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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Zea (Colombia),
President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

1. Mr. NICOLAESCU (Romania): This is the third time that the problem of the abolition of colonialism, as a system, has come before the General Assembly.

2. The United Nations has recognized the considerable importance of the historical process of the liberation of peoples and has given this immense contemporary force its firm support, proclaiming solemnly that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations must be wiped out immediately and unconditionally. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted two years ago by the General Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)] at the instigation of the Soviet Union, has stimulated the efforts of the colonial peoples by offering them noble ideals, great hopes and a powerful weapon for speeding up the process of liberation.

3. The time has now come to render mankind an account of the application of this historic document and to assess the effectiveness of the United Nations action in this crucial matter of the liberation of peoples. In the opinion of my delegation, its effectiveness should be judged primarily by the success of the United Nations in ensuring the requisite conditions for speeding up the liberation of colonial peoples and sweeping away the last vestiges of colonialism.

4. The scope of the revolutionary movement, the presence in our midst as independent States, of heroic Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Uganda, whose achievement of independence we have welcomed with enthusiasm, and the reintegration of other territories in the States of which they were part are proof that the Declaration has had a positive effect.

5. A study of the political map of the world, however, shows that today, two years after the adoption of the Declaration, only nine names have been crossed off the list of colonial territories. If the number of territories achieving independence each year continues to increase at the present rate, it will take a very long time for the eighty odd colonial territories still in existence in Africa, Asia and Latin America to be liberated, despite the fact that the Declaration expressly stipulated, as long ago as 1960, that all power should be transferred to the colonial peoples immediately.

6. Today, two years since the adoption of the Declaration, it is becoming increasingly clear that the colonial Powers whose duty it is to implement this Declaration have been outstripped by events, are conducting a policy contrary to the lessons of history, disregarding the will of the United Nations and jeopardizing the very authority and efficiency of the Organization.

7. The Committee of Seventeen,^{1/} to whose labours the report under discussion [A/5238] bears witness, has supplied us with a vast mass of information and with some conclusions, enabling us to make a thorough study of the implementation of the Declaration and particularly of the difficulties which the colonial peoples have to overcome.

8. The colonial Powers oppose the implementation of the Declaration and the development of the freedom movement in a wide variety of ways, ranging from military campaigns—which provoke the justified indignation of all mankind—to repress the peoples fighting for their independence, as in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, to political manoeuvres designed to weaken the anto-colonial front. They claim that these peoples are not ready for self-government; they draw up programmes of minor reforms which in fact strengthen colonial domination, they launch lengthy negotiations to sustain the illusion of imminent change and they create and nurture dissension between local political parties or different groups of the population.

9. The haste with which this is being done and the wide range of methods used show the urgency with which the colonial Powers are trying to shore up the position and privileges which they derive from the colonial relationship. They refuse to relinquish the fabulous riches of the colonies, the huge profits obtained from colonial exploitation and the cheap labour available to them in the colonies.

10. Hundreds of years ago, the colonial peoples had to bear heavy sacrifices as a result of the arrival on their land of the first so-called "civilizers" from

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

Europe who, by force and blackmail, appropriated vast territories; today, it is only at the cost of great sacrifices that the people of the colonies can bring about the departure of the colonialists from the territories they have plundered.

11. It is the immense, extraordinarily rich and varied natural resources of Central and Southern Africa, the bauxite of Surinam and the phosphates of Nauru which explain the obstinate resistance of the imperialist Powers to the liberation of the colonies.

12. Mr. Jack Jones, a British member of Parliament, once said that there was in Central Africa an immense economic potential "which we cannot afford to lose"; such had been said about the "Copper Belt", but he wished to inform his honourable colleagues that without its wealth the United Kingdom, and the United States too, would within ten years be very much reduced.

13. Mr. William E. B. Dubois, a well-known American authority, maintained that the slave-trade could be said, without fear of exaggeration, to have cost Black Africa 100 million souls—yet people still wondered what were the causes of the cultural stagnation in that region since 1600.

14. When the slave-trade came to an end, the colonialists' profits depended upon economic bondage and savage exploitation of the cheap labour supplied by apartheid, upon racist laws promoted to the rank of institutions, upon discriminatory laws, upon refusal to grant the indigenous inhabitants elementary political rights, and upon usurpation of their land, obscurantism, etc.

15. These are only new forms of exploitation: the essence is the same, slavery. Moreover, the results too are similar. The slave-trade cost Africa 100 million human beings. But how many millions have the colonial wars such as the Algerian war, the massacres such as those in Angola, and the terrorism such as that reigning in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and, a few years ago, in Kenya cost Africa? In the rich area of the Rhodesias, the average life expectation is no more than thirty years, and in Réunion it is scarcely twenty-six. What does all this mean, if not the steady destruction of vast human resources?

16. Some of the representatives who preceded me rightly emphasized the collective nature of contemporary colonialism. It is clear to us that it is not only the colonial peoples who have to face that aspect of colonialism today. We too are aware of that tendency within the United Nations.

17. In the old days, centuries ago, the colonial Powers used to divide the world into spheres of influence, by imperialistic agreements. Over half the Members in this forum know that from their own experience. Nowadays, the modern variation of concerted action by the colonial Powers is a union of the world-wide ramifications of their economic, financial and military interests.

18. If the activity of the foreign monopolies in Central and Southern Africa is considered, a fair idea will be formed of how the interests of the nine main companies active throughout this region are represented and interwoven. The tragedy of the Congolese people, the secession of Katanga and the part played by the Union Minière du Haut Katanga in this affair throw further light on the subject. Katanga used to belong to Belgium, but the British, American, French and

West German industrialists, who profited from the exploitation of Katanga's riches have always stood side by side with the Belgian industrialists and they are still acting jointly today.

19. Recently, petitioners informed the Committee of Seventeen that, by an agreement with the United Kingdom Government, all Angola's diamond mining had been ceded to the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola. The Board of Directors of that Company, however, includes the famous industrialist, Oppenheimer and directors, of De Beers and of the Société Générale de Belgique.

20. This whole network of financial interests has a supranational character. Professor W. Wolfe, of Washington University, referring to this, described it as a special kind of autonomous system, which is in effect supranational, having a special kind of influence, if not full control, over resources which are usually regarded as national resources of States.

21. In this complex supranational system, it is possible to discern monopolistic capital from the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Belgium and especially the United States of America. As the main financial force of the western world, United States monopolies occupy a dominant position in the management of colonial companies and in the formation of the policy of these companies. As the policy of the United States has been and always will be the product of co-operation between business and government, the presence of weapons of United States manufacture in Angola and South Africa is perfectly comprehensible, as is the support which the United States representatives give the colonial Powers in the General Assembly and its commissions and committees.

22. It can confidently be maintained that the new version of old colonial empire on which the sun never set is an empire formed of interlocking international financial and economic interests, with the lion's share going to the United States monopolies.

23. More than half mankind has suffered painfully from the system of colonial oppression and exploitation, and the Romanian delegation shares the deep disquiet expressed at this rostrum by many African and Latin American delegations regarding the tragic consequences which the continuance of this system may entail.

24. Today mankind is called upon to face some very grave problems resulting from the inhuman colonial system which has held a large part of the world in thrall for so many years. Vast areas of the globe now offer irrefutable evidence of the retrograde effects of colonialism on the productive forces of society, for colonialism has deprived the people of incalculable possibilities of development and prosperity. The abolition of the gap between the level of development of the countries which have experienced or are experiencing colonial oppression and that of the handful of Powers which have enriched themselves by the exploitation of those countries has become one of the major concerns of mankind, and hence of the United Nations. It is clear that the dire consequences of colonialism create particularly difficult problems for the whole of mankind. Those who, in one way or another, vote for, or try to foster, the continuation of the colonial system are helping to maintain the force which produces these grave problems and nourishes them.

