. As a matter of fact the General Assembly in resolution 1747 (XVI) of 28 June 1962, demanded that the United Kingdom convene a conference representing all the parties to formulate a constitution in place of the 1961 Constitution.

120. In Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, it has become evident that the Constitution of February 1962, was inconsistent with the United Nations Declaration and with the United Nations resolution. In Nyasaland, no measures have been taken to formulate a constitution or to bring about independence. Thus, the Rhodesian Constitution is unconstitutional. It was promulgated by Great Britain and not by the great Rhodesias and the great people of Rhodesia. Foreign domination can be imposed; but a constitution cannot be imposed. It must be the free expression of the people, and not the dictation of their rulers.

121. With regard to general elections, the United Kingdom was preparing, by a set of discriminatory legislation, to establish an alien government, quite alien to the territory and quite alien to the people. It is conceived to be a white government, too white, but with the darkest intentions and the blackest objectives. The method designed, characteristic of imperialism—one vote, one man for the Whites, and one vote, a thousand men for the Africans. That is the system which has been followed by the administering Power. To enforce such a policy, the United Kingdom launched a series of discriminatory laws, coupled with a campaign of arrests, against the political leaders of the country.

122. Southern Rhodesia is not a negligible land without a past that could be slightly ignored by the United Kingdom. About the size of Japan, Southern Rhodesia is known for the fabulous Solomon's mines and the stone monument of Zimbabwe, whose ruins stand today as the most formidable and mysterious in the world.

123. The United Kingdom, it seems, is aiming towards establishing formidable and mysterious ruins in the country, this time in the political field, in the three territories, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The franchise limitation, with regard to ownership and schooling, is only one design to maintain white supremacy. In Southern Rhodesia, for instance, the Constitution of 1961 stipulated a highly complex system of franchise qualification, aiming, in fact, at disqualification and at setting up a white government in the territory. There you will find two rolls—roll A and roll B—designed with a diversity of standards based on age, on residence, on property, and on education. Various scales of yearly income or property value have been prescribed in terms of hundreds of pounds sterling. To be a voter, you must have an annual income of a few hundreds of pounds or have property worth so many hundreds of pounds sterling.

124. In the earlier elections in Southern Rhodesia, as a result of such voting techniques, only 429 Africans have voted out of 3 million African citizens—just imagine, only 429 citizens can vote out of 3 million

Africans. Under the present franchise, less than 5 per cent of the African population would be eligible to vote. An African cannot earn such a high income, nor own such a great property with such a high value. Neither can he acquire the scholastic qualifications when there are only two secondary schools in the entire country. The policy is all too obvious. It is indeed intended to qualify the white settlers and disqualify the Africans. Such a policy is reminiscent of the words of Sir Godfrey Huggins, the late Prime Minister, words that are still ringing in the horizons of Africa. Shamelessly and bluntly he declared: "There must be an aristocracy in a democracy, and the people must earn their vote." But how on earth can the Africans earn their votes when they are skinned down to the bone in poverty and in misery.

125. It is true, the country abounds in riches and various natural resources, but the policy of the United Kingdom, as an administering Power, aims at making settlers richer and richer and the Africans poorer and poorer. Rhodesia is well known for its chrome, and the United States, the major purchaser, testifies to its high strategic value. The Northern Rhodesian copper belt produces about 15 per cent of the world's copper. It is the second richest copper deposit in the world. It is enough to know that the annual output of the mines is valued at £130 million; most staggering figures of richness and poorness—richness for the white settlers, but poorness and poverty for the Africans. This figure includes a profit for the companies amounting to £40 million. The British South Africa Company, which governed the country for half a century, had registered in 1954 net profits which come to £3,295,898. I need not tell you that these companies have white owners and black workmen.

126. All this wealth is denied to the Africans, and the staggering question, the outcry question is, how on earth can the Africans earn their votes and become voters, when the white settlers are sponging out—and I use this term wilfully—the whole wealth of the country for themselves, and for themselves only?

