

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

902nd
PLENARY MEETINGWednesday, 12 October 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/4520) (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now continue the consideration of the question of the allocation of items which have been included in the agenda of the fifteenth session, as recommended by the General Committee in its first report [A/4520].
2. In addition to the items which the Assembly has already allocated directly to plenary, there remain two draft resolutions submitted by the Soviet Union contained in documents A/L.312 and A/L.313.^{1/} I invite the General Assembly to turn to the first of those draft resolutions, which proposes that the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" should be dealt with in plenary meeting.
3. In connexion with this proposal, I call on the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.
4. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (translated from Russian): The Government of the Soviet Union has requested [A/4501] that the question of the adoption by States Members of the United Nations of a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples should be included in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. In our opinion, it is essential that the question should be discussed by the General Assembly in plenary meeting.
5. The exceptional importance of the international problem of ridding mankind of the shameful colonial system—that legacy of the past—should be obvious to everyone. Dozens of nations and countries have already thrown off the infamous colonial yoke. The time is ripe for the total and final liberation of all the nations from colonial oppression, and this issue has now assumed particular gravity and urgency.
6. Mr. Nkrumah, the President of Ghana [869th meeting], Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India [882nd meeting], Mr. Nasser, the President of the United

Arab Republic [873rd meeting], Mr. Sukarno, the President of the Republic of Indonesia [880th meeting], Mr. Castro, the Prime Minister of Cuba [872nd meeting], Mr. Shukairy, the Chairman of the Saudi Arabian delegation [879th meeting], and many other representatives have expressed this view in their statements at the present session.

7. The General Assembly must realize in all earnestness that unless steps are taken with the utmost dispatch, colonialism will remain capable of inflicting much further suffering and hardship, of ruining millions upon millions of further lives and of provoking armed conflicts and wars, thereby threatening peace and security not only in individual areas but throughout the world.

8. There is talk in the West of freedom, equality and brotherhood. These topics are also current in the colonial countries, whose ruling circles are eventrying to assert, in all seriousness, that the colonial system is progressive; they describe this system of slavery as "assistance to under-developed nations" or as "the bringing of advanced civilization to these nations". Tens, nay, hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America know full well what this "advanced civilization" means in practice to the peoples enslaved by the colonialists.

9. As a result of this "civilization", the population of a number of colonies including, for instance, the Congo, has been almost halved. The circumstances in which the indigenous inhabitants of Australia were exterminated are a matter of common knowledge, and Mr. Menzies, who addressed this Assembly, should not forget them. A similar process took place in the United States, too; where the Indians, the indigenous inhabitants, were decimated and the survivors driven inside reservations.

10. Although, at long last, with the abolition of slavery the Negroes in the United States obtained their freedom, they are still being subjected to discrimination and their elementary rights are being restricted to a minimum. In many States of the United States Negro children cannot go to school with Whites; Negroes are not admitted to hotels where Whites stay, nor are they allowed into theatres or restaurants. There you have the true face of the "civilization" of which the imperialist and colonialist Powers are so proud. Civilization, indeed! It was imposed by force, against the wishes of the people. The colonialists sent in troops, artillery and machine-guns, and the troops were followed by missionaries carrying the Cross.

11. The other day, Mr. Macmillan gave us an eloquent description of the benefactions conferred by the United Kingdom on the colonial peoples. Compare it with what the United Kingdom Press has to say of the true situation in the colonies: Kenya, Rhodesia and other colonies are in a state of ferment; in Rhodesia, the colonialists are being forced to build up their strength.

^{1/}Subsequently issued as amendments under the symbols A/L.312/Rev.1 and A/L.313/Rev.1.

How are they doing so? Are they sending bread, medicines, doctors and teachers? Not at all; the build-up consists of troops, machine-guns, shells and ammunition. "Send us more ammunition" is the demand of the colonialist benefactors.

12. In our days it is no longer possible to cloak the nakedness of colonial brigandage with pious words. The peoples on whom the colonialists are striving to graft "civilization" know that such a "graft" has cost their brothers their lives. The mask must be resolutely torn from the colonialists and the true face must be revealed of those who have brought disease, poverty, hunger and death to the enslaved countries. The colonialists must no longer be permitted to shield themselves behind such fictions as "assistance", "the bringing of civilization" or the alleged unreadiness of the colonial peoples for self-government. This is the jargon of slave-traders and slave-owners. The objective is not to graft civilization but to continue to make use of the cheap labour of the colonial peoples, to go on exploiting the wealth of their lands, and to wax rich and fat by robbing the oppressed peoples. All peoples are capable of governing their countries; it is only a matter of giving them an opportunity to do so.

13. If the United Nations does not adopt the proposals aimed at the elimination of the colonial system, the peoples of the colonial countries will have no option but to take up arms. If they are not granted the right to lead an independent existence, to have a political and social system of their own choosing and to organize their life in their own country as they themselves see fit, they will win that right in combat. I have already said, and I now repeat, that the Soviet people are on the side of those who are struggling for liberation from the colonial yoke, for freedom and independence.

14. A great deal has been said here about the situation in the Congo and the duty of the United Nations to help the Congolese people in its struggle for independence. But what has been happening so far in practice? When the United Nations took a hand in the affairs of the Congo, Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, did everything possible to benefit the colonialists. By his actions he disrupted the normal activity of the legitimate Government and deprived it of the means of transport and communication. The imperialists and colonialists found Mobutu, furnished him and other renegades and traitors to the Congolese people with money, and set about bribing the army in order to continue the process of colonial spoliation with its aid. The Congolese people, however, has not abandoned the struggle. Relying on the will of the people and that of the lawfully elected Parliament, the Congolese Government headed by Mr. Lumumba is doing everything in its power to protect the country's independence and integrity. This is a true reflection of the Congolese people's will.

15. Events have refuted the Belgian colonialists' lies to the effect that they returned to the Congo in order to protect the women, children and old people, who, in actual fact were threatened by no one. The colonialists returned when they saw that the new Parliament and the new Government, created as a result of the proclamation of the independence of the Congo, wished to govern the country on their own, utilize its

wealth in the interests of the people, and have real, and not simply nominal, independence.

16. There are a number of instructive historical analogies. There was a similar period in Russia when the institution of serfdom was on the point of collapse and the peasants began to rise against the hateful oppression of the serf-owning landlords; the more far-sighted among the latter then said that the serfs should be set free from above because otherwise they would achieve freedom on their own and seize it from below. This is to some extent true of the colonialist Powers today. If the colonialists do not meet the legitimate demands of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, the latter will seize freedom by force; justice will be on their side, because they will be taking what belongs to them by right.

17. Those who are against having the question of the elimination of the colonial system discussed by the General Assembly in plenary meeting with the participation of Heads of Government are merely demonstrating how short-sighted their policies are and how unsound their calculations. It is in vain that the colonialists hope to halt the great movement of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence. The whole course of world history calls for the elimination of the time-worn colonial régime, whose final downfall is merely a matter of time. If the United Nations wishes to be faithful to its Charter, it should not stand aside from the solution of this problem.

18. It is for that reason that the Soviet delegation calls upon all the States to agree on concerted steps for the elimination of the colonial system of government in order to ensure that this natural and inevitable historical process should take place in such a way that peace and international security are preserved.

19. We appeal to the representatives of the African and Asian countries which recently acquired their independence, because we should like to see them imbued with a due sense of their responsibility at this juncture in history when the struggle of the colonial peoples for their complete liberation is gathering momentum. We address ourselves to the representatives of countries that have acceded to independence and have joined the United Nations on a footing of equality.

20. For centuries the colonialists have been sweating and bleeding your peoples, exploiting them mercilessly and crushing everything that was vital in your countries. Now that they can no longer pursue their policy of robbery, oppression and murder in your countries, they pretend to be your benefactors; they now pose as magnanimous Christians and are not even averse to censuring oppression and colonialism; they say that by their participation in the colonial system they were merely creating the necessary conditions in which to prepare your countries for independence and self-government. But those are the lies of robbers who know that they are robbers. They now wish to erase their crimes from the memory of the peoples they have been oppressing for centuries. That is why they are now courting you, giving receptions and making honeyed speeches.

21. Make no mistake about what I have said. We have immense experience and are well versed in the wiles and habits of the imperialist and colonialist oppress-

sors. They are doing all this in order to win you over to their side so that you, the representatives of the erstwhile colonial countries should today become the prop of the colonialists and should help them in their struggle to maintain the colonial system. As for the countries which have attained political independence, the colonialists are striving to create conditions in which they can continue to rob the people by taking advantage of the economic backwardness of these countries.

22. You must remember that the fate of your brothers in the continent of Africa largely depends on you. The colonialists wish to use you as a cat's paw for their dirty work, namely, to frustrate the adoption of the declaration on the freeing of all the colonial peoples. They wish to use you to tighten the rope round the neck of the colonial peoples and keep a stranglehold upon them. That is why the Soviet Government is calling upon you to show determination and to prove that you can defend other interests in addition to those of your own peoples and States and that, having acceded to independence, you remember those who are still languishing in colonial enslavement.

23. Our countries need not fear the illusory power of the colonialists. Right is on our side and so is the preponderance of force. If you give active support to the countries struggling against colonial oppression, we shall be in the majority. It is necessary to show fortitude and determination and to raise one's voice against the colonialists, whatever guise they may adopt. Every individual sitting in this hall is ultimately answerable to the people. Sooner or later the people will call their representative to account and will ask how he voted in the United Nations and whether he was in favour of the immediate and total abolition of colonial slavery and of freedom for all peoples, or whether he wavered.

24. We are calling for concerted efforts to combat colonialism. Let the colonial system be ended once and for all by the will of the people, and let all the colonies accede to independence and all peoples become free. The elimination of colonialism would be of paramount importance in easing international tension. The armed conflicts and wars of the post-war period such as the wars in Indonesia, Indo-China and Algeria, the aggression against Egypt, foreign intervention in Lebanon and Jordan, the plots against Syria and Iraq developed precisely because the colonialists and the imperialists wished to stifle the liberation movement and frustrate the national development of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As for the recent intervention against the Republic of the Congo, it has led to a deterioration in the international situation and has presented a threat to peace in Africa, and not in Africa alone. That is why we say that the problem of the total liquidation of the colonial system is, to a considerable extent, bound up with the maintenance and the strengthening of peace and international security.

25. The USSR delegation has submitted this question for consideration by the most representative organ of the United Nations, the General Assembly in plenary meeting. It is quite clearly essential to hold the debate in this forum and no other, and at the highest level with the participation of the Heads of Government. Discussion of the problem of the elimination of the colonial system directly in plenary meeting with the

participation of the Heads of Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Member States of the United Nations will invest the debate with the most authoritative character and secure the most favourable conditions for the successful solution of the problem within the framework of the United Nations.

26. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): We have just listened to a speech by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union which, in my opinion, was an insult to his audience, in that it assumed that those listening to it had a complete ignorance of the subject about which he was speaking. This is not the occasion for me to try to correct the fairy-tale picture presented this afternoon, for we are now dealing with a purely procedural matter. The purpose of our discussion here is to decide in what forum the Assembly should discuss this item which is already included in the agenda.