25. The total abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations is an urgent matter which brooks no delay. Despite the obstruction of the colonialists, the people will attain freedom, but the longer the last phase of colonialism—its death throes—is permitted to endure, the greater their difficulties will be and the weaker their independence.

26. The colonies are being increasingly transformed into economic dependencies of the colonial Powers. Colonialism plunders not only the present but the future of the colonial peoples. Its maintenance therefore means condemning the future independent States to increasingly serious difficulties and aggravating the economic disequilibrium of the world accordingly.

27. Moreover, the colonial Powers are now seeking new forms of colonialism to enable them to hold onto their privileges. For this they are resorting to a variety of methods, from encouraging the creation of racist States like Southern Rhodesia to imposing military bases whose existence will considerably limit the sovereignty of the independent State of the future. Many representatives have, from this rostrum, voiced their anxiety at the fact that the United States and other members of NATO have established so many military bases in the colonial world, thus jeopardizing the freedom of the people and the peace of the world.

28. Support is given to non-popular movements, while recognition is denied to régimes which have been established democratically but whose tendencies are not to the liking of the colonialists, as is the case in British Guiana; arrangements are made between colonial Powers to the detriment of the future States. I might mention the well-known Anglo-American agreements regarding the leasing, for decades to come, of naval bases on the territory of United Kingdom colonies in the Caribbean, agreements which, it is claimed, must be recognized by the Governments of these colonies when they become free.

29. It is not clear that such colonialist actions are designed to limit the independence of the future States and to impose on them in advance a political orientation which is favourable to the colonial Powers? The more the colonialists are able to make these arrangements final, the more tragic will be the consequences for the people of the colonies.

30. What is more, the maintenance of colonial rule in certain territories impedes the efforts towards unity and solidarity of the peoples who have suffered or are still suffering colonial exploitation; it severely handicaps the endeavours of the liberated States to accelerate their economic and spiritual development through mutual assistance.

31. In the Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries^{2/} we read the following:

"The Conference ... urges complete decolonization as being necessary for the economic development of the dependent peoples and the exercise of sovereign rights over their national resources." [A/5162, para 8.1]

32. The Economic Commission for Africa is discussing questions of basic importance for the progress of Africa, such as the co-ordination of economic efforts at the regional level, the establishment of an African common market and the expansion of the continental transport system.

^{2/} Declaration of the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development, held at Cairo from 9 to 18 July 1962.

33. How is it possible to disregard the obstacles that are hampering the achievement of these objectives and that are due to the persistence of colonialism, even today, in a large part of Africa? At the present time only about one tenth of the trade between African countries takes place on the continent itself and until quite recently it was necessary, in order to go for example from Accra to Casablanca, to go via Paris or London, which doubled the distance.

34. How is it possible to disregard the evil consequences of the "divide and rule" tactics used by the colonialists in order to open wide the door to future bitter conflicts between countries and peoples? General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) draws out attention to the fact that:

"further delay in the application of the Declaration is a continuing source of international conflict and disharmony, seriously impedes international co-operation, and is creating an increasingly dangerous situation in many parts of the world which may threaten international peace and security."

35. In its report, the Committee of Seventeen notes that the situation in Angola, Katanga, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique constitutes a real danger to world peace.

36. Many representatives have stressed that the existence in the heart of Africa of the South African racist régime, a real bulwark of colonialism against the liberation of the peoples, constitutes a permanent threat to Africa, and perhaps to the whole world. The cause for the immediate abolition of colonialism is therefore the cause of mankind, the cause of peace and international co-operation.

37. In formulating these observations, the Romanian delegation has been greatly assisted by the diligent activities carried out by the Special Committee of Seventeen which was entrusted with the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people. In my delegation's view, the Committee has done useful work in promoting the liberation of colonial peoples and has provided a broad platform from which the distinguished representatives of these peoples may voice the appeals of the oppressed peoples to the conscience of mankind.

38. The Committee's recommendations and conclusions are in harmony with the principles of the Declaration and are acceptable to my delegation. The invariably negative attitude of the four colonial Powers on the Committee towards the recommendations does not diminish their value but, rather, illustrates the spirit in which these Powers make a show of co-operating in the liberation of the colonial peoples, generously offering their co-operation, in worlds, from the rostrum of the United Nations. History shows that the colonial peoples have never been able to count on the generosity of the colonialists for their liberation but only on their own exertions and the support of those who, like them, have known foreign domination.

39. We should also like to commend the action of the Committee in taking up, first and foremost, the territories which present urgent problems and giving priority to the problems of Africa. There can be no doubt that the resolution which the General Assembly will adopt at the close of these discussions will give new strength to the Committee and to those who have upheld the ideals which led to its establishment.

40. The Romanian people feel warm sympathy towards the colonial peoples and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle for national independence. In the international forum the Romanian People's Republic, as a socialist State, upholds the cause of the colonial and dependent peoples who are fighting for liberation. In the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, the Romanian delegation has invariably advocated self-determination and national independence for these peoples.

41. Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej, Chairman of the State Council of the Romanian People's Republic, made the following statement at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly:

"We consider that adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter has become incompatible with colonial oppression perpetrated by Member States of the United Nations. Consequently, it is high time for the United Nations to call upon all Governments strictly to observe the provisions of the Charter on equality and respect for sovereign rights and for the territorial integrity of all States without exception, rejecting any manifestation of colonialism, any exclusive right or privilege for the benefit of some States to the detriment of others." [873rd plenary meeting, para. 44.]

42. Animated by such sentiments, the Romanian delegation considers that this year the General Assembly should take a decisive step towards the liquidation of the colonial system by adopting resolute measures which will compel the colonial Powers to put into immediate effect the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and will wipe the black stains of colonialism from the map of the world and from the history of mankind.

43. Mr. HSUEH (China): The Special Committee of Seventeen deserves our thanks and appreciation for the speedy and energetic manner in which it has carried out the task entrusted to it by the Assembly.

44. Within a short span of seven months, the Special Committee held 117 meetings and considered twelve individual territories. It has recommended, for consideration by this Assembly, six draft resolutions covering eight individual territories and has also, on its own responsibility, made recommendations concerning two other territories directly to their Administering Powers. We have now received its report of 537 pages [A/5238]—one of the bulkiest ever produced in the United Nations—showing the amount of work it has done.

45. The report is a document not only informative but also inspiring. It represents another effort toward the ultimate realization of the noble ideas enshrined in our Charter and expressed in the following words: "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". All the delegations in this hall may not approve of, or agree with, each and every part of the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report; but I am sure there is agreement that the Special Committee has done a conscientious job and has contributed to the advancement of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

46. As the report of the Special Committee shows, deplorable conditions, resulting from colonialism, continue to exist in a number of territories under

review. After seventeen years since the Charter was signed, suppression of human rights, inequality among men and racial discrimination are still practised in these territories. These intolerable practices have once again been exposed as a result of the work of the Special Committee. It is indeed urgent for the General Assembly to redouble its efforts to complete decolonization and to put an end to these practices. And the best way to do so is to take all possible steps to ensure that the peoples in these territories will be given, as soon as possible, the right to self-determination and independence.

47. My delegation is all for this course of action. On all colonial questions, the basic national policy of my Government is invariably guided by the Three People's Principles advocated by the Father of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, namely, national independence, democracy, and economic development. We of China wish to see that all peoples live the life of their own choice, in peace and in prosperity, and as equals, irrespective of their colour, race and creed.