127. How can the African qualify on the basis of property, when almost everything of value is owned by the white settlers? In Southern Rhodesia, although no more than 8 per cent of the population are white settlers, still that 8 per cent of white settlers own 47 million acres—just astronomic figures, most staggering—of the best land. This is almost half the area of the whole country.

128. If you come across a land of the best category, you need not enquire, it is white ownership. Africans could even be driven out of their lands and into the reserves if mineral wealth were discovered on their property. Thus, hundreds of families were transplanted to areas quite strange to them—strange in climate, in environment or even in language. These people were transplanted and uprooted from their areas just because mineral wealth was discovered on their land. I wonder how these wretched people can become voters, and how they can earn their votes, when they can hardly earn their bread. You cannot expect people who hardly earn their bread to be able to earn their votes under that system and scale for voting.

129. On the other hand, in addition to the many privileges bestowed upon them, the white settlers are allowed leases on crown land for a period of 999 years. The figure is amusing, and it should be amusing—a

period of 999 years. It is not one thousand years. To be precise, it is 1,000 years minus one year. This is characteristic of British accuracy and British precision.

130. In Nyasaland the white settlers own 1 million acres of the most fertile lands, while the Blacks, and I hate to use this term, are no more than hired labourers. Let us remember that in Nyasaland there are 600 times more Blacks than Whites. In Nyasaland the Blacks number 600 times the Whites and still most of the fertile lands are owned by the Whites.

131. With regard to the concept of aristocracy in democracy, as embedded in the policy of the United Kingdom, it is only one of political immorality in principle and in detail. In the Rhodesias the British are establishing a colour aristocracy, a labour aristocracy and a federal aristocracy. The constitutions, the laws and the voting systems are designed to set up—to achieve—this triumvirate aristocracy. The *troika* is ascribed to the Russians, but the British seem to like it. Anyhow, they like it for Africa, and not for the United Kingdom.

132. Colour discrimination in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland is so disgraceful that it has been denounced as being more abominable than in South Africa—South Africa, the home of apartheid, the detested home of apartheid. A well-known segregation leader burst into protest when he said "Think what a difference it would make to our whole political and emotional evolution if we had black members of Parliament". These are the disgraceful words of a leader of segregation.

133. These might be admissible remarks if they were electing the British Parliament; but it is inconceivable how there could be a parliament in Africa without Africans. The Africans, moved by the sufferings of the past may feel justified in retaliating, in excluding all the Whites from Parliament. If this policy of white supremacy continues, parliaments in Africa, I am afraid, may be out of bounds for all the Whites, for all the Europeans. The Whites may even be expelled from the whole continent of Africa if they do not behave.

134. Such a danger, to our dislike—and we dislike it—and to our resentment—and we resent it—may be forthcoming if the white man in Africa does not behave. Commenting on the demand of the Africans for a free and liberal franchise in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, a prominent minister of the Federation said: "These Africans do not know their own minds. As well ask a child of two how to operate a battleship". I am afraid this is a devastating argument, devastating to the position of the administering Power. If, after almost a whole century of British civilizing mission—and I use "civilizing mission" here for the purpose of argument, not to admit it—there is not a single man in that territory who is able to operate a battleship, then the whole accusation of the United Kingdom is a fiasco, a political bankruptcy and a failure.

135. As to labour aristocracy, the British policy of Rhodesia is anything but gracious. It aims at depriving the native labourers of the vote, let alone decent living. More than any miners in the world, the white mine-workers in Northern Rhodesia are enjoying the highest standards of living and the highest wages in the world, including the United States. Apart from housing and many social services, the average annual wage of the white miner amounts to 2,000 pounds sterling. The average wage of an ordinary white worker is

£105 per month. The wage of the African—and here you see how modest and how humble and how insignificant—is £6 a month. It had been less before the strike of 1953. Therefore, let me ask from this rostrum: with these wages for the African—£6 a month—with these wages for the European—£2,000 a year—how can an African earn his vote.