27. The Government of the United Kingdom recognizes that this item, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", deals with a subject which is of the greatest interest to most of the Members of this Assembly. The transition of colonial countries and peoples to the status of sovereign independence is one of the most important political developments at this period of history. It is one with which my Government is deeply and urgently concerned. Indeed, I believe that I can fairly say that there is probably no other Government represented in the Assembly which is more concerned with this problem than the Government of the United Kingdom. For this reason, the United Kingdom representative on the General Committee supported the inclusion of this item in the agenda and advocated that it should be allotted to the First Committee for consideration.

28. We would indeed welcome a serious discussion of this item. It is the hope of the United Kingdom delegation that debate on this subject will be responsible and constructive and that the vital principles involved will be discussed by all delegations in a way which pays proper regard to the real aspirations of all the peoples of the world for independence, peace and prosperity, and individual freedom. We think that this is the spirit in which the majority of the Members of the Assembly will wish to approach this matter.

29. It is the irrevocable policy of the United Kingdom—and this, as history has shown, is true of successive British Governments—to promote the independence of colonial countries and peoples with all speed. The history of the last fifteen years in Asia and Africa is evidence that this is no idealistic theory, but the firm basis of policy which has been and is being put into practice.

30. I recognize that there is room for differences of opinion on the way in which this policy has been carried out. There are often very difficult problems involved. The building up of new nations in a way which will prevent the dangers of internal strife is no simple matter. What I do contend is that the policy of the United Kingdom Government has consistently been to pursue this end in co-operation with the peoples concerned. I believe that our record on this score can stand examination.

31. The nature of real independence and the ways in which new nations can most effectively protect themselves from outside pressure is indeed a matter of

concern to the Assembly, and we in the United Kingdom believe that we have much to contribute to a true understanding of the principles and the factors involved.

32. I should have liked to think that in requesting the inclusion of this item in the agenda the Soviet Union was animated by a sincere desire to see a responsible discussion of these matters. Unfortunately, an examination of the declaration submitted by the Soviet delegation and the speech to which we have just listened this afternoon must, I am afraid, dispel this hope. It is obvious, from the terms of the speech we have listened to and of the Soviet memorandum, that the Soviet Union is not interested in any examination of the true nature of this problem.

33. The memorandum is cast, I regret to have to say, in terms which are, all too clearly, designed purely for propaganda purposes. There is no word of the responsible and constructive aspects of the work of those Powers that have had the responsibility for administering colonial territories, no word of the achievements in bringing to stable independence the many new countries in Asia and Africa, no word of the seriousness and complication of the problems involved or of the different circumstances in the various territories concerned.

34. In view of these considerations, my delegation does not believe that a debate in plenary meeting of the kind proposed by the Soviet Union, with a series of set speeches from this rostrum of the nature we have had to listen to today and yesterday, is the best way to proceed. By all means let us have a debate on this matter, but let us have it in the first place in Committee, where the various aspects of the problem can be seriously considered.

35. For these reasons, the United Kingdom delegation believes that the Assembly would be wise to reject the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union and to endorse the recommendation of the General Committee that the item should be allocated to the First Committee.

36. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): We have before us the proposal that the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" be allocated to plenary meeting. The essential point is, of course, that the matter should be considered in the United Nations. Some of the important aspects of this complex problem are, as we know, being dealt with in several of the Committees of the Assembly. We do feel, however, that a general discussion on the problem as a whole here in plenary meeting would be useful at the present juncture.

37. It would probably help in defining the position of the United Nations with regard to the problem of the emancipation of the dependent peoples, which is undoubtedly one of the vital issues of our time, and would indicate the main lines along which the Organization could at this stage contribute to the solution of this problem. It would thus assist the committees in their work on some of the more specific questions that have arisen within this general context and help the Assembly itself in discharging one of the essential responsibilities with which it is now confronted.

38. We shall, therefore, vote in favour of the proposal that this item be considered in plenary meeting.

39. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): In the debate on the General Assembly's agenda, the Western delegations have so far persistently endeavoured to minimize the importance of considering the questions which in fact are the most important. The Czechoslovak delegation is resolutely opposed to such attempts, and fully supports the proposal that the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" should be discussed in the highest forum, that is, in plenary meetings of the General Assembly. Such a course is indicated by this question's great importance, which has become clearly apparent at this session.

40. The amplitude of the national liberation and anti-colonial movement, the noteworthy successes which have been achieved by the peoples of Africa in the struggle for freedom in this very year, and the admission of a number of African countries to the United Nations—all this is important evidence of the fact that colonialism, characterized by the harshest oppression and unlimited exploitation of millions of people, is inevitably breaking up.

41. On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that more than a hundred million people are still living in conditions degrading to human dignity, conditions which are incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

42. Colonialism is the root cause of the poverty and backwardness of the colonial countries. It is enough to compare the appalling data on standards of living in the colonies with the profits of foreign monopolies. The peoples of the colonies are the victims of merciless exploitation, they are deprived of elementary rights and freedoms, they are treated with methods of the most cruel oppression, and their countries' economy, as an object of the foreign monopolies' greed for gain, is plundered.

43. Many speakers at this session of the General Assembly have rightly pointed out that colonialism breeds war and causes crises in the world which threaten universal peace and security. We fully agree with what, on the subject of colonialism, has been said in the general debate by Mr. Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, Mr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana, Mr. Sukarno, President of Indonesia, Mr. Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Mr. Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, and other statesmen.

44. It is today imperative that the General Assembly, in plenary meeting, should deal thoroughly with the question of the final elimination of colonialism and take resolute and effective steps to that end. We therefore believe that the Soviet delegation's initiative is correct and timely.

45. It is intolerable, in the second half of this century, when man is beginning to penetrate outer space and mankind is making rapid strides towards the summit in its ascent to civilization, that anywhere on our planet a people, or even a tribe, should remain in colonial bondage. It is incompatible with the noble purposes of the United Nations to pass over in silence the fact that certain States Members of the United Nations still exercise colonial domination in various parts of the world. If we believe there is a need to increase the prestige of the United Nations in the eyes of world opinion, one of the ways to do so

is through the ability of the United Nations to assist effectively in the final elimination of colonialism. Hence we strongly oppose the views of those who introduced in the General Committee a recommendation that the declaration against colonialism should be discussed in Committee, instead of in plenary meeting.

46. We are convinced that the peoples who are still suffering under colonial servitude will sooner or later free themselves and create their own independent States, whether the United Nations helps them to do so or not. The rotten imperialist system of colonialism is doomed to full and final extinction. No political, economic or military force of the colonial Powers will arrest the progressive liberation, from colonial slavery, of the peoples not yet freed from it.

47. But ought we to leave the process to nature and to chance? Can we ignore the fact that many of the still enslaved colonial nations are making heavy sacrifices in the struggle for their freedom, that the colonial Powers are continuing shamelessly to appropriate their wealth and are keeping the peoples of the colonies in poverty? Has the United Nations the right to exclude these burning questions from its most representative forum, the full General Assembly? Of course not. In accordance with the noble purposes and principles of its Charter, the United Nations is bound to put an end to the sufferings of the colonial peoples that are still enslaved, and to open up for them the way to complete freedom and independent development. Hence it is essential to consider the item submitted by the Government of the USSR responsibly in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

48. Colonialists who do not want to give up their domination often assert that a particular colonial people is not yet sufficiently mature to be capable of managing its own affairs. This argument was last used against the people of the Congo. We resolutely challenge that lie, which is a gross insult to the national pride of a colonial people. We can understand that the colonialists do not wish to leave. They know that they will lose by it; but it cannot be helped. The colonial mother countries will have to learn to live by their own efforts and not on the labour of others.

49. Lastly, to judge from the statements made by the representatives of the Western capitalist countries, the elimination of the remains of colonialism ought not to be a problem for them; indeed, they have sworn here that they are in favour of complete freedom for the peoples.

50. Similarly, it ought not to be a problem for them to find sufficient finance wherewith to assist the development of the newly emerging States. They could, for example, use for that purpose the millions of dollars which have hitherto been uselessly expended on subversive propaganda, diversion and spying against the socialist countries.

51. The practical experience of the new States which have emerged in the last few years as a result of the elimination of colonial domination shows clearly enough that if those States are assisted, and if they are protected from new and more subtle forms of colonialism, they are fully capable of life and development. We need only look at the rapid development of Guinea, Ghana and other independent States of Africa and Asia. Does their experience not utterly refute the lying assertion of the colonialists that the

peoples enslaved by them are insufficiently mature? On the contrary, slow development on the part of the colonial countries and their peoples is evidence that it is colonialism itself which stifles creative ability and talent in the enslaved peoples, and that an end must be put to it forever.

52. The sooner the colonialists depart, the better and faster will these countries consolidate their position and develop their economy and culture. With the removal of colonial exploitation, they will themselves freely settle the question of their natural resources so that those resources may be used for the benefit of their peoples and for the raising of those peoples' level of living.

53. The United Nations obligation to make the maximum contribution to the complete and final elimination of colonialism also stems from the interests of world peace and security. The long-drawn-out colonial war in Algeria and many other examples, the clearest of which is the dangerous situation created as a result of the colonialists' armed intervention in the Congo, are all proof that the question of the final elimination of colonialism is of vital concern to every people in the world and has become an urgent problem in the struggle to maintain world peace and remove the danger of war.

54. In the circumstances of today it is the duty of all peace-loving and really free States to assist, by every means in their power, the oppressed peoples of the colonies in their struggle for independence. This is particularly necessary in cases where the colonial Powers are trying to retain or restore their domination by means of open armed intervention. It cannot be doubted—and events in the Congo provide new and very striking confirmation of this—that attempts to suppress by force the freedom of peoples which are fighting for liberation from colonialist oppression immeasurably increase the danger of a terrible armed conflict, the results of which cannot even be imagined.

55. In this connexion, I wish once again to condemn the improper working of the United Nations machinery in the Congo where, in implementing the Security Council resolution, it has openly operated against the interests of the Congolese people and its lawful Central Government. Colonialism, however it may be disguised, must be finally destroyed.

56. The colonial peoples' struggle for national liberation has enjoyed, and will continue to enjoy, the sympathy and complete support of the Czechoslovak people and its Government. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers that the General Assembly is in duty bound to take practical steps to implement the principles of the United Nations Charter, and to see that the peoples which are still living under colonial oppression acquire freedom and independence without delay.

57. In these efforts an important role should be played by the African countries which have recently achieved independence as a result of their own liberation struggle. If they, side by side with the other anti-colonial countries, resolutely called for the immediate elimination of colonialism, they would undoubtedly be making a considerable contribution towards the reaching of that goal.

58. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is gratified that the Soviet Government's draft "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" has been included in the agenda of the fifteenth session. But, bearing in mind the importance of the question, it believes that it is entirely justifiable to request that this item, as one of the most important on the agenda, should be considered in plenary meeting.