48. Therefore, my delegation is in general agreement with many of the recommendations and conclusions of the Special Committee. In reading its lengthy report, we cannot fail to observe that the conditions existing in the territories under review are not the same. At least, they vary in degree. It must be said that, so long as the peoples of these territories do not exercise their right to self-determination, they remain dependent or colonized peoples. But it must also be said that, in some territories, the progress made towards self-determination and independence is more rapid than that in other territories. Even under one and the same Administering Power, the particular circumstances of one territory differ from those of another.

49. My delegation, therefore, believes that, in considering the report of the Special Committee, the General Assembly should make a distinction between the territories where hopeful signs are evident and those where the future remains dark. For those territories where rapid progress towards self-determination and independence is being made, the General Assembly should give encouragement to the Administering Authorities concerned so as to expedite the completion of the process of decolonization. For other territories where colonial rule still appears tenacious, the General Assembly should adopt stronger measures in order to make its pressure more firmly felt. My delegation does not believe that the General Assembly can help the colonized peoples by subjecting all Administering Authorities to the same degree of condemnation.

50. This brings me to the question of setting a date for the independence of all colonial territories. A study of the report of the Special Committee leads to the conclusion that there can be no meaningful uniform date of independence for all territories. In the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Charter of the United Nations also takes cognizance, in Article 73, of "... the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

51. What appears to my delegation to be desirable is, perhaps, to set reasonable target dates, so as to accelerate the progress of decolonization and give impetus to the preparation, by the Administering Powers, of the final stage for the peoples in the

colonial territories to exercise their rights of self-determination and independence.

52. In this connexion, I was struck by what the representative of Tanganyika said in the Special Committee. In chapter I, paragraph 48, of the report, the representative of Tanganyika said that:

"... his delegation was not in favour of pressing for immediate independence for all territories, regardless of whether or not that was likely to lead to chaos. At the same time, his delegation did not support the attitude of the United Kingdom, which wanted to take its own time in the matter of granting independence."

I think that the representative of Tanganyika took a balanced, helpful and constructive position. We all remember that the Soviet Union demanded last year in this Assembly, and again this year in the Special Committee, independence for all territories before the end of 1962. In so doing, the Soviet Union did not care whether that was likely to lead to chaos or whether that was likely to damage the prestige of the United Nations. This attitude of the Soviet Union only reveals its hypocrisy. Its motive is obvious. It wants to pose before the peoples of Africa as the only champion of decolonization. The Soviet Union would not care if a General Assembly resolution, specifying 31 December 1962 as the date of independence of all territories, could not be implemented. If such a resolution should lead to chaos in some territories, that would just serve the Soviet purpose of spreading the evil of communism.

53. In our zeal to put an end to colonialism, we must raise our eyes beyond the horizon of independence. There is no doubt that our immediate goal is independence for all peoples who wish to be independent. At the same time we must not shut our eyes to other problems that might come up to complicate the problem of independence. We must always bear in mind the paramount importance of the future well-being of the peoples yet to achieve independence, not only in the political field, but also in the economic, social and other fields. The representative of Venezuela, in explaining his opposition to a single target date for all dependent territories, said, in chapter I, paragraph 98, of the report of the Special Committee that:

"... The date for the independence of each territory should be decided in relation to the particular circumstances which would enable it to accede to independence in conditions which would ensure its stability and viability as an independent State."

54. In this respect, let me also quote from chapter I, paragraph 93, of the report, what the representative of Madagascar said, on behalf of the Union of African and Malagasy States. He said:

"... the problem of decolonization should be dealt with by means of negotiation, reconciliation, arbitration or any other peaceful means in accordance with the Charter."

My delegation believes that there is great wisdom in these statements by the representatives of States which were once under colonialism and that the General Assembly should take them into full consideration.

55. Much has been said in this debate about racial discrimination and the oppression of the black peoples by the whites. I wish to associate my delegation with

the expression of resentment over such intolerable practices. The General Assembly must do everything possible to help put an end to them. There are two lines the General Assembly should take. In territories where discriminatory measures based on race and colour remain official, the Administering Authorities should be held responsible and should be called upon immediately to discontinue them. In other territories where racial prejudice exists largely as a social attitude, resulting from tradition, encouragement should be given to the promotion of harmony and understanding between the races.

56. With regard to this latter category, we must remember that the white people in Africa today are mainly descendants from the white colonists who came to Africa hundreds of years ago. Men are often slaves of circumstances and of traditions. But the wind of change of modern times is blowing a large number of white people in Africa out of the past. For example, it was pointed out, in chapter II, paragraph 142, of the report of the Special Committee, that in Southern Rhodesia: "... the white electors had voted two to one in favour of extending the franchise." Therefore, in all fairness, the blame cannot be put on each and every white man in Africa for discrimination and prejudice.

57. Furthermore, a great majority of the white people in Africa were born in Africa, brought up in Africa, and are deeply-rooted in Africa. If they are not prejudiced against their black fellow countrymen, they too should not become the victim of prejudice. They can play a useful role in the society in which they are destined to live. They should be given the chance to contribute to its development. In our resentment over racial discrimination, we must not let the pendulum swing to the other extreme. We must not think that all white men are bad and that they should all be chased out of Africa.

58. In this connexion my delegation was impressed by the statement made before the Special Committee by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, summarized in chapter III, paragraph 61, of the report. Mr. Kaunda said:

"His party was ready to consider incorporating a bill of rights into the Northern Rhodesian declaration of independence, so that all the minority groups in the country, whether black, brown or white, should feel that their future was assured. They need not fear that once their capital and their knowledge were no longer necessary they would be expelled from the country."

I think that that is a far-sighted view of an African leader.

59. With the racial situation in Africa the policy of the General Assembly should be to make an all-out effort to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and to give a fair chance for success in building a harmonious and peaceful multiracial society. I believe that this is what the representative of Madagascar had in mind when he said, before the Special Committee, as summarized in chapter III, paragraph 177, of the report, concerning Northern Rhodesia, that:

"The essential thing was to draw up an equitable Constitution and to lay the foundations for harmony between the various sectors of the population. The

example of Madagascar proved that that was entirely possible."

My delegation is in full agreement with the statement of the representative of Madagascar.

60. I think that no one can dispute the wisdom of the Special Committee in its decision to give priority consideration to the territories of Africa. Aside from the reasons which the Special Committee has given for this decision, in chapter I, paragraph 149, of the report, I may say that it is in Africa that people have lived under colonialism for the longest period of time. It is, therefore, urgently necessary that the United Nations should first concentrate its efforts to bring about an end to colonial rule on that continent.

61. The report states, in chapter I, paragraph 151, that:

"The Special Committee recognizes that it has by no means completed the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and that there are many more territories concerning which the implementation of the Declaration remains to be considered."

My delegation fully agrees with that statement. It may be recalled that the Special Committee was established, in the words of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), "... to examine the application of the Declaration, to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session". Now, in that Declaration, the General Assembly "Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

62. Now what the Special Committee has dealt with so far is colonialism in one form, which may be considered as the oldest and most familiar form. That form of colonialism has been practised by Western European Powers for centuries in the past, mainly in Africa, but also in other parts of the world. Since the end of World War II, many newly independent nations in Asia and Africa have emerged from under that form of colonialism, and have become Members of the United Nations. The fact that the membership of our Organization has more than doubled since 1945 testifies to the speed at which Western European colonialism is being liquidated. The report of the Special Committee also furnishes further evidence that the end of that type of colonialism is fast approaching. I do not believe that the United Nations will encounter great difficulties in its work in this connexion, except, perhaps, in a very few instances.