136. In Southern Rhodesia the disparity is unbelievable. European workers there get \$250 a month. African wages range from 21 cents to 50 cents a day. The range for the white settler is in terms of hundreds of dollars; for an African it is in the range of cents per month. And with these cents per day the African labourer is supposed not only to earn his living but in addition to earn his vote.

137. The aristocracy of federation—the last filler of this triumvirate British aristocracy in the country—presents another calamitous aspect that should not escape our attention. The concept of federation, no doubt, has its many attractions, whether amongst the Africans or amongst the Asians. When the attributes are found, unity or federation is a treasured blessing. But the federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as designed is a curse to the Africans. Behind the scheme is to be found a design for a white supremacy and African inferiority, cloaked under the slogan of partnership between Europeans and Africans. With the change of times, the British have changed only the titles, but their policy remained one and the same, unchanged. They have tried all ways and means to stay, and stay in domination and exploitation.

138. In 1922, Mr. Huggins, the lifetime Prime Minister of the Territory had advocated the unity of Southern Rhodesia with South Africa. It was not for love of unity. It is a unity of persecution and racial discrimination—a unity of apartheid. Later, Huggins decided to pursue a policy of amalgamation. He advocated that Southern and Northern Rhodesia be made into a single unitary State. But again, he gave up the idea and switched to federation, the present British aristocracy.

139. In the present case, federation is mainly intended to federate the Whites and disintegrate the Blacks. It aims at grouping the forces of the Whites, to mobilize them against African nationalism. Real federation is incompatible with persecution and with racial discrimination. These European advocates of federation have declared time and again that they are against "mixing up the people and producing a 'café au lait' society". This is their policy. These are the rudiments of the policy dominating in Africa. They are against the mixing up of peoples to produce *café au lait*.

Mr. Forthomme (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.

140. In Africa, the Europeans—and I regret having to refer to Europeans in general, but this seems to be the policy and practice of Europeans in Africa—are not ashamed to make fun of the miseries of the people or to make a mockery of God's creation. They are quite pleased to have four o'clock tea and *café au lait* at home but they do not want to have that policy implemented in society. They enjoy drinking *café au lait* from the labours of the peoples of Africa, but they resist the idea of *café au lait* for society and for the unity and brotherhood of the people. The fault does not lie in the black face; it dwells in the black conscience, in the dark heart which flows with much monstrous intentions and such insidious policies.

141. Today, the abominable leader of the idea of federation, Roy Welensky, is following in the footsteps of his master, Huggins. Welensky, like his master, is tailoring the Federation into a fashion of British aristocracy, European aristocracy. It is the rule of the majority by the minority, the rule of the Africans by the Europeans. Should the Africans try to exercise their rights, he would make true the warnings of his master when he said: "If the Africans try to take things over we will stop them dead". Welensky stands today with the slogan "we will stop them dead", for he knows full well that colonialism is dead. It shall witness no resurrection. That is why Welensky, the last image of British colonialism, is fighting his last battle, and federation is his last weapon in this losing war. In his defence of federation he was betrayed by his own words when he said "Colonial rule is finished, but we have to hold on, somehow,"—it is finished, but we have to hold on somehow—"or we will lose everything the way we lost India".

142. This is no federation, it is not the federation which they have at heart. It is exploitation. It is the fabulous riches which they have in their coffers, even if it comes from the coffins of Africans. Federation, under such conditions, is indeed the coffin of African nationalism. The policy is to unite the Whites in freedom and to unite the Blacks in bondage and to federate them in domination. They are to be brought together and bound by the shackles of discrimination. The intentions of the British are glaringly manifest: the 9 million Africans in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland shall sit at the foot of the 300,000 Europeans, just as Cecil Rhodes, the British arch-imperialist, in 1888 took the young princes of the territory into his service to shine his boots—a shining which has blackened the record of British history up to the present.