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

59. Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana): Coming as I do from a country which was the first colonial territory south of the Sahara to gain its independence, it is only natural that I should make clear my delegation's position on the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the USSR.

60. My delegation believes that the discussion of the problem of granting independence to all colonial territories and peoples will meet with the approval of all delegations. All the colonial Powers except Portugal maintain that the ultimate aim of their colonial policy is to prepare the colonial countries for independence. This process has already led to the emergence into nationhood of a number of States in Asia and Africa, and this year has in fact led to the emergence of seventeen new countries which are now proud Members of the Assembly.

61. Despite the declared intent of the colonial Powers, the path to freedom of the colonial peoples is often beset by suspicion, disturbances, repressions and little wars which often threaten world peace. In one notable instance, relations among three States Members of this Assembly were bedevilled by differences of opinion as to the ultimate end of colonial rule.

62. It is the view of my delegation that the doubts which beset the colonial peoples—and by "colonial peoples" I mean colonial peoples in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa—about their destiny should be removed once and for all by the General Assembly. Once the professions of the colonial Powers are backed by the authority of the Assembly, it may be possible for the colonial peoples to concentrate their efforts on the assumption of the apparatus of government. My delegation does not hold the view that there is any problem about a people being ripe for self-government. All peoples have the social and governmental organization which enables them to maintain cohesion and strive for national unity. Colonialism has deprived the colonial peoples of the birthright of the natural evolution of their social and governmental organizations. Herein lies the necessity for preparation for independence. But if there is not a time limit how can one avoid a situation in which that preparation goes on indefinitely?

63. A declaration on the granting of independence to all the colonial peoples will enable both the colonial peoples and the metropolitan Powers to work together towards one goal instead of working in different and often opposite directions.

64. My delegation would indeed have liked to see the item submitted by the United States—"Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development"—also discussed in plenary, but we are content to leave the item with the First Committee because in this case a detailed study is called for to enable

a proper programme for development to be drawn up. The Soviet item, on the other hand, involves a mere declaration. And where can such an important declaration be made except in the General Assembly, in plenary meeting. May I remind representatives that in the operative paragraph of the draft resolution there is reference to a declaration. By its nature, the question would be best discussed in plenary meeting.

65. The agenda of this session is very heavy. One advantage of allocating this item to plenary meetings would be to save the unnecessary debate and repetition involved in referring the matter to a plenary meeting after consideration in a Committee; this would save valuable time.

66. This is the first time that the General Assembly has been called upon to make a definite declaration of this kind. Surely there can be no objection in this Assembly to a declaration of independence. Even the colonial Powers themselves cannot object to that. After all, most colonial Powers are committed to granting independence to territories which are at the moment under their sovereignty. For example, France has seen fit not to oppose the legitimate demand for independence of most of the territories under its authority. We have, however, yet to see Mauritania and Algeria free from the shackles of imperialism. The United Kingdom, too, has not done badly, but, although the legitimacy of independence has been accepted by it, there are countries like Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika which have yet to obtain their freedom. The policy of the colonial Powers is committed to the granting of independence, and there can therefore be no objection in the Assembly to the adoption of a mere declaration. Perhaps the only colonial Power which will oppose a declaration will be Portugal.

67. It is my delegation's view, therefore, that if this matter of a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is worthy of consideration, it could best be discussed in plenary.

68. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): In view of the way in which the present debate is developing, and in view also of the tenor of the debate which took place yesterday afternoon [900th meeting], it seems to us necessary to recall from time to time that the Assembly is now considering what is essentially a procedural question. The only issue before us is whether the debate on a particular item should be conducted in plenary or in the First Committee, as the General Committee has recommended.

69. In the ordinary way the Assembly has not lost time in debating such questions as this one. In the case of the adoption of items recommended by the General Committee for inclusion in the agenda, the rules of procedure specifically provide that there shall be no more than three speakers on each side. There is no similar rule applying to the allocation of items, and this is no doubt because it was contemplated that the simple question of allocation could afford no occasion for lengthy debate. As we have seen, however, it is possible to use the latitude given by the rules of procedure to mount a debate on the substance of the item to be allocated. My delegation believes that the precedent is a bad one. Rule 67 of the Assembly's rules of procedure embodies the principle that:

"The General Assembly shall not, unless it decides otherwise, make a final decision upon any item on the agenda until it has received the report of a committee on that item."

In the present case the General Committee has recommended that the ordinary course be followed. Since that recommendation is disputed, it should be possible for the Assembly to take a decision in a prompt and businesslike way without in the least prejudicing the discussions on substance which are still to come.

70. The plenary meetings of the General Assembly provide the appropriate and only forum in which to place finally on record the collective opinion of the majority of the Members of this world Organization. My delegation believes that in exceptional cases, when the facts require no sifting, when the issues are simple and well understood, when there is nothing to be done except state the opinion of a qualified majority, the Assembly may reasonably decide to dispense with the Committee stage. We do not, however, believe that the item now in question can fairly be regarded as falling within that exceptional category.

71. The explanatory memorandum which accompanies the request for the inclusion of the item shows that the sponsor has no less than three objectives in mind. The first of these objectives is to persuade the Assembly to declare that all dependent and trust territories should forthwith be granted complete independence. Such a declaration would not merely go beyond the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It would in effect set aside completely the conceptions of orderly progress and the continuing obligations which the Charter embodies. Article 73 of the Charter obliges Member States which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to "recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount" and constitute "a sacred trust". The Administering Power is specifically bound:

"... to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to"—and I emphasize this phrase—"the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

72. The Trusteeship System established by the Charter is based on the same principle of continuing responsibility for the evolution and advancement of dependent territories, and it is not the practice of the Assembly to release any Administering Power from its obligations toward a Trust Territory until the Assembly is satisfied that the particular territory in question is ready and able to stand on its own feet. The presence among us of the representatives of so many new States is the best indication of the principles and obligations created by the Charter and voluntarily accepted by all Member States.

73. The sponsor of the item advocates a radically different view. In its contention, all dependent territories are, by definition, exploited and oppressed. There would seem to be no room for a constructive partnership leading to the fulfilment of Charter aims and purposes, though all the experience of this Organization, I submit, proves the contrary, and though all the meetings of the Trusteeship Council, the Com-

mittee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the Fourth Committee proceed on a different basis.

74. This is not the time to go into the merits of the Soviet proposal, except in so far as may be necessary to show that it requires more than superficial treatment. What is here called in question is important sections of the United Nations Charter and the practice of this Organization over the whole period of its existence. The sponsor of the item advocates a course of action which would not, we submit, take into account—and again I use the language of the Charter—"the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

75. I do not think it necessary to deal with the second and third objectives stated in the Soviet memorandum. I would only remark that they also raise contentious issues which cannot adequately be resolved in a plenary discussion.

76. It is surely apparent that the item we are now considering has far-reaching and complex implications. New Zealand has great faith in the Charter of the United Nations and takes pride in the steady and rapid progress which has been made, and is still being made, under the aegis of this Organization to promote the advancement of dependent peoples and territories to self-government and independence. We believe in orderly, even if painstaking, procedures, both in that larger context and in the particular context which the Assembly is now considering.

77. In our submission, the Assembly should follow its ordinary practice by entrusting this item to a Committee for examination on its real merits.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

78. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from Russian): The fifteenth session of the General Assembly has assumed exceptional significance mainly because of the importance of three items proposed by the Soviet Union: disarmament and the situation with regard to the non-fulfilment of the relevant resolution [1378 (XIV)] of November 1959; the elimination of colonialism, and, in that connexion, the submission of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and the menace to peace created by aggressive actions of the United States of America against the Soviet Union.

79. These questions are directly and most intimately connected with the cardinal problems of our time—the problems of peaceful coexistence, of peace and war. For this reason the peoples of all countries rightly expected the General Assembly to proceed to the immediate discussion of the USSR proposals, with a view to arriving at decisions that would open wide the door to peace with the least possible delay.

80. However, it must be noted that discussion of these items and, *a fortiori*, the taking of any decisions on them have run into opposition on the part of the imperialist forces headed by the United States of America and its principal allies, the NATO countries. By the statements they have made and the positions they have taken here, and by the manoeuvres to which they have resorted, the representatives of these forces have demonstrated that they are continuing in their policy of aggravating and complicating the international situation. This is also apparent from the attitude of

these gentlemen to the question of doing away with colonialism.

81. One of the main features of our time is the collapse of the colonial system. After a long and hard-fought struggle involving many sacrifices, a number of colonial and semi-colonial peoples have freed themselves from colonial bondage. In less than two decades, a tempestuous and irresistible movement for national liberation in the colonies has brought statehood to dozens of new nations; and this movement is so powerful, the sympathies and support it inspires are so universal, that today even the fiercest colonialist die-hards are compelled to admit that colonialism is living its last days. However, colonialism is not dead yet. It is even seeking undercover forms which would enable it to preserve its domination and predatory interests.

82. The proposal of the Soviet Government that the United Nations should adopt a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples therefore constitutes an initiative of great humanitarian and immense political significance. The adoption of this declaration by the General Assembly would give the oppressed colonial peoples the assurance that they will gain their freedom and soon be independent. This would make it possible to reduce tensions in those countries and would eliminate many sources of conflict.

83. The colonial Powers, however, are of a different opinion. We have been hearing the colonialist representatives touchingly describe the "joys" of the colonial régime. According to them, the enslaved colonial peoples have had nothing at all to complain of, and the United Nations ought to thank the colonialists for their good deeds in the countries subjugated by them.

84. The representative of the United Kingdom, in his statement from this rostrum, has once again shown how colonialists, who for centuries robbed and ruined colonial peoples, boast of their role as enslavers. They are offended when told the truth to their face, and that we understand. The truth about the grim history of colonialism is certainly unpleasant.

85. True to their old habit of distorting the facts, the colonialists are trying to make out that, since colonialism is approaching its end, it is not even worth talking about. May I say, in passing, that this is the same type of reasoning as that used by the same circles in their attempts to justify and approve the revival of militarism and "revanchisme" in Western Germany: since nazism is dead—the reasoning goes—there is no need to speak of it, even though it is being revived, without interference, by the policy of Adenauer and the imperialists who inspire him.

86. In the circumstances in which the colonialists found themselves, it is certainly no accident that the United States of America again undertook to play a leading role. The representative of the United States hastened to be the first to take a negative position on the declaration proposed by the USSR, and this on the very day of its introduction. Nor is it any secret that the United States has taken over leadership of the reactionary colonialist forces, that with the aid of its support and intervention the colonialist Powers are continuing to oppress the peoples of their colonies. It is the imperialist forces of the United States that play the leading role in the Western alliances around

which the colonialist elements have rallied in their efforts to preserve the last vestiges of the crumbling colonial system.

87. It is common knowledge, for instance, that in the war against the Algerian people use is being made of arms and war material supplied by the United States either directly or through NATO.

88. The events in the Congo have shown that the colonial Powers are using the United Nations, the Secretariat and the Secretary-General as tools in the business of preserving, in one way or another, their colonial interests and privileges.