63. However, the General Assembly, to be true to its solemn proclamation in the Declaration which I have just quoted, cannot feel content with merely seeing to it that this Western European type of colonialism is brought to an end. In the debate on colonialism at the last session of the General Assembly, my delegation called attention to the rise of a new type of colonialism since the end of World War II—that is, Soviet or Russian colonialism. It was pointed out that the Soviet Union had emerged from World War II with a gain of 262,000 square miles of territory and over 22 million more people. Since then—since the end of World War II—the Russian empire has expanded greatly. While the General Assembly is no doubt right first in liquidating Western European colonialism wherever it lingers, it would not be discharging fully its duties under the Charter if it

should become blind to the equally terrible and equally intolerable life which millions of people are living under Russian colonialism.

64. Russian colonialism is a subtler form of colonialism. I know there will be people who would say that an examination of this subject involves the cold war. Indeed, the cold war is a smoke-screen which the Soviet Union never hesitates to use and behind which Russian colonialism, with all its ugly crimes, hides itself. Furthermore, Russian colonialism is particularly successful in making use of local puppets and quislings, who belong to the same race as the people whom it tries to hold in captivity. Thus, racial discrimination, which is usually attendant upon Western European colonialism, is not an important feature in Russian colonialism.

65. Be that as it may, Russian colonialism is real. Let me examine some of its features. Paragraph 1 of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), speaks of "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation". Let us take Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, for example. These countries were once independent countries. What are they now? Have they not been occupied by the Russian imperialists and forced into the Russian colonial empire? Are the peoples of these countries not now subjected to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation? Are they not entitled to fundamental rights just because they are Europeans and not coloured peoples? Should they be denied such rights because the mention of their present fate gives rise to allegations of the cold war?

66. Paragraph 2 of the same Declaration states: "All peoples have the right to self-determination." Have the peoples in the Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in Hungary and in East Germany, for example, been given the right to self-determination? Is the General Assembly afraid of considering this question because it is alleged to involve the cold war or, rather, because its consideration will not please the Russians?

67. Can we say that because these people are white, therefore they are less entitled to the right of self-determination? No, I submit that when the Declaration speaks of all peoples, it means all peoples, the white peoples included.

68. Again, operative paragraph 6 of the Declaration states:

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

Is it not true that as a result of Russian colonialism, the territories of Germany, of Korea and of Viet-Nam which were once united countries have been divided or dismembered? Is it not true that the Russian colonialists are trying to perpetuate the division of these countries; in the case of Korea, clearly in flagrant violation of repeated General Assembly resolutions which seek the reunification of that country?

69. I have only examined as examples a few paragraphs or principles contained in the Declaration. In fact, each and every paragraph of that Declaration applies to those countries in Europe and Asia held in captivity under Russian colonialism just as well as to the countries not yet independent in Africa.

Can our conscience stop bothering us before the General Assembly also sees to it that the Declaration is equally fully implemented with regard to those countries in Europe and in Asia?

70. Across First Avenue from this Assembly Hall is a little building on top of which the flags of nine captive European countries are hoisted at half-mast. These nine flags are a daily reminder to the General Assembly that the Declaration on colonialism is yet to be implemented in Europe. The claim of the freedom-loving peoples who hoist their flags at half-mast is not less valid than that of the Angolans in exile in the Congo (Leopoldville). There are also other peoples in Europe, in Asia and in the Americas who have met with the same fate. Thousands of their countrymen are still fleeing daily from their homelands to West Europe, to Hong Kong, to New York and to Miami to live a miserable life in exile, just in order to breathe the air of freedom. And they do so at the risk of their lives. These peoples form a part of millions of refugees, to borrow a phrase from the statement of the eloquent representative of Saudi Arabia, "millions of refugees all over the world breathing nostalgia for their homeland, yearning to go back to their homes" [1168th meeting, para. 166]. General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI) cannot have full meaning until independence and freedom are also restored to them.

71. My delegation, therefore, agrees to the view put forward in the Assembly that the Special Committee of Seventeen should continue its work. It should, we also agree, continue its efforts first to help decolonize the remaining colonized countries in Africa. But my delegation strongly believes that its work should be extended to the countries that have fallen under Russian colonialism in Europe, in Asia and in other parts of the world. When these countries are also decolonized, the General Assembly then can stand before the judgement of history and proudly say that it has fulfilled its obligations under the Charter. When that work is done, our United Nations will achieve its historic mission—again to borrow a phrase from the representative of Saudi Arabia, a United Nations for a free world.

72. Mr. Abdul Monem RIFA'I (Jordan): In accordance with resolution 1654 (XVI) of the General Assembly the President of the sixteenth regular session appointed a Special Committee of seventeen members to examine the application of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and to carry out its tasks stated in that resolution. A report of about 550 pages on the work of the Committee of Seventeen covering the period from 20 February 1962 to September 1962 is presented to this Assembly for consideration [A/5238]. Before I go into the various aspects of this report and comment on its contents I wish to pay tribute to the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Najmudine Rifai of Syria, for his valuable efforts in preparing this useful report.

73. In reading the report, one can easily realize the perseverance of the members of the Committee in performing their duties with devotion and a deep sense of responsibility. The Committee, in a period of seven months, held 117 meetings, eighteen of which took place in Africa. In the course of these meetings it examined the granting of independence in twelve territories whose populations total almost 29 million people. This is an impressive record for which the

honourable members of the Committee and its distinguished Chairman, Mr. Jha of India and its Vice-Chairman Mr. Coulibaly of Mali deserve our warm congratulations.

74. Turning to the report, I would say that it could best be read in the light of the terms of the resolution which gave birth to the Special Committee. This resolution, in spirit and in letter, was directed unreservedly to the speedy fulfilment of the objectives of the Declaration on independence and decolonization. A prominent feature in resolution 1654 (XVI) is that it does not limit its directives to any modalities or forms of procedure, nor does it confine its terms of reference, in the implementation of the Declaration, to any degree of mandate. It also does not restrict its scope to any geographic area, or type of dependent territory, or to any definite period of time or order of priority. It leaves all of that open; and here perhaps the Special Committee endeavoured to find its way and organize its work. In the constitution of the Committee itself the term of office of its members was also not defined.

75. The Special Committee, however, was able to set up an acceptable method of work. In reaching agreement on this part of its job, the Committee has gone through fruitful and useful discussions. The differences of opinion on the functions of the Committee and on its methods of work, as portrayed in the first chapter of the report, were reconciled in a common understanding and in acceptable decisions on matters such as the rules of procedure, collection of information, petitions and petitioners, visiting groups, methods of examination of territories, and relations with other United Nations bodies.

76. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the objectivity shown by the members of the Committee in organizing their work. Yet I feel inclined to express certain views in this regard, namely, on the question of the examination of territories and that of the visiting groups in chapter I, paragraph 112 of the report.

77. As to the territories, the Committee drew up an order of priority by which it limited its activities to the important cases on African soil, an order which my delegation notes with particular appreciation.

78. The reasoning behind this arrangement is set out in chapter I, paragraph 149, of the report, as follows:

"In deciding to give priority consideration to the African territories, the Special Committee has had in mind that it is in Africa that the largest number of people are still living under colonialism, that it is in Africa that the largest colonial Territories still exist and that it is in Africa where some of the most difficult problems are encountered."

79. The Declaration of independence, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), spoke of granting independence and freedom to all the peoples of the world and all dependent territories without any distinctions, conditions or reservations. This principle of universal independence was established with full recognition that the people of the world, all of them, have become eager and enthusiastic to win their freedom and to gain their independence. The desire for human dignity and the fever of liberty have inflamed every heart and soul. Those who do not transform their feelings into bloodshed and sacrifice are able to express these feelings in tears and sighs. All peoples are equal in their longing for freedom and independence, and all

must be given equal chance in attaining this independence. My delegation therefore supports the views expressed by the representative of Guinea [1131st meeting] for setting a definite early date for the completion of granting independence to all peoples of the world.