143. Recently, when the elections in Northern Rhodesia took place contrary to General Assembly resolutions, Roy Welensky revived these memories of Cecil Rhodes. The New York Times of 31 October—while the United Nations was in session and just before the elections—reported that Welensky spoke of African nationalism as a "savage fist pounding on the door". A savage fist pounding on the door. That the African fist is savage, I say, is false, utterly false. Welensky and his clique are the image of savagery. That this "fist is pounding on the door" is true, positively true. The African fist shall knock to pieces the door of colonialism and neither Welensky nor the United Kingdom will be able to put those pieces together again. Perhaps those pieces could find their way to the British Museum, where many objects of imperialism are displayed.

144. I speak with anger and resentment, I admit, for we cannot and should not tolerate this human degradation. Just because of their black faces and curled hair, the Africans should not be ruled by the Whites because they have white faces, blue eyes and fair hair. The ratio of Blacks to Whites in Southern Rhodesia is fourteen to one, forty to one in Northern Rhodesia and 700 to one in Nyasaland, and Roy Welensky—an outlaw refugee from Europe—wants to play Nero of Rome and set fire to the very country which gave him asylum. What an unspeakable ingratitude, reminiscent of Brutus, and how treacherous Brutus was.

145. This gloomy picture which I have portrayed of the three territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland applies more or less to the three other territories, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and

Swaziland. I will not dwell on the conditions of these territories because of the difference between them and those of which I have spoken.

146. It has been denied by the United Kingdom that there is any intention to add these three territories to South Africa. I feel that this is a very dangerous design. In the 1961 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa express provisions were set out for the annexation of these territories to South Africa. The British deny it, but how often have these denials proven to be mere assertions. Did they not deny scores of times that they intended to establish a Jewish State in Palestine, the outcome of which was all too disastrous? Israel was established as a threat to peace and a whole people were uprooted from their homeland.

147. This British technique of denials is, however, to be found naked wherever you come across the British in Africa. In Kenya, a territory with a bloody history under British rule, these denials are to be found in abundance. The British claim that they are making every effort to unify the country. We have it on record from the lips of the leaders of Kenya that the United Kingdom is making every effort to divide and rule, that it is instigating regionalism, and that it is abetting separation. These are the statements of the leaders of that country and they are to be found in the records of the Special Committee of seventeen members. The creation of many Katangas in Kenya is the daily bread of the British policy at the present moment, and Kantanganization is the most depressing headache which the United Nations is suffering from.

148. With regard to constitutional techniques and economic exploitation in Kenya I need not speak at length. Suffice it to be known that they are British techniques. However, there is one facet of the Kenya problem which presents a threat to world peace. It is no military secret that the United Kingdom has established against the will of the people a nucleus of military bases in Kenya. What is most serious is that nuclear weapons are stockpiled in the British arsenals in Kenya, and that, too, is not a military secret. These are matters which are on record in the report of the Special Committee of seventeen members [A/5238]. One of these military bases is situated about ten miles from the capital, Nairobi.

149. Recently, The Times of London admitted that British forces are stationed in Kenya to protect the interests of the United Kingdom in the Middle East. A United States military expert has confirmed that rockets launched from Kenya could have the same effect as rockets launched from London, from the United Kingdom. In a report in the Daily Express, it was disclosed that the United Kingdom had decided to store nuclear weapons at its airfields in Aden, Cyprus and East Africa—with Kenya included.

150. The people of Kenya, coupled with their demand for immediate independence, are urging an immediate dismantling of these military bases. This is a very serious situation indeed; and the Cuban crisis, without going into the merits—and I do not wish at the present moment to go into the merits—must serve as a serious warning to the United Nations in dealing with this matter. I do not propose to draw contrasts or comparisons. But let us remember that Kenya is not a British territory. Cuba is a Cuban homeland, Cuban people, and a Cuban Government. Let us also remember that Kenya falls in the hemisphere of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

151. If the United States, a great nuclear Power, should feel endangered by a nuclearized Cuba, what should the Africans, the Asians, with their limited armaments, say and how should they feel? The people of Asia and Africa are not prepared to see their lands scorched and their people annihilated by a nuclear war on their continent—a war to which they are not a party. Kenya must be denuclearized and our security must be made secure. If dismantling in Cuba is justified, there is more justification for dismantling in Kenya. It should be conceded, I trust, that human lives in Africa and Asia are as sacred and as lovable as human lives in the Western hemisphere. If we were to keep the missile bases in Kenya, and dismantle them in Cuba, we should be dismantling the very Charter of the United Nations.