89. The representatives of NATO members shrink from a broad discussion of the declaration proposed by the Soviet Government. They are trying to repeat the manoeuvre to which they resorted in the matter of disarmament: since they cannot openly pronounce themselves against the declaration, they propose that it should not be discussed in plenary meetings. The Bulgarian delegation resolutely opposes that proposal. The demand that the item be referred to the First Committee reflects aims which cannot benefit either the colonial peoples or the United Nations. It is an attempt to change the significance of the item, put it on another plane and, by avoiding a basic solution, in effect enable the colonialists to continue their domination. But such great and basic questions of our time as disarmament and the elimination of colonialism cannot be disposed of by machinations and procedural devices. The declaration proposed by the Government of the USSR may be rejected. In that case, those who blindly obey United States imperialism will have to answer for it to their own peoples.

90. But will the problem of doing away with the remnants of the shameful colonial system, where it still exists, have been dealt with by such a rejection in this hall? No, it will not. The declaration has already taken its place in the historic march of the peoples towards the complete elimination of the colonial system. Its ideas cannot be swept aside, for they already exist in the hearts and minds of the struggling colonial peoples. In vain do the colonialists try to shift their own guilt to others, by speaking of the emotion which the Soviet draft declaration against colonialism would excite among oppressed peoples. It is not emotion, but struggle—even armed struggle—against colonialist slavery, which is the order of the day in the colonies. That struggle is being carried on and will continue, not because of the Soviet declaration, but because colonial slavery still exists. Do away with it, and the struggle will end.

91. The United Nations, and all Member States which sincerely seek the elimination of colonial conditions, will only gain from the adoption of the Soviet draft declaration. Their peoples will gain, because the solution of such problems is to the benefit and in the interests of all mankind. It is peace on earth that will gain.

92. The task and duty of the United Nations is not to facilitate the manoeuvres of the colonialists and of those who defend the last strongholds of colonialism, but to assist the colonial peoples in their fight for freedom and independence. The United Nations must openly declare that it condemns colonialism, and thereby help the colonial peoples speedily to throw off the shameful yoke of colonial slavery.

93. The Bulgarian delegation will therefore vote against the recommendation of the General Committee and insist that the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, proposed by the Soviet delegation, should be discussed and adopted in plenary meeting.

94. Mr. TOURE Ismael (Guinea) (translated from French): My delegation noted with great interest the statement which the United Kingdom representative made from this rostrum a short while ago. The representative of the United Kingdom, one of the colonial Powers which still has responsibilities of that nature in Africa, rightly said that the question of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples was of great interest. In his view, therefore, it was an important question.

95. We also note that he did not say that he agreed that all colonial peoples should be granted independence, or in other words freedom, and that freedom should be given immediately to all peoples still deprived of it, as has been repeatedly demanded by some delegations from Africa, Asia and elsewhere, which were not afraid of being accused of making propaganda in saying plainly that the time had come for the world to deal with this serious problem.

96. I should also like to remind the United Kingdom representative that the African delegations are not afraid of propaganda, especially where the freedom of their peoples is concerned, and that anyone who believes that propaganda can have any effect on us is mistaken. It was not through propaganda that our peoples obtained freedom and it is not by propaganda that they can now be kept under the yoke. On the contrary, we think it shows a lack of understanding to refuse to consider a question of such importance in plenary session, on the mere pretext that it might be made the subject of propaganda.

97. I say plainly that some delegations are prepared to make the question of the granting of independence to colonial peoples a subject of propaganda. Let them do so; but, as far as we are concerned, it is a crucial question for freedom in Africa and for peace in the world. Whether we like it or not, the question of the granting of independence to peoples still deprived of it is a fundamental question which, as has often been stated here, is directly linked with the question of peace itself. We all know that hot or cold wars, wars of colonial extermination or so-called world wars stem from the same causes and have, in the final analysis, the same effects. Wars are as inseparable as freedom is indivisible. Since the last great war, the world has realized that freedom is indivisible, and that is what justifies our presence here in the United Nations.

98. Consequently, it is impossible to avoid the discussion of certain subjects by placing them in the context of the cold war, which does not concern us. But although the cold war does not concern the African delegations, the question of the granting of independence is, on the contrary, of vital and overriding concern to us and the African delegations will ask for that question to be discussed in plenary session.

99. My delegation has already said that during the fourteenth session we raised the same question in the Fourth Committee [985th and 986th meetings]; in a draft resolution which I had the honour to submit

on behalf of my delegation, we asked that all this hypocrisy, all these minute examinations of events and of the consequences of the colonial system, should be brought to an end and that all peoples should simply be granted that which is theirs by right, namely unconditional freedom. That was what we asked for in the Fourth Committee during the previous session.

100. Therefore, whether the question is discussed in the First Committee or in plenary session, we cannot but support any initiative to treat it as an important question, because it is an important question and because it affects hundreds of thousands of human beings.

101. We have also said on several occasions that all peoples are capable of self-government, provided that they are free, but that so long as they are not free it is useless to try to prove their greater or lesser capacity for self-government. That must be clearly understood. If you want to know whether a man is capable of walking or whether he is capable of running, you must first break the chains which bind him. So long as he is in chains, you have no right to ask whether he can run or walk. First break his chains and then people will know that you are sincere and that you really want to see the man walk, run, or even fly.

102. The liquidation of the colonial system is therefore, in our view, one of the most urgent and important tasks of the United Nations.

103. I could of course mention several questions which have been the subject of an urgent request that they should be discussed in plenary session. But no one can come to this rostrum and maintain that the question of the granting of independence to some hundreds of thousands of human beings is a question which does not merit discussion in plenary session, especially since we shall be discussing a simple declaration. It is true that, if all delegations agreed that unconditional freedom should be given to all peoples, no delegation would object to such a declaration being made in plenary session. We have few illusions, but we know that it would be honourable for the United Nations to approach this problem frankly and not to evade the issue by making it a question of the cold war.

104. The question of assistance to the under-developed countries has been much discussed, and in his statement the Guinean Head of State rightly said that the whole world is now in agreement on the need to concern itself with the under-developed countries [896th meeting]. I should like to stress that if we want to prove our desire to assist the colonial peoples the first step, the first practical manifestation of our assistance, would be to grant those peoples the freedom which must be theirs; if we wish to assist them, we must first liberate them; we must recognize them as human beings, with human capabilities; we must recognize their civilization, for those peoples have a civilization of their own. We must also recognize their capabilities in every other direction. If, therefore, we have denounced charity, it is because we know that there are some who are oppressing our peoples, and stealing their wealth, and those same people, at the very time when they are robbing us of our wealth, speak of helping our peoples. That, to us, is hypocrisy and we must say so loudly and clearly, so that it may be known.

105. Consequently, we see no difference between colonies, Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories. There are no degrees of freedom, just as there are no degrees of the lack of freedom. When a people is not free, whether it be called a colonial people or a people under trusteeship, it is deprived of its dearest right, its most noble right. Hence the first concern of the peoples that we represent here is freedom and national independence.

106. Our membership of the United Nations would be meaningless if we did not take a firm stand in such a debate and if we did not inform the blocs—if there are blocs—that we Africans judge their attitude to our countries by their active support for such a debate and by their unreserved and public acceptance of such a debate. We do not wish to hide when our freedom is under discussion. The matter must be debated in plenary session. That is not just a wish on our part; we believe that if people want to help us they must go the whole way and must vote in favour of any proposal for discussion of the question in plenary meeting.

107. Consequently, my delegation cannot but support the proposal that this question should be discussed in plenary session. As I said before, we have few illusions; we know that there are some who cannot support such a declaration, but let them at least remain silent. If they are not prepared to surrender their interests, let them refrain from making hypocritical statements here. That is what they should understand.

108. All the delegations which are prepared to discuss this question, whether in the First Committee or elsewhere, because they accept the principle of freedom for Africa see no objection to the question being taken up in plenary session. Reasoning here is always topsy-turvy. How do men of sincerity reason? They reason thus: first, the question of the liberation of the colonies is an important question; we are ready to discuss it, even bilaterally. Secondly, therefore, we should also agree that it should be discussed in the Fourth Committee, the First Committee and even, if desired, in plenary. Why should not that be approved? What is the difference between the First Committee and the plenary meeting? We believe that, if there is any difference between the two, it is a matter of the interests which some are not willing to surrender. As, therefore, those interests are detrimental to Africa, we have the right to bring them to the notice of other delegations, and to denounce those interests. We speak for no one else, but for ourselves, since our purpose here is to see that the independence which we have wrested from the colonialist system should serve to accelerate the process of liberation throughout the continent.

109. It is not simply a question of political liberation, but of genuine liberation for no people here would accept slavery. The African peoples are the equals of all other peoples of the world; they have the same aspirations; they are therefore no longer willing to conduct themselves as inferior peoples, nor will they allow themselves to be regarded as inferiors. The inferiority of a people begins with loss of liberty and with acceptance of the discussion by others of its future, its maximum capacity for self-government, its civilization, etc. We can no longer tolerate that.

110. We have said that the problems of Africa, the problem of African development and the problem of peace will henceforth be linked. Those who sincerely

desire that the world should live in peace must accept the immediate liberation of the African continent. I will end on those words, leaving it to the delegations from Africa and Asia and to all freedom-loving delegations, those who believe in the brotherhood of man, to give the answer to the question which is before the General Assembly.

111. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): I have already had occasion, during the discussion in the General Committee [130th meeting], to explain in detail the reasons why we feel that it is highly desirable to discuss the question of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in plenary. I shall not, therefore, take up the Assembly's time in repeating those reasons. Suffice it for me to say that, in view of the importance of the discussion of such a vital question, it is highly desirable that it should be debated directly in plenary meetings, particularly at this session, which has been marked by the admission of a substantial number of new Member States, and during this year, which has been rightly called the year of Africa.

112. I should like to recall that we have also expressed the opinion that the item entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development" could also be debated in plenary. I agree, however, with the representative of Ghana that in view of the technical character of that problem it might perhaps be more useful to discuss it in the First Committee.

113. On the other hand, since this is a solemn declaration of principle on which everyone seems to agree, the Libyan delegation will support the Soviet Union amendment [A/L.312/Rev.1] whereby this matter would be discussed in plenary, in the hope that the community of nations will give its final approval to the abolition of colonialism, thus heralding an era in which all countries and peoples will see their right to independence solemnly and irrevocably upheld by the United Nations.

114. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): I felt it my duty to speak on this occasion merely in order to act as spokesman for a people that wishes its voice to be heard. I am certain that I shall be understood and in order to discharge this duty more effectively I am simply going to read out to you a document which I have just received here in New York from the Association of nationals of the enclave of Cabinda:

"Leopoldville, 1 October 1960. To the representative of the Republic of the Congo, capital Brazzaville, in New York. Your Excellency, the Cabinda people utter a cry of alarm and address a profound and brotherly appeal to all independent countries of the Afro-Asian bloc, Members of the United Nations, for their aid and support in its decisive struggle for the liberation of its country, the Cabinda protectorate."