80. I can see that, in order to facilitate its work, the Special Committee has to set a programme for accomplishing its tasks. This programme, to use the language of the report was vertical rather than horizontal, that is, to take each case by itself and deal with it intensively. My delegation is of the opinion that the work of the Special Committee in implementing the Declaration of independence could be both vertical and horizontal at the same time.

81. It is noticed in the report that the Special Committee established sub-committees on the questionnaire, on petitions, and for other purposes. Such arrangements were made with the intention of giving priority to one case and studying its various aspects, but it might mean that the Committee will spend years until it finishes its work.

82. In my delegation's view, the Special Committee could have established within itself further arrangements to cover wider fields. It could have established other sub-committees to implement the Declaration in other continents and geographical areas rather than to confine itself to one region and be compelled to give it priority, leaving other territories on the waiting list.

83. The report mentions in this regard what it calls questions of "more importance" and questions of "relative importance". In the issue of granting independence to all dependent peoples and territories, we should not tend to draw a line of distinction or of classification between what is important and what is less important. Problems do naturally vary in their political significance and impact, but this should not reflect on the basic rule of granting independence to all those deprived of it, whether they are involved in political crises or not. The report also talks of questions which threaten international peace. In the Committee of Seventeen the criteria of work should not, in my opinion, be one only of the problem of the threat to international peace.

84. In my delegation's view, the Special Committee is precisely requested in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1654 (XVI) "... to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration".

85. We need to know, for example, how far the process of decolonization has gone since the issue of the Declaration, and how far it has still to go. We need to know what lands and peoples in the world have not enjoyed and attained freedom and independence, and in what conditions they live. We need to know about the attitude and reaction of the colonial Powers with respect to the termination of their colonial policies and their readiness to end the colonial régime. We need to know that as an introductory step for pursuing the application of the Declaration in a comprehensive, instantaneous operation.

86. We would therefore have appreciated a mention in the report of those areas and nations that have either been forgotten or deprived of the care and sympathy of the world community of free nations. We must begin to give them life and energy. The representative of the Soviet Union stated that there were

still eighty-eight territories under colonial domination, with a total population of 70 million. In a letter from the representative of the United Kingdom to the Chairman of the Special Committee, an account is given of the territories which were administered by the United Kingdom, and which have achieved self-government and independence. The report itself does not give an account of this survey. It says:

"The Special Committee, having decided to give priority consideration to the territories in Africa, did not find it necessary at the outset of its work to embark on the preparation of a complete list of all the territories coming within the scope of its work, although the drawing up of such a list may be necessary in the future." [A/5238, chapter I, para 151.]

87. My country belongs to an Arab region, where some parts on the shores of its peninsula have not yet enjoyed self-government and are still under colonial rule. Since the Arab homeland is one entity, foreign domination in any of its parts could constitute a threat to the independence and unity of the whole. The Arabs have paid a high price for their independence. From the Tigris in the east to the Atlantic in the west their national struggle still resounds. It is contrary to their national aspirations if foreign armed aggression in Palestine is not removed and if independence on all their national soils is not achieved. This is an aspect of utmost concern to the Arab delegations when the question of independence and decolonization is discussed.

88. The idea of widening the sphere of the activities of the Special Committee might lead to the consideration of an increase in its membership to enable it to cover a wider range in its functions. My delegation feels that such an increase in advisable, and on this point I wish to reserve my right to speak again in the light of the development of the debate.

89. The second topic on which I wish to make an observation is the question of the visiting groups. I must admit that the Committee acted wisely in sending out visiting groups to certain countries, as the case might have required. The meetings which the Committee held in Africa enabled it to be more accessible to petitioners and to demonstrate, in a more concrete form, its concern for the legitimate aspirations of the African people. It enabled the Committee to witness closely colonialism in Africa in its ugly face and to evaluate the aspirations of the Africans towards independence and sovereignty.

90. Resolution 1654 (XVI) itself does not lay down conditions or put limitations on the Committee's meetings elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters. Operative paragraph 6 of that resolution authorizes the Special Committee to meet whenever and wherever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions. My delegation, however, believes that such authorization should be better defined and more regulated.

91. An important point, to which I should like to draw attention is the comment by the Special Committee in chapter I, paragraph 152, of the report on the Special Committee's relations with other United Nations committees working towards the abolition of colonialism. My delegation is well aware of what the Committee calls the "danger of duplication and consequently of a wastage of effort and funds". In this connexion, we shall give very serious considera-

tion to the suggestion made by the Acting Secretary-General in the introduction of his annual report [A/5201/Add.1] concerning the possibility of combining all the work in this field under this Special Committee.

92. No I should like to make in brief some general remarks on the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee, in respect of the Territories which it has examined. Needless to say that the draft resolutions included in the report represent the conclusions of the Committee and the action which it recommends to the General Assembly to adopt with relation to the examined Territories in Africa where colonial rule and racial superiority are displayed in their worst shapes. My delegation, in its rejection of all forms of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere, will lend its support to such recommendations as well as to any proposals that might help to bring the yoke of colonialism to a definite end.

93. With regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, we note that the General Assembly passed two recent resolutions [1755 (XVII) and 1760 (XVII)] which were widely supported after lengthy debates in the Fourth Committee and here in the General Assembly. My delegation did not fail to join in the efforts towards the application of the principles of right and democracy in that African territory.

94. As to Northern Rhodesia, the report of the Special Committee indicates that the situation in this Territory is far from being satisfactory. An election has recently been held under a constitution which, in the Special Committee's words, does not conform to paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and is discriminatory and contrary to the fundamental principles of self-determination. The situation in Northern Rhodesia is clearly illustrated in the report of the Committee. My delegation will give its strong support to the wishes and national aspirations of the overwhelming African majority in that Territory.

95. In Nyasaland, the situation indicates that there is already an African majority in the legislative and executive body. My delegation joins the Special Committee in the hope that the talks held between the United Kingdom Government and Dr. Banda will lead to the setting of an early date for the independence of Nyasaland, and we also hope that the wishes of the inhabitants there—in-rejecting the Central African Federation will be fulfilled.

96. In Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, I read with utmost concern the description of the situation in these territories. Very little is being done to develop representative institutions, and there is much concern that these territories might be absorbed by the Union of South Africa.

97. In Zanzibar, my delegation has followed with great interest the recent developments there and the efforts of the Special Committee in these developments. It is our earnest hope that agreement on the electoral system be reached, as well as on the date of holding elections, so that independence will no longer be delayed.

98. In British Guiana, we learned that the negotiations which have recently been resumed in London have not produced positive results. We urge that an early date for independence be set and we hope that a speedy agreement will be reached between the parties con-

cerned on the question of elections and the electoral system.

99. In Angola and Mozambique, there is little need for me to repeat the deep concern felt by my delegation and, indeed, by every other delegation in this Assembly about the serious situation in these two large and important African territories, which have a combined population of over 11 million. The persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to recognize its duties and responsibilities, the continued flouting on its part of the resolutions of the General Assembly, and its flagrant violation of the principles of decency, call for decisive action. We, therefore, shall take with full consideration the line of action set forth by the Special Committee in chapter VII, paragraph 9, and in chapter IX, paragraph 44, and the recommendations therein. However, we prefer to deal with the problem of Angola exclusively when item 29 of the agenda is put up for consideration by this General Assembly.