152. On the question of Zanzibar, I have little to say. The report of the Special Committee has set out a clear picture of the present situation. The Committee has extended an urgent appeal to the United Kingdom to release all political prisoners and to end the state of emergency in Zanzibar. At this moment I can neither appreciate nor deprecate the conduct of the United Kingdom in this matter. We do not know whether the United Kingdom has accepted or rejected the appeal of the Special Committee, and we would be only too glad if the representative of the United Kingdom would come here to the rostrum to say that his Government has accepted the recommendations of the Committee. We shall wait and see. We are not addicted to criticism and condemnation, just for the sake of criticizing and condemning. We are only eager to see that the United Kingdom acts justly in Africa and behaves well in the United Nations.

153. On the substance of the matter, the Special Committee, while appealing to all the people of Zanzibar to achieve national unity, has urged the United Kingdom to make every effort to bring that territory to independence at the earliest date. We support this position and we will be waiting anxiously for this earliest date to come.

154. With the same anxiety, we shall await the fixing of the earliest date for the independence of British Guiana. Far removed, on the northeast coast of the South American continent, British Guiana will, we trust, soon achieve its national aspirations. For liberty should be accessible to the near and to the far. We hope that the territory will emerge as an independent Guiana. The World Atlas, we hope, will no longer mention British Guiana; it shall be Guiana—anything—anything but British.

155. In Mozambique and Angola, Portugal stands to defend the very same principles which lack every essence of principle. Portugal has been condemned for classical imperialism, for ruthless racial discrimination, for merciless forced labour and brutal acts of repression. In Mozambique, the 7 million people are classified as "não civilizadas" with the exception of a few thousands who are only classified as "civilizadas". Even without knowing Portuguese—and this is my crooked and crippled Portuguese—you can understand the terms "civilizadas" and "não civilizadas". After 456 years of a civilizing mission—and I am using their argument, not my argument, for the sake of argument—the Portuguese were able to civilize only a few thousands out of the many millions. We may get to doomsday before Portugal is able to civilize the rest of the inhabitants.

156. In 1951, the status of the territory was changed to that of an overseas province under the name "Província de Moçambique". But this change of name does not change the central facts of history and geography. Mozambique is not a province of Portugal, nor will it ever be. As part and parcel of Africa, Mozambique must share with the African States the joys of independence and the glories of freedom.

157. In Angola, the same insidious situation persists and a colonial war is being waged by Portugal to combat a liberation war. It is deplorable that the NATO Powers, instead of helping the indigenous people to regain their liberty, are assisting Portugal to suppress liberty. Modern weapons are being shipped by NATO to Portugal, while the Africans are fighting for their homeland with their outmoded arms. In fact, NATO is proving its publicized claim to defend freedom, but it is a freedom to deny the people their freedom. That is the freedom that NATO is defending.

158. I come last to the question of Aden. For us, the problem of Aden is first and foremost; it only happened to be the last in the report of the Committee. The question of Aden and, indeed, all the southern and eastern fringes of the Arabian Peninsula is all too well known to call for any detailed presentation. It is a colonial issue in its totality. Great Britain had seized those territories with the sole purpose of keeping India for itself at the time India was the greatest diamond mounted on the British Crown. But now India is no longer British, and I hope the people and the British are not in a position to deny it. India belongs to its peoples, free independent and sovereign and the two great States of India and Pakistan are seated here in the Assembly.

159. It is only natural, therefore, that Aden and the rest of the Arab territories should become free, independent and sovereign. The present devices and tactics envisaged by the United Kingdom to establish a federation of Aden and the adjoining areas, against the letter and spirit of the General Assembly resolution on independence, is quite manifest and glaringly manifest. And since when have the British been in favour of federating the Arab peoples? Was it not Great Britain which dismembered the Arab world after the First World War? When it serves their interests, the British stand for federation. But when their interests demand otherwise, dismemberment becomes not only their policy but the gospel for which they are prepared to crusade. They do not mind that such a gospel is not sacred and that such a crusade is not holy.