115. Cabinda is a country covering about 7,000 square kilometres, hemmed in by the two Congo republics on one side and the Atlantic Ocean on the other. It has only 60,000 inhabitants. Fleeing from Portuguese oppression, a similar number of people, seeking a better life, have escaped to neighbouring countries where some families go back three generations, all of them born outside the national territory. Cabinda is self-

sufficient. It is a country three-quarters of whose territory is covered with forests rich in vegetable oils...

116. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt speakers, but I would like to recall that we are at present in a procedural debate and what we are really discussing is the allocation of items. We are not discussing the merit or the substance of the questions before us. They are only relevant to the extent to which they bear on the question of the allocation of items. I would, therefore, ask speakers kindly to confine themselves, as far as possible, to the point which is actually at issue, namely, the allocation of items, and to leave the substance and the merits of the questions until the items are in due course discussed, in whatever committee or forum that may be.

117. I would ask the speaker to be kind enough to continue.

118. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): Thank you, Mr. President, but I think I heard the speakers who preceded me at this rostrum taking advantage of this discussion to say more or less everything that came into their minds in order to explain how they are going to vote. For that reason, I felt it was also my duty to say what I thought, in order to explain my vote. I do not think that I am here merely to explain my own feelings but I must also explain the feelings of the peoples who are waiting at home, for if people address an appeal to the representatives in this Hall it is in order that their brothers here may act as their spokesmen. I do not think that I have abused the patience of anybody. I feel that I am merely fulfilling a duty, for I have been called upon by my brothers to fulfil that duty before the whole world, before this Assembly which represents the world. I shall therefore continue, as permission has been granted me to do so.

119. The PRESIDENT: I certainly have no intention whatever of depriving the speaker of any right to which he is entitled. It is a question of the time and the manner in which the right is exercised, and I am afraid that it must be exercised in keeping with the rules of procedure. The question before the Assembly at the moment is to what forum this question should be allocated. It is quite true to say that some previous speakers have been permitted considerable latitude on this point, but we do want to try to determine this matter this afternoon and I must ask speakers kindly to keep to the point under discussion.

120. Perhaps the speaker will be kind enough to continue.

121. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): I am a novice here and represent a young State. I have come from far away, from a country in Africa embedded in vast forests. If I have correctly understood the remarks made by the United Kingdom representative earlier in the meeting, I think that from that moment onwards the speakers should have been interrupted. The list of speakers should in fact have been closed for a number of them spoke subsequently and explained their views, going into the substance of the question and stating the position of their delegations on it. I felt that I too could take this opportunity of asking to speak in order to explain my position in the vote which is about to take place. It is far from my intention to engage in a dispute with the

President. I merely wished to take advantage of the fact that others have been able to speak here as they felt it was their duty to speak. Above all, I should not wish my speech to give rise to an incident between myself, a simple speaker, and the President of the General Assembly.

122. With the President's permission, I was saying just now that Cabinda is self-sufficient. It is a country three-quarters of whose territory is covered with forests rich in vegetable oils...

123. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry that the speaker has not thought it fit to respond to my appeal for his co-operation. I would hesitate to rule him out of order, but I have told him what the rules of procedure are and he must realize that, for the Chair, it is a matter of duty to ensure due compliance with them. I am sorry that I am not able to give him permission to embark now on a discussion of matters which are not before the Assembly. That is not relevant and, therefore, it is not in order. I would ask him kindly to address himself and his arguments to the issue which is before the Assembly: that is, whether this item should be allocated to the First Committee or to plenary, and his arguments must relate to that question. I am sorry to insist, but the rules of procedure leave me no option.

124. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): I understand but I wish to express my regret that the rules of procedure have been invoked in connexion with my statement only.

125. Various African delegations have received the document which I felt it was my duty to read out at this public meeting. I wish to state that my delegation, in the light of its statement last week [891st meeting], will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

126. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): My delegation could never oppose the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, no matter where it was discussed. We can never have lasting peace until all peoples are free and independent. We can never have a free world until all the people are free.

127. Tutelage in any form, however benevolent, is obnoxious. Africa is the last bastion of colonialism. Colonized people are no longer prepared to have their freedom or independence delayed or postponed on the ground of unpreparedness or under the guise of some sacred trust. We have seen that many countries, after a tutelage of over a hundred years, are still considered as being unprepared for self-government. However, according to Western standards, a thousand years will not suffice for a people to attain independence when they are denied education and are barred from the simple art of learning to govern themselves.

128. In many of the new countries of Africa the same argument is often used, but these new States have not collapsed for want of knowing, but, in many cases have improved their education, their social standards and other national improvement in their countries. They have accomplished in such a short period of their national existence what would have taken the colonial powers fifty, sixty or perhaps one hundred years to accomplish.

129. We have often heard the colonial Powers speak of their great improvements in their colonies in re-

gard to roads, irrigation, harbours, mining and other agricultural-industrial improvements. But when we consider the plight of the aborigines who are forced to live in separate quarters, denied decent facilities, we cannot help thinking for whose benefit these improvements are made. One feeds the cow not for the good of the cow itself but for the milk it produces. For that reason we will vote for this question being discussed in the plenary session.

130. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): The attitude of my delegation on the question of colonialism is well known and needs no explanation here. We have supported firmly and unequivocally the right of every people to freedom and independence. Ever since our great national revolution of July 1958, when our people eliminated the last vestiges of foreign domination and influence, Iraq has been in the forefront of the fight for the rights of the colonial peoples, and we are very proud and grateful that our stand in defence of the cause of African freedom has met with the appreciation and approval of the African peoples themselves. They know, no doubt, that our support for their aspirations stems not from any selfish or ulterior motives, but from the feeling of solidarity and sympathy that oppressed peoples have always had for each other.

131. It was natural, therefore, that we should warmly welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union in bringing this item into the Assembly this year. When the question of allocation was discussed in the General Committee, we expressed the opinion [130th meeting] that the matter would better be discussed in the Fourth Committee, which is the organ especially entrusted with the consideration of questions relating to dependent territories. In making this suggestion in the General Committee, we had in mind the draft resolution submitted last year by the delegation of Guinea in the Fourth Committee [A/C.4/L.628] proposing target dates for the attainment of independence of colonial and Trust Territories. It seemed to us that the Soviet proposal this year was of the same character. We fully share the view expressed by the President of the Republic of Guinea a few days ago when he said:

"... there can be no reason for the General Assembly not to give consideration to the proposal submitted by Guinea at the fourteenth session and taken up this year by the Soviet Union." [896th meeting, para. 120.]

This was precisely our view when we suggested in the General Committee that the Soviet proposal which, as the President of the Republic of Guinea said, is an extension of the Guinea proposal of 1959, should be taken up in the Fourth Committee, as was the Guinea proposal last year.

132. However, the situation now facing the Assembly is quite different from that in the General Committee. Only two alternatives are open to us now, and it is in this light that my delegation considered the question and came to the conclusion that between the plenary and the First Committee, discussion in the plenary would seem more logical, since we see no connexion at all between the First Committee and the matter under discussion.

133. If the principle of referring the question to a Committee were accepted, we would have insisted

on referring it to the Fourth rather than the First Committee. However, since the choice before us is restricted to the plenary or the First Committee, my delegation prefers the plenary, and will accordingly vote in favour of the Soviet amendment.

134. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): My delegation, the Philippine delegation, attaches great importance to this item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", the allocation of which is now under discussion.

135. We have been a colonized country. We have passed through all the trials and tribulations of a colonized people. It took us centuries and centuries to fight, to struggle, and to win our fight for the recognition of our independence, and, therefore, it would only be consistent with our history, our experience and our aspirations as a people that we vote in favour of having this item referred to the highest possible level of the General Assembly.

136. While this is not the occasion to discuss the substance of the item, I would like to place on record my delegation's view on the import as well as on the scope, the extent, the metes and bounds of this item. We feel this to be necessary in view of the statements made at the start of our meeting by the Premier of the Soviet Union. It is our view that the declaration proposed by the Soviet Union should cover the inalienable right to independence not only of the peoples and territories which yet remain under the rule of Western colonial Powers, but also of the peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere which have been deprived of the free exercise of their civil and political rights and which have been swallowed up, so to speak, by the Soviet Union.

137. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (from the floor): Point of order.

138. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the speaker at the rostrum kindly to stand aside or resume his seat while I deal with the point of order which has been raised from the floor.

139. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): Mr. President, I shall do so. I had to explain the reasons for our vote on this amendment.

140. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (from the floor): Point of order.

141. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the speaker at the rostrum kindly to stand aside for a moment while I hear and deal with a point of order which has been raised from the floor.

142. I call on the representative of Romania on a point of order.

143. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): I appeal to the President and request him to call to order the speaker to whom he gave the floor a few moments ago and who has just been speaking from this rostrum.

144. I protest vigorously because I consider that in this Hall he should not be allowed to address insults to States Members of the United Nations which enjoy sovereign independence and have equal rights as Members of the Organization. I feel that the President should not allow slanderous charges to be made from this rostrum against Members of the United Nations.