100. With regard to South West Africa, this question has already been dealt with in the Fourth Committee. The Jordan delegation notes with satisfaction the unanimity with which the resolution was adopted by the Committee, and hopes that the Government of South Africa will yield to the unanimous wish of the world Organization.

101. With reference to Kenya, we wish to note with satisfaction the progress that has been made in that territory towards the attainment of full independence and sovereignty, and we feel certain that, with the achievement of this final step, Kenya will realize its full national aspirations.

102. With regard to Aden, the question of this Arab territory should be given special attention, due to its highly strategic and important position. On the one hand, the United Kingdom has been using the colony of Aden as a central military base in its defence system and in such a way as to cause a threat to the whole region.

103. The inclusion of Aden in the South Arabian Federation is a perpetuation of its colonial status. The Federation was imposed against the will of the people of Aden, who have not yet had the chance of enjoying the right of declaring their national wishes. The whole situation in Aden and the status of this territory is so grave that it calls for immediate serious consideration. We urge the Committee of Seventeen to lend the question of Aden its special attention.

104. Mr. SYLLA (Madagascar) (translated from French): We now find ourselves at grips with one of the most important questions on the agenda of the seventeenth session. The speakers preceding me were unanimous in stressing the great significance of the decision which we are about to take: that of translating into reality the immortal Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), which the General Assembly, in a great burst of magnanimity, adopted, on 14 December 1960 and which "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

105. After affirming the dignity and inalienable rights of the human person in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations, pursuing its great work of emancipation, adopted resolution 1514 (XV) proclaiming the right of peoples to liberty

and the free choice of their destiny—in sum, to self-determination and independence.

106. During its sixteenth session, the Assembly, concerned to note that the liberation of colonial peoples was not taking place at the rate it had hoped, adopted a further resolution [1654 (XVI)] on 27 November 1961, in which it reaffirmed the principles which it had enunciated the year before and called upon States concerned "to take action without further delay with a view to the faithful application and implementation of the Declaration". The same resolution provided for the establishment of a Special Committee of seventeen members to ensure the implementation of the Declaration, and it is the report of that Committee [A/5238] which we are now called upon to consider.

107. Madagascar had the honour to be appointed to the Committee by Mr. Mongi Slim, who was then President of the General Assembly. My delegation has participated in the Committee's work to the best of its ability, both at the meetings held during the seven months in New York and at the special meetings held in Africa. I need hardly say, therefore, that my Government is in full agreement with the conclusions in the report and will give full and whole-hearted support to whatever measures are decided on here with a view to ensuring their speedy and thorough implementation.

108. Madagascar, formerly an independent country, lost its national sovereignty in 1896. It recovered that sovereignty in 1960, following peaceful and friendly negotiations with France, having become convinced, after a twenty-month transitional period of internal self-government, that the necessary conditions for accession to full independence were satisfied. While it is true that, in spite of some difficult periods, Madagascar continued to progress socially and economically between 1896 and 1960, I can testify to the fact that its population never abandoned its aspirations for independence and enthusiastically welcomed the solemn declaration made by France in 1944, following the Brazzaville Conference, that its sole aim was to lead the peoples in its charge to the free management of their own affairs. Thanks to the initiative of General de Gaulle, who remained faithful to his promises and his ideal, France liberated fifteen African countries as well as Madagascar in less than eight years.

109. I recall these facts in order to show the colonizing peoples what course they should take in order to comply with the pressing appeal made to them by the world conscience. The report of the Committee of Seventeen outlines the procedure which they should follow to that end. It is essential that they should conform to it. It is essential that they should realize that a turning point has been reached in the life of the peoples and that the tide of history is irreversible.

110. Every man is the equal of every other man and, whatever his colour, he has a right to freedom. Let no one protest that certain tribes are still uncivilized, that they are not yet ripe for independence, that they are satisfied with their lot, when in reality they are living in subjection. We shall be honest and acknowledge that some of the colonial peoples of Africa are still backward. Is this their fault or the fault of their colonizers, who have deliberately kept them illiterate, knowing that an educated and sophisticated man is in a position to seek his liberation and to plead his cause at the highest level? The most shocking

phenomenon of our century is surely apartheid, the doctrine that one man is superior to another simply because of the colour of his skin, the white man being master and the black man the servant, condemned to servile tasks, the former exploiting the latter for contemptible ends: greed for gain and the quest for riches and comfort. How is such disparity between peoples, such inequality in human rights, conceivable? How, in such circumstances, can there be any hope of world peace?

111. We of Madagascar think that coexistence is possible. Since our achievement of independence, all foreigners living on our soil have enjoyed the same human liberties as ourselves. Why should this not be the case in other countries where, in the middle of the twentieth century, the black man is still being oppressed? It is on the basis of human brotherhood that Madagascar appeals to South Africa and Portugal. The peoples under the colonial yoke will continue to struggle for their emancipation. They will not rest until they have obtained it. Madagascar and all other States with a concern for justice and equality will help them.

112. The United Kingdom, for its part, has understood and accepted this fact. It has to its credit an impressive list of countries that it has liberated since the last war and only recently my delegation, together with all the others, welcomed the admission of Tanganyika, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda. The report of the Committee of Seventeen shows that the task is not yet completed. In a friendly but firm manner we would urge the United Kingdom, in spite of the difficulties which we know to exist, to act on the recommendations of the Committee of Seventeen, with regard not only to Southern Rhodesia but also to the other African territories and British Guiana, which is also considered in the report.

113. Here, however, we see the fundamental difference between the attitude of the United Kingdom, which intends to respect the principles of the Charter and accepts them loyally, and that of other States, such as South Africa and Portugal, which publicly repudiate these principles and refuse to acknowledge that the territories which they administer have a right to independence and must attain it as speedily as possible.

114. The noble enterprise of decolonization upon which the United Nations has resolutely embarked must not be reduced to a simple political issue. In no circumstances should it be used as a pretext for demagogic attitudes which will deceive no one, since all are aware of the difficulty of our task and of the delicate problems which will have to be solved if disaster and bloodshed are not to be the price of unjustified haste.

115. Our ultimate purpose is not to lay down impracticable requirements, but to reconcile the political liberty of the peoples remaining to be freed with their happiness, the full development of their personality and the peaceful and harmonious exercise of freedom once it is regained. Technical difficulties are bound to arise. Each case must be considered in its own context. It is the task of the Committee of Seventeen and ultimately of all Members of the United Nations to choose the methods and to decide on the stages which must lead to independence. And the final decision must lie with the colonial peoples themselves, through the machinery of self-determination.

116. The Malagasy delegation considers that on so fundamental a point of the United Nations Charter and of the ideals which bring us together in the Organization, no compromise is possible. All States must obey and apply our resolutions because they reflect the conscience of the world. The United Nations must use all means in its power to compel them to do so when necessary. This attitude of my delegation is in conformity with that taken by the twelve States which for the African Malagasy Union during the recent conference at Libreville.^{3/}

117. Before independence is granted to colonial countries and peoples, the colonialists must train them to assume the heavy tasks of government. This is exactly what was done for the French-speaking African States, which passed from one régime to another smoothly and without any disturbances. This training of peoples before independence is necessary but it must be supplemented by assistance of every kind, technical and financial, for the new States until they have reached maturity.

118. Finally, our attitude reflects the deep feelings of all the Malagasy people who, under the guidance of their President, Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, intend to take an active part in the great work of human emancipation which we are pursuing in this Organization.

119. As far as we are concerned, this human emancipation applies not only to the black people of Africa who are still under colonial rule but to the men of other races and other colours who are held under the yoke of neo-colonialism. These men too, whether they are white or yellow-skinned, are entitled to freedom and self-determination. Men must not be allowed to impose by force on other men a de facto situation to which they are compelled to submit against their will and which does not respond to their legitimate desire to live as they please.