160. The question of Aden presents a serious threat to the peace and security of the whole Middle East, and I would say of the whole world at this time. You do not need to speculate, to guess—you know what I mean. I mean the military bases in Aden. The whole of Aden in fact is a military base of the highest order. With its military potential, Aden is bound to be a target or a base for military operations. Either way, the exchange is bound to be nuclear and thermo-nuclear. Aden is an Arab land and the whole of the adjoining territories is Arab land; it is a sub-continent of Arab lands.

161. The unavoidable fact is that we, the Arabs, our lands and peoples will become a party to a war in which we are not actually a party, and to which we do not wish to be a party. We will be dragged into a war against our will, and against a nation with whom we have no reason to quarrel, let alone war.

162. Such a situation is intolerable and the United Nations must put an end to it. British military bases in Aden should be dismantled under United Nations inspection. If the giant United States felt disturbed with little Cuba, you can imagine the feelings of our defenceless tribesmen, not ninety miles off the shores, but in the very heart of the land itself, where the missiles and the missile site are based. In a word, the people of Aden and the other territories should be left to their own. It is they who can constitute their own constitution. It is they who are entitled to choose their own destiny, whether it be federation, amalgamation, unity or any form of self-determination.

163. Let me say, in conclusion, that the Special Committee has done excellent work. It has made a start towards decolonization. We trust that the Committee will continue its tasks in Africa, in Asia and Oceania, with the same zeal and with the same determination. As long as colonialism stays on earth, this Committee should stay; it should stay to chase colonialism from the earth.

164. In the course of this session, six new Members have been admitted to the United Nations. We can only rejoice that this house of human brotherhood is now well crowded, from mural to mural. Nonetheless, we shall always have room for newcomers, and here there will always be ample room for new Members from Asia and Africa. For this house of freedom is self-expanding; it shall exclude none and shall contain all.

165. Yet we feel that the number of this family is still in arrears. No doubt our joy is boundless and immeasurable owing to the fact that six new nations have been admitted to the United Nations at this session. We rejoice that Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica, bring to this Organization the glamour of their climate, the beauty and harmony of their lands. And we welcomed the emergence of Rwanda and Burundi who have joined their African colleagues in the march for freedom and liberty. We admitted Algeria in jubilation, and the admission of Uganda adds to our joy. We are filled with joy, indeed thrilled to the core, at this long-awaited reunion. But amidst these sentiments of joy, we cannot but express our anxiety.

166. Too many are the nations outside this Organization. About 100 million people are still suffering in the shackles of repression under the yoke of foreign domination. There are still wars of liberation, waged against colonialism on more than one battlefield. There are still scores of concentration camps, of jails, of military courts, of sites of torture and all sorts of human suffering. There are still millions of our brethren subjected to persecution and disabled by discrimination simply because their skin is black, and precisely because their hair happens to be curled. There are still millions of refugees all over the world breathing nostalgia for their homeland, yearning to go back to their homes. On the agenda of this session, as in the past fourteen sessions, we have the question of the Palestine refugees, a whole refugee nation now living in exile, but determined to regain their fatherland, to restore their national life, to liberate their ancestral country, to realize their sovereignty and independence, and, finally, to occupy their legitimate seat—here in this Organization, shoulder to shoulder with all the nations of the world.

167. All those millions of people in Asia and Africa are on our minds as we examine this report on de-

colonization. Let us, therefore, at this session make the best of our efforts to free what remains of the human family, the millions of our brethren who are fighting so gallantly for their freedom in Angola, in Palestine, in South Africa, in Mozambique, in Oman, in the southern fringes of the Arabian Peninsula and all parts of Asia and Africa. If this were accomplished, the United Nations would achieve new universality—a United Nations for a free world. It would be an organization not of those nations who were united in war, but of all nations united in peace and freedom.