145. The PRESIDENT: The Chair did not understand the representative of the Philippines to be actually out of order. The justification of his remarks is a matter for the judgement of the Assembly. I call upon the representative of the Philippines to continue.
146. Mr. SUMILONG (Philippines): Thank you, Mr. President. With the permission of the Assembly may I now proceed?
147. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (from the floor): Point of order.
148. The PRESIDENT: A point of order has been raised from the floor. I would ask the speaker at the rostrum kindly to stand aside while I deal with it. I give the floor to the representative of Romania on a point of order.
149. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I was under the impression that it was your duty, as President of the General Assembly, to conduct the discussions in such a way that Members of the United Nations present here are not insulted from this rostrum.
150. I appeal to you again and request you to call to order the speaker who has just occupied this rostrum.
151. We are discussing the abolition of the colonial system and the fate of peoples and countries which are not represented in this Assembly; there are still dozens of such countries. That is the subject on which we must speak. By allowing independent countries, Members of the Assembly, to be insulted from the rostrum and imposing silence on representatives of countries which not long ago were under colonial domination, you are not upholding the dignity of your office, which is to conduct the debates of this Assembly impartially.
152. I consider that it is your duty to ensure that Member States are treated with respect and to require speakers to keep to the item under discussion, namely, the problem of the peoples and countries which are not represented here and which are at present under the domination of the great and small colonial Powers whose representatives are sitting in this Assembly. The declaration concerning the final abolition of the colonial system has been submitted for discussion by our Assembly in order that they may obtain freedom a little earlier and enjoy the right to sit here side by side with the representatives of all the peoples of the world.
153. The PRESIDENT: There was no element of personal insult in the remarks of the representative of the Philippines. He made a statement of a political and controversial nature with which obviously a large number of delegations do not agree, but it is entirely in order for such statements to be made in the Assembly, and no point of order arises with regard to them. We must be prepared in the Assembly to hear stated views with which we strongly disagree. I would now ask the representative of the Philippines to continue.
154. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (from the floor): Point of order.
155. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the speaker at the rostrum kindly to stand aside once again while I deal with a point of order which has been raised from the floor. I call on the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union on a point of order.
156. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (translated from Russian): I protest against the inconsistent attitude adopted towards representatives of States present in this Assembly. Why, when a gentleman representing his country—the Congo—was speaking here, did the President of the Assembly stop him? Why? He simply referred to a telegram he had received from his brothers who are still suffering under colonial oppression. But the President stopped him, saying that that was a question of substance whereas we were discussing only a procedural question.
157. But why, then, when this toady of American imperialism rises and speaks about matters which are entirely non-procedural, does the President, who is evidently in sympathy with colonial domination, not stop him? Is that fair? No, it is not fair.
158. Mr. President, we live on earth not by the grace of God nor, Sir, by your grace, but by the strength and intelligence of the great people of the Soviet Union and of all the peoples which are fighting for their independence.
159. You will not be able to smother the voice of the peoples, the voice of truth, which rings aloud and will go on ringing. Death and destruction to colonial servitude! Away with it! We must bury it, and the deeper the better.
160. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Philippines to continue.
161. Mr. SUMILONG (Philippines): Before I proceed, Mr. President, I would make it very clear that my delegation and I have no desire to wound the feelings and sensibilities of any Member State or any delegation represented in the General Assembly.
162. But we are here to discuss a very important question. And my delegation feels that we have to express our ideas here freely and without reservation, irrespective of whatever consequences my words may have on the opposing views of any delegation on this particular question. But I repeat: We have no desire to wound, to hurt, the sensibilities of any delegation.
163. We are asked to vote on the allocation of an item entitled: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". And I submit that before my delegation votes on this question we have to make our position crystal clear, our belief as to the meaning and understanding of the word "independence" contained in the declaration.
164. The delegation of Ghana has just recalled to us that all or nearly all of the Western colonial Powers stand committed to a policy of granting independence to the remaining territories under their control. That policy has resulted this year in the accession of no less than seventeen new countries to a sovereign and independent status, and we have no doubt that this process will continue until the last dependent territory is freed from foreign rule. But what of the countries that have fallen under Soviet domination and control?
165. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the speaker at the rostrum to be good enough to avoid wandering out into an argument which is certain to provoke further

interventions and which is bound to be very prejudicial to the decorum of this debate.

166. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): My delegation would be the first to abide by the rules of this Assembly. But I think the example has been set. Other delegations have come to this rostrum to state their views, mincing no words, and if my delegation has erred in this respect, we are only following the example set by others.

167. If the United Nations is to proclaim a declaration on the right of subjugated peoples to independence, I ask is it fair, is it just, is it moral.

168. The PRESIDENT: The Chair must insist and must really ask delegates to accord a more willing and greater degree of co-operation to the Chair in the interest of the dignity of the Assembly's debates.

169. We are at present discussing a declaration for the granting of independence to colonial territories and peoples. The scope of that proposal is clear. We are concerned solely with the allocation of the item. The suggestion that we should go further and discuss something else which is not comprised within this proposal is not in order, and I must finally ask the representative of the Philippines to try to confine himself to the procedural issue which we are discussing—to what forum this item, which was proposed by the Soviet Union, should be allocated. Anything else is, I am afraid, out of order.

170. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): Mr. President, I was in the process of explaining the reasons which will impel my delegation to vote at the proper time in favour of having this item allocated to the highest possible level—to the plenary meeting of this Assembly. But I think we have a right to explain why we are voting in that way. In order to explain our vote and our position in this matter, we have to give our understanding of the meaning of the word "independence".

171. As I said before, we have been a colonized country. We know what it means to be colonized. We know the difference between being a colonized people and being an independent and sovereign people. We have been under the control and subjugation of Spain, the United States and Japan. We understand what it means to be a subjugated people, and we really know the difference between freedom and independence, on the one hand, and colonial subjection and subservience, on the other. We have tasted that which was meant to be a paper independence, and we also know what is meant by real and genuine independence.

172. Now, our position is this: If this item—declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples—refers to real and genuine independence, we will certainly vote, one hundred per cent, with all our heart and with all our soul, to have this very important item allocated to the highest possible level: the plenary meetings of this General Assembly. But if the meaning to be given to independence is limited to paper independence—where independence is given in form but not in substance, where independence is given without any free exercise of civil liberties and political rights—then I believe that this declaration is not a genuine declaration and, much to my regret, we cannot consider this as important as it purports to be.

173. Indeed, if we are to have a declaration, it should afford the hope of liberation to those peoples who now

have no such hope at all rather than to those who are almost certain to be free whether or not we adopt the declaration which has been proposed.

174. In the discussion of this item my delegation will be guided by the principles of the Bandung declaration, under which the countries of Asia and Africa pledged themselves to keep up the struggle against imperialism in any guise or form and from whatever source or direction it may come. We construe this to include all kinds of imperialism, whether that is the old imperialism or whether that is a new form of imperialism.

175. The United Kingdom, which may be said to represent an imperialism that is dying, has accepted the challenge to debate this item. It remains to be seen if other great Powers represented in this Assembly who uphold a point of view opposed to that of the United Kingdom will accept the implied challenge to look at their own faces in the mirror.

176. Since, in our view, this item pertains to a subject which is wider in scope and far more important than the proponents of this draft resolution may have intended, and on the understanding and belief that the word "independence" as contained in the declaration I have quoted means a genuine and real independence and not a mere paper independence, my delegation will support the proposal that the item should be discussed in plenary meeting.

177. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): My delegation will reserve its right fully to express its views on the substance of the proposal submitted by the USSR delegation, which my country regards as very important, in the forum to be decided upon now by the General Assembly. We are called upon now merely to express our opinion on where the item should be discussed.

178. If the importance of an item is to be measured by the forum in which it is discussed—and that would appear to be the case from the arguments of many delegations in connexion with certain items already allocated to plenary meetings—then we believe that the declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial peoples is certainly one of the most important and epoch-making items in all the history of the United Nations. We therefore support the Soviet proposal to discuss this item in plenary meeting.

179. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): As the representative of the newest Member in the Assembly, I have been listening to the discussions very attentively. It had not been my intention to speak at all at this stage. My original intention had been to stay in my seat and watch the proceedings, for the time being, and to feel the atmosphere of the Assembly.

180. But when a proposal like the present one is before the Assembly I should be shirking my responsibility as Chairman of the Nigerian delegation if I did not tell the Assembly where my delegation stands.

181. As the President has said, a decision as to the forum in which this item should be discussed is a procedural matter. I would say at once that my delegation feels that the subject is so important that it should be discussed in the highest forum of the Assembly, that is, in plenary meeting. When the time comes, we shall vote accordingly.

182. My reasons are the following: I think that everyone here will agree that the continent of Africa contains the largest area today in which colonies or dependent territories still exist. In recent times many changes have taken place on that continent. I take this opportunity to say how much we in Nigeria appreciate what the United Kingdom and France have done recently in respect of territories under their control. Although we may not be entirely satisfied with certain aspects of their colonial rule in some other territories, a subject about which we feel strongly, we do appreciate the changes that are taking place progressively.

183. But there are certain European countries that seem to be completely indifferent to what is happening in other parts of the world. They do not even bother to take into consideration the changes taking place around them. They live like ostriches, with their heads in the sand. The purpose of discussing this subject here is to make it possible for world opinion to be brought to bear on these countries. If it is not out of order I may say that I am referring to Portugal and Spain. It is necessary that world opinion should be brought to bear on these two countries to force them to tell the world community exactly what their intentions are in respect of territories under their control on the continent of Africa. It is not my intention to go into any detail now about those two countries. I would merely say that changes are taking place in Africa. Those of us here who have read the report of the Monckton Commission on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland realize that a great change is likely to take place in that part of Africa very soon. Those of us who have been following the trend of events in Kenya know that, in spite of the unhappy history of that country, some changes are taking place there. But nothing is happening in Angola; nothing is happening in certain areas under the control of Spain.

184. We feel that, by allocating this item to plenary, the Assembly can use the opportunity to ask Portugal and Spain to state their position in relation to the changes that are now taking place in the world. If they are not prepared to make a statement to that effect, it will be necessary for the Assembly to have them make one, even if it is necessary to use persuasion.

185. I am perfectly certain that all the countries in Africa are of the same opinion as myself. As the Assembly is an instrument for peace, I think that, by discussing this particular subject in plenary, we will be laying a foundation for greater understanding and will be removing one of the sources of future trouble on our continent.

186. As the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria said from this rostrum [893rd meeting], we want to live in peace with our neighbours, but at the same time we will not be indifferent to what is happening in other parts of the continent of Africa.

187. For that reason, and without discussing the subject any further, I want to make it clear that my delegation will vote in favour of discussing this subject in plenary meeting.

188. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My delegation desires to place on record its views on the issue before the Assembly. As the President has repeatedly indicated, the issue is whether the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" should be discussed in

plenary session, without reference to Committee, or whether it should go to the First Committee in the first instance.

189. I should like to say that so far as I am aware, and according to the rules of procedure and the practice of the Assembly, every item must come before the Assembly in plenary session and must receive a two-thirds majority to be approved or be defeated in the event of not receiving that majority. Therefore, my delegation is not exercised by the thought that the subject will not come before the plenary session.

190. Secondly, we are unable to subscribe to the view that items that are referred to Committees are not important. If that were the case, we believe that we would have to ask tomorrow to have a number of items removed from Committee and allocated to the plenary session.

191. It is not a question of whether this item is important or unimportant. We think that this item lends itself to discussion in the plenary session, without going to the Committee, because we are here dealing with a general declaration, which I hope will be adopted, and which is more in the nature of a directive, of a charter to the peoples of dependent countries and an injunction to ruling countries, some of which now even refuse to send information to the United Nations, as they are morally obligated to do under the Charter. This is one of those items in which there will not be a great deal of discussion on detail, and there will not be so much drafting of amendments and what not. This calls for a declaration of faith, for the protest and the expression of views of large numbers of people. That is why we think that this item can be disposed of more suitably, and discussed more effectively, in the plenary session. Therefore, my delegation will vote in favour of the USSR amendment.

192. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The Cuban delegation strongly supports the amendment submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In taking the position Cuba is being faithful to itself. Cuba has first hand knowledge of the hardship, adversities, distortions and oppressions of colonial rule.

193. It must not be forgotten that all the nations of the Western hemisphere became nations after a heroic struggle against Spanish rule. In addition, the Cuban revolution has finally eliminated the foundations of United States colonial domination, which took the place of Spanish domination in my country.

194. Cuba has therefore every reason to give its full and whole-hearted support to the Soviet amendment. In view of the question's far-reaching implications and significance and bearing in mind, moreover, that as the Indian representative pointed out a moment ago we are dealing with a general declaration, my delegation considers that the item should be dealt with by the Assembly itself and not by the First Committee.

195. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom in exercise of the right of reply.

196. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): As some of the speeches which we have heard this afternoon indicate that perhaps I have not made sufficiently clear the position of the United Kingdom Government, I have asked for the right of reply.

197. First, I should like to deal with the point which was dealt with just now by the representative of India. It is the question of whether we are discussing the importance of this matter. Of course, as I said in my remarks earlier this afternoon, we regard this as a very important matter. But we do not subscribe to the view that important matters are not referred to Committees. Indeed, this could hardly be the case in view of the fact that yesterday we had a debate in which every person who spoke at this rostrum stated that disarmament was the most important subject facing the peoples of the world today and, having had that debate, we decided, by a vote of 62 to 12, to send it to the First Committee [900th meeting]. That is the first point I wish to make: that, in suggesting that we should first discuss this particular item in the First Committee, we in no way suggested that we did not regard it as a matter of extreme importance.

198. Nor have we said—and I think this point has also been made by the representative of India—that this is not a matter which should be discussed in plenary. Of course it should be discussed in plenary. All we have to decide is whether we might have a more orderly discussion in plenary if, first of all, it had been discussed in the First Committee.

199. That is the position which my delegation have taken up. We believe that that procedure would lead to a more orderly discussion of the item and a more constructive result, and that is why we propose to vote against the Soviet amendment. But if the Assembly decides in favour of discussion in plenary, of course we shall look forward to taking part in that discussion and we hope we shall make a constructive contribution to it.

200. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco): My delegation will vote in favour of the proposal of the Soviet Union for discussion of this item in the plenary session of the General Assembly. The view of my delegation is that this matter is one of principle only. It is our view—and our hope—that it will require no long discussions on the type, the scope and degree of acceptability to colonial countries of the independence to be granted to the respective colonies. As a matter of principle, it requires only the understanding of the various delegations represented and sitting in this Assembly. It fits perfectly well within the framework of the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. It does not mean that we are going to discuss any specific item in relation to any specific country. Consequent implementation of the declaration of this principle will follow in due time and in the proper place. But it will serve the purpose of removing any possible shade of ambiguity concerning the intentions of all Member States represented here and still administering, under a colonial régime, various countries in Africa and Asia.

201. Discussion of this item in plenary will stress its importance. Vast areas in Asia, Africa and the Middle East are listening to our discussions and our decisions. They are looking forward to the eradication of this disease that has lasted so long in several continents, the removal of which is of tremendous importance as far as time is concerned. The plenary session of the General Assembly would invest the examination of this item with a truly international and grandiose character, since the essence of the matter is that of the freedom which has not yet been granted to vast areas, mainly in Africa. Discussion of this

item in the General Assembly will prove to the world that we are not stagnating, that we are not hiding behind the screen of orderly evolution, but that we have understood that we are living in an era of revolution, and that we are not afraid of it. We are living in a period of revolution. Colonialism, though leaving by the front door, comes back through the window, comes back through Balkanization, administrative power, investment capital, and so on, and the state of the former colonized countries continues within the restrictions of dependency.

202. When we speak of independence, we give to this word its true meaning, and we believe that the discussion of this item in the General Assembly will give it the importance that it should have before world public opinion. Examples can be found in Algeria, in the occupied territory of Palestine, in South West Africa, and so on. But there should be no ambiguity as far as the intention of this Assembly is concerned, and the only body which is called upon to speak to world opinion and indicate to it the importance of this problem is the General Assembly in plenary session. That is why my delegation is going to vote in favour of the Soviet amendment.

203. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation wishes to put on record its view on the item under discussion. Having ourselves emerged from a state of dependency, our stand is whole-heartedly by the side of all peoples claiming their freedom and independence. We therefore support in every way the inclusion of the item in question.

204. With regard to the allocation of this item to the General Assembly or to the First Committee, I would like to point out that the Committee really is intended to facilitate the discussion by leading itself to such exchange of views as would make it easier to arrive at some conclusion about details, and also at some compromise solution. But in the present case there is no question of arriving at compromise solutions. It is a declaration of faith, as the representative of India has said. It is a declaration which goes to the very root of the Charter of the United Nations, because the right of independence, the right of self-determination, is the cornerstone of the United Nations.

205. Therefore, in view of the fact that there will be no discussion in detail and no discussion as to compromise arrangements, I see no reason for this item to go to the First Committee. I shall therefore vote for its allocation to plenary meeting.

206. Mr. UMAÑA BERNAL (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Speaking in a quieter vein, in order to make at least this small contribution to peaceful coexistence, I wish briefly to explain my delegation's position and the significance of our vote in this matter and in regard to the other two questions which the Soviet Union proposed should be considered in plenary rather than in the First Committee.

207. Our vote does not imply a decision with regard to the substantive issues and should not be taken as prejudging the value of any resolution which may be adopted by the General Assembly or the Committee.

208. We voted yesterday and we will vote today against the proposals of the Soviet Union purely and simply on grounds of procedure and parliamentary tradition. We feel that the discussion as to whether an item should be disposed of in plenary or allocated to

the appropriate Committee involved an element of misunderstanding, to judge from the statements made in the Assembly yesterday and today.

209. In the Assembly's rules of procedure and in the rules of procedure of representative bodies in most countries it is laid down as a fundamental parliamentary procedure that all proposals, and in particular proposals of special importance, should be referred to a committee before being considered in plenary. That is a parliamentary tradition to which my country attaches great importance and which we believe should be followed. I know that there are countries here which have abandoned or have never known the parliamentary traditions and which may therefore have different views on the subject.

210. This procedure does not mean that the plenary does not consider the subject. The Assembly in plenary meeting will take the final decisions regarding any draft resolutions adopted by the Committees and passed on to the plenary, when they will be debated in full in a discussion in which every country can take part, as there is no restriction on the number of speakers. Draft resolutions adopted by the Committees necessarily come before the plenary Assembly, and until they are approved or rejected by the General Assembly no decision has been taken on them.

211. Discussion in plenary is not eliminated when a subject is referred to a Committee; on the contrary, the sole purpose of the procedure is to ensure a most thorough and searching study of the subject covered by the resolution; the final resolution is discussed and adopted by the Assembly in plenary.

212. In view of these considerations, I find it hard to understand why some delegations are so insistent that these items should not be referred to the appropriate committees. My delegation is ready to vote without any qualms in favour of a radical resolution on colonialism provided it does not contain violent or offensive attacks on any Member of the Assembly; but we insist, in accordance with our parliamentary tradition, that the items should first be referred to the Committee before being discussed by the Assembly in plenary.

213. I should make it clear in conclusion that my delegation has no misgivings with regard to the outcome of this vote; whether the Assembly decides to discuss the matter in plenary meeting or in Committee, we are ready to take part in the discussion and to put forward our ideas either in the Committee or in plenary.

214. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the list of speakers; but one representative has asked for the floor in exercise of the right of reply, and two to explain their votes before the voting.

215. I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union.

216. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (translated from Russian): I am pleased in advance at what I hope will be the Assembly's decision to discuss the question of the complete abolition of the colonial system in plenary meeting of the Assembly. If my hope is not fulfilled and the Assembly does not vote for the discussion of this question in plenary meeting, it will be not only I who will be grieved—that is not particularly important—but millions and mil-

lions of people who are living in colonial servitude and awaiting their liberation.

217. I am extremely glad about something else, namely the fact that the representative of the United Kingdom, when he spoke here, sharply criticized my position. It is a great satisfaction to me that the colonialists regard me as an enemy of the colonial system. That is a great reward for me, and I take pride in it.

218. I very much like the words of August Bebel, the social-democrat and leader of the German workers, who said, more or less, this: If the bourgeoisie praises you, Bebel, think, in that case, what a stupid thing you must have done. If the bourgeoisie reviles you, it means that you are truly serving the working class, the proletariat! If the colonialists now revile me, I am proud of it, because it means that I am truly serving the peoples which are struggling for their independence, for their freedom.

219. The representative of the United Kingdom made a speech here. It would have befitted him better had he drawn a lesson from the wealthy peasants. In our country, when we had private ownership of the means of production, the wealthy man proceeded as follows (this method, of course, is applied in all countries). When he hired a labourer he fed him well the first day. Then he exploited him mercilessly, squeezing everything he could out of him, but when the labourer had finished the work for which he had been hired the rich man again fed him well so that he would retain a happy memory of this exploiter who had squeezed him dry. The English colonialists, I would remind the United Kingdom representative, drew blood and sweat from the people of India, the people of Burma and the other peoples that they exploited and are still exploiting.

220. You ought to show respect towards these peoples that are now, not by your favour but by their struggles and the decrees of time, securing their independence and freedom. Do not spoil for them this day, which should be a day of celebration for the peoples that have won their independence. Give some moral satisfaction to these people. That is what they have fought for. You cannot rise even to the level of the rich peasant, the exploiter of the poor. You want to squeeze out of these peoples the last drop of sweat.

221. I would say to the United Kingdom representative that when, in my statement today, I said that people were rising and that the English colonialists were sending guns to suppress them, I was using information from your London newspapers. This information was published a day or two ago. So these are quite fresh facts, revealing that the peoples of the colonial countries are rebelling. We applaud them, but we ought to give them assistance from our side, because the colonialists are better armed and are destroying, are annihilating the population in the colonies.

222. I now turn to the statement of the Philippine representative. I have what might be called a "double attitude" to that statement. I protested sharply when he began to stutter, so to speak, in the first half of his speech, but then he recovered himself and came to the right conclusion. I would explain this as follows: He is not a bad man. As he himself said, he and the entire Philippine people suffered for many years under the yoke of the Spaniards. Then the Americans took them over and they have just about received their

independence, although God knows what kind of independence it is. You have to look at it very closely under a magnifying glass to see it.

223. The representative of the Philippines knows what colonialism is, what colonial oppression is. And it is clear that in the first part of his statement he was not speaking from his heart. What was speaking was that remnant, that thread, which still binds him, so to speak, to the master—the United States of America, which evidently must have tugged at that thread. But then, when he was stopped, he evidently thought to himself: Why the devil should I stick my neck out? The Americans themselves are not saying anything, but are hiding, and they have pushed me forward so that I should speak for them. And so then he gave vent, you might say, to his true feelings and expressed his hatred of colonialists, of colonial oppression. And I heard him with great satisfaction and applauded his words with all my heart.

224. I believe that one day the Philippines will be a truly independent country. Come to our country. We will enable you to visit any of the Republics. We shall ask the Republics to invite you and to allow you to look at them. Look at everything critically, and even with partiality, and you will realize what freedom is and what colonial slavery is. There is no greater freedom for man than the freedom to build and develop an independent State—and a socialist State, like ours—into the bargain. The Soviet people has already completed the building of socialism and has now turned to the building of communism.

225. I know that not everyone here will applaud me, because one must mature in order to realize the heights to which human society can attain. But the day will come when you yourselves will be speaking about socialism from this very rostrum if, of course, this rostrum survives, if it is fated to survive. At present the rostrum is a very shaky one.