120. In conclusion, I wish to give an assurance that we shall contribute to the efforts of the 110 States Members of the United Nations to promote the well-being of all men.

121. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) (translated from French): In man's long struggle for freedom there have been particularly important stages which must be regarded as milestones because they represent essential victories. Among these historic moments which mark the triumphal march towards the conquest of fundamental freedom, the Declaration adopted by our Assembly on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples occupies a leading place. It was following this Declaration, and in order to put its generous principles into practice, that we decided last year to set up a Special Committee [resolution 1654 (XVI)]. It is the report of this Committee [A/5238] that we are considering today. I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the Committee of Seventeen and its Rapporteur for they have indeed accomplished a considerable task which will contribute effectively to the implementation of the general Declaration on colonialism. Although colonialism is dying it has not yet disappeared from the face of the earth and we can find loathsome relics of it, particularly in Africa.

122. Fighting Algeria, which has been the renowned spearhead of the struggle against colonialism in

Africa, has no need to recall here its basic attitude to this subject. Indeed, when our country was admitted to the United Nations, the Prime Minister of the Algerian Government stated forcibly in his speech [1147th meeting] that the corner stone of the policy on independent Algeria would be above all the struggle against colonialism. This explains why we are following the work of the General Assembly in this field, and particularly that of the Committee of Seventeen, with such close attention.

123. The people and Government of Algeria will spare no effort to help towards the rapid and final liquidation of colonialism. In Africa, where all too many peoples and territories are still under foreign domination, we intend to give our active support to all our brothers striving to uphold their dignity. That is why we do not think it necessary to expatiate here on our intentions and our willingness to act. They are well known and, moreover, we have already had the honour of providing direct and specific assistance in certain cases. We intend to increase this support and to make it as effective as possible.

124. We have before us the voluminous report of the Committee of Seventeen. It is a remarkably instructive document for it gives an account not only of the progress achieved but also of the difficulties encountered in the application of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. While we are resolved to co-operate actively in the work of decolonization, we shall refrain from taking the time of the Assembly by analysing in detail the questions raised in this report. Previous speakers have already expressed ideas on this subject which in many cases coincide with ours. Since our views are known, there is no point in repeating what many of our friends have already said and what in recent days has been said by the representatives of Guinea [1169th meeting] and Iraq [1176th meeting] in their masterly statements on this particular item. We shall therefore be content to make a practical suggestion which would perhaps help to accelerate the application of the Declaration on colonialism through the good offices of the Committee of Seventeen.

125. My delegation will have the opportunity, here or in the Fourth Committee, of expressing its point of view on each of the territories with which the Committee of Seventeen has been concerned. In this general statement, however, I should like to say that the ten chapters of the Committee's report concerning ten different territories reveal a remarkable similarity between the problems with which the peoples of those territories are faced. In every case, we note the scandalous maintenance of discriminatory practices and racial persecution, the absence of basic political freedoms, the continuation of the exploitation of man by man and the exorbitant privileges granted to foreign economic interests, while intolerable manoeuvres are resorted to for the purpose of unjustly delaying the achievement of independence by these territories. In our view, the United Nations must take a firmer stand in order to put an end to these practices so out of keeping with the Charter which binds us all.

126. During recent years, much has been said about the problems of setting a date for the accession to independence of the colonial countries. It is on this point that we should like to make a practical suggestion. As is well-known, many proposals have been made on this subject with a view to fixing a precise date, more or less distant, for the emancipation of these

^{3/} Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States, held from 10 to 13 September 1962.

territories. The proposals put forward from this rostrum, as also in the Fourth Committee, had this in common: they envisaged the same date for all colonies or dependent territories. We should like to introduce a realistic element into these proposals, most of which have given rise to numerous objections.

127. We suggest that the Committee of Seventeen should be instructed by the General Assembly to study the particular case of each territory and, taking into account the Assembly's comments, to propose a precise date applicable to each territory for its accession to independence. We may foresee, for example, without too much difficulty, that the Committee of Seventeen might formally propose a very early date for the independence of Zanzibar and British Guiana. In the same way, it might study the case of other territories, obtain all the necessary information, hold useful consultations and propose time-limits which would take into account realistically the political and economic situation of the territory under consideration.

128. These proposals, submitted to the General Assembly, might be accepted or amended after discussion and would then become the subject of formal demands, assuming that the colonial Powers do not always consent.

129. In addition I would suggest that the Committee of Seventeen, precisely in order to collect information and hold the necessary consultations, should send many more visiting missions, whether to the colonial territories or to the capitals of the colonial Powers. The Committee's visit to London offers a significant example of the positive results that can be achieved in this way. Also, in order to expedite its work, the Committee should arrange for some of its members, perhaps in small groups to specialise in the different problems. If the seventeen members of the Committee were to take up seriatim all the different questions submitted to them we are afraid that they would need a vast amount of time and that they would be unable to finish their work as rapidly as the Assembly would wish.

130. These are the ideas which we are offering to the General Assembly in the hope that they will help to facilitate the task of those who, on our behalf and with us, are working to solve the problems raised by the survival of colonial domination, particularly in Africa.

131. To complete this statement, I shall add a word on the question of enlarging the Committee of Seventeen. My delegation has no objection a priori to such a proposal. We feel, however, that the Committee should not be enlarged unless that proves really necessary.

132. The work of decolonization is undoubtedly the noblest of all the tasks which the United Nations has so courageously assumed. The liquidation of colonialism, as we all know, will do a great deal to reduce international tension. By so doing, we shall have brought nearer the day when a peaceful world will remember only from its history books that it once went through a period marked by the tragic and unnatural exploitation and domination of man by man, racism and social injustice. One of the darkest pages in human history will have been turned once and for all. Between now and then, however, we must remain vigilant and continue unceasingly the struggle which is necessary for the freedom of man. None of

us is or will be truly free so long as a single people or a single territory remains under foreign domination.

133. This, in any event, is the deep feeling of the Algerian people and Government and we shall not rest until all men on earth are freed from oppression and injustice.

134. Mr. CISSE (Senegal) (translated from French): My delegation, which was one of the sponsors of resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, cannot fail to appreciate the importance of the report [A/5230] which the General Assembly is called upon to consider today. The task of appraising the progress made in decolonization since the memorable date of 14 December 1960 on which our Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), thus giving its policy a new direction in conformity with what has since been known by common consent as the "spirit of Bandung"—a resolution which was to arouse a wave of hope and enthusiasm among the oppressed and enslaved peoples craving for dignity and independence—is of the utmost importance. The terms of the resolution are still echoing in our ears. Never before had the United Nations taken such a decisive step to foster respect for the Charter and for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or indeed reformulated the guiding principles of its action in the world so clearly and so vigorously.

135. And the colonial peoples were not mistaken; resolution 1514 (XV) tolled the knell of colonialism, ushering in new times and a world of dignity, independence, harmony and peace. Better still—and this is a factor of incalculable significance—the colonial countries that are striving to achieve national independence know that they are no longer alone, that their cause is a just one and that the international conscience, of which our Organization is the embodiment, has been aroused and will operate in their favour in hastening their liberation from the hateful yoke of colonialism. It has been said, and this is certainly true, that the resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples represents a new charter for action by the United Nations. This is clearly evident, for by adopting this resolution the United Nations went beyond the stage of pious hopes by declaring that the practice of colonialism jeopardizes its work and is in conflict with the very principles on which it is based, and it decreed that that practice should be brought to an end immediately.