Mr. Zafrulia Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

168. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Cuba who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

169. Mr. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I am sorry to have to take up the Assembly's time at this late hour, but I feel it necessary to make a small clarification in connexion with the Saudi Arabian representative's reference to Cuba and to its present situation.

170. That representative, whose brilliance as a speaker we all admire, told us that he did not mean to draw a parallel between the United Kingdom's nuclear bases in the Territory of Kenya and the defensive weapons of the revolutionary Republic of Cuba. He stated that Cuba was a free, sovereign and independent country, but he added that if the fears of the United States with regard to Cuba were justified, the fears of the countries near to Kenya, and in particular of the Asian peoples living within range of Kenya, were also justified.

171. I should like to point out to the representative of Saudi Arabia—though we know that he is not unaware of these facts—that Cuba is not a colony, that the weapons to be found in Cuba are the defensive weapons of a Republic which, as he himself said, is free, sovereign and independent, whereas the weapons in Kenya are offensive, as are all weapons in the hands of colonialist Powers in colonial territories, and, like those in any colonial territory, are intended to preserve and reinforce colonialism, always with an eye to internal aggression against the people held in colonial bondage and external aggression against those considered by the colonialist system a danger to its stability.

172. The weapons in Cuba, on the other hand, are anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist; they are the defensive weapons of a people threatened with death by United States imperialism, United States colonialism and the determination of the United States to continue its exploitation and degradation of our people, exploitation of the kind described by the Saudi Arabian representative, all of which we put an end to on 1 January 1959.

173. We regret to differ as to the possibility of drawing a parallel between the two situations, and we very much regret that references should have been made to Cuba and that parallels should have been drawn, even unintentionally. At this time, when our country, which is not a great Power, either militarily or economically, is fighting for its very existence, we know that the Saudi Arabian representative did not intend to offend us, but we felt that we should clarify the situation in case his remarks should lead to any confusion at certain levels or in certain quarters.

174. To conclude, I would repeat that in Cuba there are weapons for the legitimate defence of its freedom, independence and sovereignty, within the framework of the United Nations Charter and in conformity with international law. There are weapons in Cuba for the defence of Cuba, and there are weapons, should need arise, for the defence of Kenya, of the Saudi Arabian people themselves or of any other people whose freedom, independence or sovereignty is threatened.

175. Cuba is on its feet, with its head held high, ready to defend itself, without weighing the risks, for when it is a matter of defending the freedom, independence and sovereignty of a people—that is to say, its very life—there is no room for weighing the risks.

176. Our weapons are not like the weapons in Kenya, and we are sorry to have had to make these remarks in connexion with what was said here by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

177. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

178. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): I shall be very brief. I do not want to enter into a debate on the question of Cuba. I said quite plainly in my statement that I did not want to go into the merits of that question, one way or the other, and if I remember correctly, I repeated that statement twice. This is the first point.

179. Secondly, I said in my statement that I did not propose to draw any parallel, contrast or comparison between the situation in Cuba and the situation with regard to the territories in question—Aden and Kenya. I also repeated that statement twice and I say it again now: on this occasion, I do not intend to draw any contrast or comparison between the situation in Cuba or any other situation.

180. The third point is, as I said quite clearly, that if the situation is justified in Cuba, there is more justification in Kenya and Aden. This small word "if", with its two letters "i" and "f", will answer the whole question. I take full note of the explanation and clarification of my colleague from Cuba and I fully understand his apprehension.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

181. The PRESIDENT: Before I adjourn this meeting, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the resignation, as of 30 April 1963, of a member of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee who was appointed in 1961 to serve a three-year term ending on 31 December 1964. It will therefore be necessary for the Assembly to appoint a person to serve for the unexpired term of office of the retiring member.

182. If there are no objections, this matter will be added as sub-item (f) of agenda item 66, "Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly", which was allocated to the Fifth Committee. The recommendation of the Committee on this sub-item will then be submitted together with its recommendation in respect of the other appointments to be made under item 66.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 13.20 p.m.

*Resumed from the 1151st meeting