226. The representative of the United Kingdom and the representative of Colombia have spoken. Englishman and Colombian—that is, virtually, one and the same thing. The Englishman stands for the NATO military bloc, the Colombian for the Monroe Doctrine. It is obvious, therefore, where that particular current of air is coming from. And you can smell it, too. Smell it! However, Mr. Colombian, we listened to you as the representative of Colombia; but it was your voice, not the voice of the Colombian people. The Colombian people, like all peoples, does not desire the prolongation of colonial servitude. Of that I am convinced. The time will come when the representative of Colombia, speaking from this rostrum, will really speak in the name of the Colombian people.

227. I ask all representatives to pronounce themselves in favour of the discussion of the declaration on independence and freedom for colonial peoples in plenary meeting. The colonialists understand the difference between discussion in a corner and discussion in a large-scale meeting. When I sit in this hall, I am looking at the backs of the Spaniards. Whenever any colonialist makes a remark in support of colonialist policy, they applaud. Why? Because they are colonialists. There is a saying that a devil will never put out another devil's eye with his horn; for devils know how to use their horns. And a colonialist will be supported by colonialists.

228. It is good to live at a time when great events are taking place, when the colonial structure is crumbling. To us falls the honour of taking a spade, digging a deep grave, burying colonialism deep down, and driving in a stake so that it shall not rise again. According to popular tradition, if you bury a devil you must drive an aspen stake into his grave so that he will not rise out of his coffin. It is the same with colonialism. It must be buried in accordance with this same popular tradition.

229. I am convinced that we shall find the courage and, more important, sufficient understanding to take a decision in accordance with our conscience, and our conscience should tell us that the time has come for every man to be free.

230. I hope that the representatives of the African peoples—the Blacks, as they are called—will pardon and forgive me. I do not know how this sounds to Negroes; perhaps it offends them? I should like to express my sympathy towards them. It was a pleasure for me to listen to them. The colonialists spoke about these people, saying that they were not yet mature enough to govern themselves. But the representatives of the imperialists who have spoken here have themselves not matured to the level of the human understanding of freedom, and of the appreciation of this freedom, displayed by these people, the Negroes, who have escaped from oppression and boldly express their thoughts and uphold the interests of their peoples. That is gratifying indeed!

231. Some white people pride themselves on the fact that they are white, and behave haughtily towards the Negroes. But how can you judge people by the colour of their skins? One man's skin is black, another's is yellow, yet another's is white. The terrible thing is when a man, whether white or black in skin, has a black soul, a dirty soul. That dirty soul you will never make clean.

232. We salute our brothers the Blacks, the Negroes; we salute all peoples that are striving for their freedom and independence. We are helping them and shall continue to help them, and all peoples should help them. And we earnestly believe that the time is coming when the peoples of all countries will feel that they are brothers, when there will be neither exploited nor exploiters. There will then be only one banner flying—the banner of friendship, of peace and of brotherhood—and that banner will be the words "communist society"!

233. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): On behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan I have asked permission, at the end of the debate, to explain the vote of my delegation on the issue before the General Assembly. Before doing so I should like to say just a word concerning the importance of the issue as one of the factors which has led us to decide to cast the vote which we shall cast on this question; thus, it is relevant to the explanation of our vote.

234. Ever since Afghanistan became a Member of the United Nations many years ago, few occasions have given more cause for happiness than the present one when a declaration for the independence of dependent peoples is to be discussed. I say this because I believe that it was the desire of all peoples and nations of the world, at the time of the establishment of the United Nations, that one of the first items which the General Assembly should deal with ought to be

the abolishment of colonialism. Our only regret is that the matter has been delayed for such a long time, but we are happy that at last it is before the Assembly and that it will be discussed.

235. It is also noteworthy, I think—and this should be in the records of the Assembly—that not only have many countries become independent, not only are we awaiting the independence of many other countries, not only will the Assembly discuss the abolishment of colonialism, but that a great change has taken place which should be noted particularly, that is, that in the past powerful countries would colonize and dominate whereas now we see that one of the most powerful countries in the world has come forth with a suggestion for the abolishment of colonialism and the domination of one people by another. It is the duty of my delegation, as the representative of a small country, to express its appreciation of this stand, in the hope that all other Powers which have the power of domination will follow that example and change their policies in this regard.

236. The vote which we shall cast will be in favour of discussion of this question on the highest level of the General Assembly—that is to say in plenary meeting. The reasons for this have been explained by so many representatives that I do not need to repeat them.

237. Afghanistan has never admitted to being a colony, but for two centuries war was imposed upon us in defence of our liberty and freedom against colonial Powers. We hope that the sufferings which we experienced in those wars will not be shared by those countries which are confronted with the same problems. It is our hope that this declaration will not only be adopted by the Assembly, but also implemented.

238. In those days of which I speak we fought not against the colonialists, we fought for our liberty and our own freedom. When we cast our vote on this issue today, our vote should not be considered as against the colonialists, but in favour of the people whose freedom has been taken from them and who have been deprived of their rights. In this connexion we hope that those countries which still have other people under their administration will agree unanimously to the discussion of this question in plenary and will support the declaration.

239. As I said, we shall vote for the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union. There is, however, one observation which I should like to make at this point. We do not agree with certain parts of the wording of the title of the item proposed by the Soviet Union. We shall revert to this reservation when the question is discussed in substance, but I mention it now in the hope that if any change is possible, it should be made before discussion takes place on other revised texts.

240. My delegation is not in favour of the word "granting" before the words "of independence". We do not think that independence should be granted to people. It is their right; it should be given to them, or they should take it, or it should be recognized, but not granted by anybody else because no one had the right to take this freedom from them and now to grant it to them. Also, we should like to vote on this proposal with the understanding that independence will mean not only political independence, but that it will also mean economic and cultural independence. We should like this independence to apply not only to those

territories which are under the domination of the so-called colonial Powers, but also all peoples and nations under any kind of domination, because we do know of cases of people being dominated against their will and desire by certain Powers which themselves have been colonies but which forget their former position and now suppress the will of peoples under their own domination.

241. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): I should like to take a few moments for an explanation of the vote of the Israel delegation on this question. We shall vote in favour of the amendment.

242. We are in perfect agreement with the representative of India, that the importance of questions does not depend on whether they are discussed in plenary or in the Committee. Important in this question to us, as I firmly believe to the vast majority, if not to all the delegations here, is the problem itself, the principle of the natural right of all people to be free and independent. The Israel Government stands by this principle, and, therefore, we consider that the importance of this question lies in its discussion and in the conclusions which the Assembly will reach. We do not think that it matters whether it is discussed in the Assembly or in the Committee.

243. When my delegation is casting its vote for the discussion to take place in plenary, it is mainly for the reason that since the question has arisen, it may be that those with whose fate we are concerned may misinterpret—albeit incorrectly—if after this discussion it were decided that the question should be dealt with in the Committee. Therefore, in order not to permit such a misinterpretation to be reached by all those millions of people who are naturally, anxiously looking towards this Assembly and towards the results of this discussion, and since we do not believe that the importance of the matter lies in whether it is discussed here or in a committee, the Israel delegation will cast its vote for its discussion in the Assembly.

244. One more remark: We do not agree for one moment that delegations and peoples can be labelled colonialists if they are for a discussion in the Committee and anti-colonialists if they are for a discussion in the Assembly. It is their stand on the substance of the question itself which will classify them.

245. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan has heard with great interest the deliberations that have taken place this afternoon. We feel that the First Committee is as important a forum as the Assembly in plenary session. However, the consensus of opinion, and especially those of our new comrades who have recently joined us from Africa, seems to be that this issue be discussed here in plenary, and in recognition of their wishes, we shall support the Soviet amendment that this issue, this very vital issue, be discussed in plenary. But this does not detract in any way from the importance or essential quality of the issue, whether it is discussed here or in the First Committee.

246. Colonialism we have condemned in strong and firm terms. We abhor the exploitation of man by man. Colonialism in any form is repugnant to the present century, and I do not think it can be tolerated. But that is not the issue. The question for consideration is whether it should be discussed in plenary or in the First Committee, and since the general consensus

seems to be that it should be discussed here, we shall support the Soviet amendment.

247. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): I wish simply to explain the vote I shall cast as the representative of a country which was a colony at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which fought for the independence it enjoys today, and which accordingly has the greatest sympathy for the aspirations of peoples that have still not attained independence.

248. We have always defended the anti-colonialist position in the United Nations, and in accordance with that principle we supported the view in the General Committee that the item proposed by the Soviet Union should be considered in plenary. We wish to reaffirm that position and we will vote in favour of the allocation of the item to the plenary. We believe that as the item is general and of very great importance, it should be discussed directly in plenary.

249. Mr. WILCOX (United States of America): The United States delegation would prefer that this item be dealt with carefully and with due deliberation in the First Committee. But much more important than whether the question is to be considered in the First Committee or in plenary is the substance and the scope of the discussion, wherever it is to be held.

250. Now, some doubt has been cast on the scope of the discussion during one of the interruptions of the debate on a point of order. I believe you said, Mr. President, if my memory serves me correctly, that the discussion of this question was limited by the scope of the memorandum in which the item was proposed. But, Mr. President, are we to rely on the Soviet memorandum [A/4501] and the proposed declaration [A/4502] as the basis for determining the scope of the discussion? I should say, parenthetically, that the proposer of an item cannot bind the Assembly in this respect.

251. If we are to rely on the Soviet memorandum and the declaration, then I must point out that the Soviet Union refers in both documents to "... respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception ...".

252. Now, this is a statement which raises very many interesting questions. Everyone here in the Assembly is fully aware of the sad fact that there are a number

of States in Eastern Europe which do not have their complete independence.

253. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (from the floor): Point of order.

254. The PRESIDENT: I must ask the speaker at the rostrum kindly to stand aside while I deal with the point of order raised from the floor. I call on the representative of Romania on a point of order.

255. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): We are witnessing here a reiteration by the United States representative of attacks against Member States who have equal rights in the United Nations. I insist that you make it clear to the speaker who I am now interrupting that I am here as the representative of the Romanian People's Republic and enjoy the same rights as the United States representative and the representative of any other State. That must be understood by the United States representative as by all other States represented here.

256. Mr. President, although you were elected by a majority of only six votes, you must uphold the rights of all Member States and the dignity of the United Nations.

257. Furthermore, the speaker whom I have just interrupted requested the floor for an explanation of vote. But is this an explanation of vote? Is it an explanation of vote to launch upon a campaign of slander against other Member States from this rostrum? We are not in the United States Senate where there can be a vote on the organization of a "captive nations week". Here we are among representatives of sovereign States and you, Mr. President, must ensure that they show mutual respect for each other and that the discussion conforms to the elementary rules of courtesy.

258. It is not a question of sympathy for such and such a régime; you are free to sympathize with the colonial countries, that is your right; but I hope that the Irish people and all the peoples represented here ...

259. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that the Assembly will feel that, in view of the scene we have just witnessed, the appropriate step is that the Assembly should be adjourned at once, and it is hereby adjourned.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.