136. The results were not slow to follow. In order to realize this, we need only glance round this Assembly, for which it has become a tradition, at each succeeding session, to welcome newly admitted Members who have recently thrown off the yoke of colonialism. A glance round this hall is enough, too, to show us that many countries are still absent from this universal gathering. In Africa alone, 100 million people are not represented here. The spate of petitioners from Africa, as also from other parts of the world, is yet further evidence that colonialism is still rampant, that it has lost some of its force and that the Assembly must be doubly watchful, must persist in its endeavours and must deal the final blow—the death blow—to this matter. It is in that respect that the report of the Committee of Seventeen is of such importance.

137. First of all, my delegation wishes to congratulate the members of this Committee most warmly on the substantial work that they have accomplished. The

very extensiveness of this task would in itself provide proof—if any further proof were needed—that the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) has barely begun. We must also congratulate the members of the Committee on having considered the situation in the majority of the remaining dependent countries and made recommendations in the spirit of that resolution.

138. Even a cursory study of the report shows clearly that decolonization is now in its ultimate stage, a stage, however, which will nevertheless demand redoubled efforts on our part. The United Nations is now confronted by the bastion of colonialism, namely, the settler colonies in Central and Eastern Africa. The Administering Powers were quick to promote the attainment of independence by the economically exploited colonies, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) but in the light of recent events in the Rhodesias we cannot but conclude that the Administering Powers granted those colonies independence in order to be better able to withstand the tide of liberation that is sweeping the world and to concentrate their efforts at resistance in the remaining ones.

139. The Rhodesias and Nyasaland are a typical example; there, the blindest type of colonialism is making its last stand with the vigour of desperation. For indeed, what sort of a régime is it in which 200,000 or 300,000 white people are governing on behalf of 3 million black people, in which in order to be able to vote it is necessary to have a certain income and to have reached a certain level of education, and where the Government balks at nothing in order to prevent the Blacks from fulfilling the franchise requirements?

140. The case of Southern Rhodesia is one with which the United Nations is well acquainted; there a handful of settlers are resorting to every kind of constitutional trick and subterfuge in order to prevent the African population from enjoying the benefits of independence and to perpetuate their domination over the country. The Assembly is acquainted with the constitutional machinations of the Central African settlers; the electoral laws, based on qualifications of ability and property, which are inspired by an odious will to dominate and which exclude the majority of the African population from the electorate; the pure and simple dissolution of nationalist political parties that are accused of preaching agitation and subversion, whereas they have been deliberately forced to resort to violence; the imprisonment of the leaders of these parties, whose offence consists in asking that their country should be restored to dignity and to freedom—all these things are common knowledge. The Assembly will certainly not allow itself to be misled by the thin constitutional façade that is being made use of in Central Africa.

141. We are told again and again that Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing since 1923; the United Nations took a stand on that score last June [see resolution 1747 (XVI)] and we reject that argument as a fallacy and call for the abrogation of that country's Constitution, which does not provide for the institution of universal suffrage or for the establishment of an authority that is genuinely representative of the will of the people. There can be no mistake about this. Resolution 1514 (XV) is crystal clear: power must be in the hands of the indigenous inhabitants and not of the settlers, however well-intentioned they may be. The independence for which we are calling is not for the settlers, who have never been enslaved, but for the indigenous inhabitants.

142. The report is explicit on this score; the common denominator of the countries of Central, Eastern and Southern Africa is racism, the exploitation of the black people and the most flagrant violation of human rights. What is this Federation that Sir Roy Welensky wants to impose on the Africans at all costs except another subterfuge in order the better to retain control over them and to perpetuate their bondage? Such a Federation would be but a caricature of Africa's aspiration to unity. It is a crude procedure, to which the extremist and reactionary forces are having recourse in order to retain the upper hand. There is a substantial element of provocation in the attitude of these Governments.

143. The position of my delegation is well known: these countries must be granted independence. Above all, let no one adduce their lack or preparedness as a reason for delaying their liberation. The trials that the populations of these countries have had to endure have been such that their maturity is evident. Moreover, since the Administering Powers have extended the benefits of education to them so parsimoniously, everything suggests that only independence will enable these countries to appeal to international co-operation in order to promote the welfare of their people.

144. The fate of South West Africa is even darker. South Africa is using the unfounded argument that the Mandate conferred on it by the League of Nations has elapsed as a pretext for increasing its efforts to annex the territory. What the Assembly knows about the extraordinary policy of apartheid, which it has repeatedly condemned, is enough to explain why the idea of such annexation arouses out indignation and why we are opposed to it.

145. My delegation deplores the fact that the United Kingdom is using the dissensions and differences of opinion between the local political groups as a reason for delaying the granting of independence to British Guiana, Zanzibar, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Kenya. It also hopes that the United Kingdom will soon clear itself of the suspicion that it is delaying the independence of Kenya on account of military and strategic considerations.

146. Portugal, like South Africa, is persisting in its attitude of defiance of the United Nations and it is only by force of arms that it is able to remain in Angola and Mozambique. Extraordinary as it may seem, South Africa is spending £60 million a year to maintain its army of repression; Portugal manages to prolong its domination over its colonies only by periodically dispatching reinforcements to maintain order—a type of order which is repugnant to the international conscience. We reject with scorn the argument that the Portuguese colonies are an integral part of Portuguese national territory. This is an argument on which the colonialists rely and which is founded on sand. It is not the first time that it has been used at this rostrum and my delegation is firmly convinced that in the face of our determination Portugal will abandon it just as others have done before it. The Portuguese administration of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands has failed. The level of living of the indigenous inhabitants of these territories is the lowest in Africa; what is more, they are spared nothing: racial discrimination, forced labour and a police régime, such is their lot.

147. The position of my delegation is clear: the resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has not been applied to any of the countries that we have just mentioned. The United Nations must make it clear to the Administering Powers that it is not deceived by them and that the countries concerned are enjoying neither self-government or independence. The General Assembly should urge the United Kingdom, whose praiseworthy record in decolonization is well known, to cease playing the game of the settlers and to ensure that the interests of the indigenous inhabitants are paramount by granting them independence. The General Assembly must also exclude from its ranks those Members which make the flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights a matter of doctrine—to wit, Portugal and South Africa. The Assembly has certainly not failed to feel great anxiety in the face of the serious warnings given by the Chairman of ZAPU.^{4/} It is because the United Kingdom has left the fate of the Africans in the hands of a handful of settlers that we are now confronted with the odious policy of apartheid. This mistake must not be repeated in Rhodesia. We must not tolerate South Africa's seizure of South West Africa or the consolidation of the racist and oppressive federation of Sir Roy Welensky, whose role in Katanga is well known.

148. We Africans stand to lose everything through the constitution of what has with good reason been

^{4/} Zimbabwe African People's Union.

called the "Unholy Alliance". If the dictator Salazar, the champion of white supremacy, Sir Roy Welensky, and the racist Verwoerd were to act hand-in-hand on African soil, that would spell the end of progress, dignity and freedom in this part of Africa, and the action of the United Nations would be jeopardized for a long time. Such an alliance would imperil both the security of our States and world peace. The United Nations must forestall such an evil. For that purpose, the Members of the United Nations must be clearly aware of their responsibilities and must withdraw the tacit support that they are giving to the advocates of apartheid, just as they must put an end to their policy of duplicity which consists in condemning Portugal before the United Nations, on the one hand, and on the other hand supplying that country with weapons and ammunition that enable it to carry on its campaign of extermination in Africa.

149. When the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), my delegation was one of the numerous delegations that expressed their satisfaction that the international community was once again recognizing its duties towards the dependent peoples. Today, my delegation espouses the conclusions reached by the Committee of Seventeen, declares that the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) has barely begun, and will vote in favour of any draft resolution designed to hasten the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p. m.